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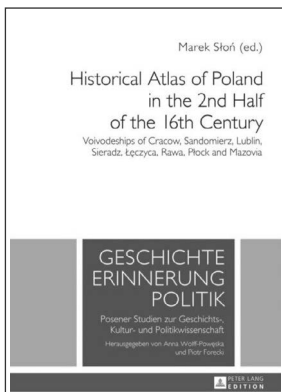
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**Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century: Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Rawa, Płock and Mazovia**, ed. by Marek Stoń; transl. by Agata Staszewska; Martha A. Brożyna, Peter Lang Edition, Frankfurt am Main 1973–[2014], 4 volumes, XXIX + 1597 pp., illustrations, 27 folded maps

*Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century* discusses the results of long-term works on mapping data of a huge number of sources on historical geography of Poland 16<sup>th</sup> c. The idea of creating a historical atlas which would reflect scientific knowledge about settlements, landownings, roads, administrative borders and Church



divisions of Poland in a series of diachronic maps was developing gradually since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The atlas of Poland was supposed to make up an annex to the edition of sources of *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym* (*Sixteenth Century Poland: Statistics and Geography*) in the „Źródła Dziejowe” („Historical Sources”) series prepared by Adolf Pawiński and Aleksander Jabłonowski, but the plan was never completed.

In the 1920s and 30s, the concept of an atlas was developed by the Committee on the Historical Atlas of Poland at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Committee even started working on the project, but the tragic events of World War II, in general, and the destruction of valuable historical sources during the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, in particular, delayed the study's publication and compelled the authors to revise the concept of the *Atlas*. After several “trial” studies prepared in the late 1950s and early 1960s by the fellows of

the Department of the Historical Atlas at the Institute of History (Polish Academy of Sciences), followed by debates among historians and geographers in 1964, the concept of the historical atlas of Poland of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. was finally corrected and approved.

Initially, research on the Lublin voivodeship was conducted in a technique slightly different from the others (see below). After some heated debates it was included in the series and published in Warsaw in 1966. Subsequent volumes followed: in 1973 about Mazovia, in 1993 about Sandomierz voivodeship, in 1998 about Sieradz and Łęczyca voivodeships, and in 2008 about Cracow voivodeship.

The English edition reviewed here presents materials of these five already published volumes, leaving out three more devoted to Poznań and Kalisz voivodeships, Cuyavia, and Podlasie.

The English edition doesn't replicate the Polish one in its division into volumes devoted to the historical geography of certain voivodeships. It consists of four volumes. In general structure of the edition can be summed up as follows: volume 1 – maps; volume 2 – introduction, sources, method and results; volume 3 – results (continued), annexes, tables, maps in the text, list of maps of volume 1; volume 4 – bibliography, indexes of settlements and physiographic names. Inside these above-mentioned structural sections the material is arranged by voivodeships. It is reasonable because the basic historical sources were often completed by the same principle. However, the structure is somewhat repetitive, including a considerable number of rewordings which deal with similar topics (work methods, algorithms of calculation, etc.) described in different voivodeships.

The reason for the repetitiveness might well be that, despite quite a thorough transformation of structure, the English edition does not constitute

a revised edition of the Polish original. In the preface to the English edition, Marek Słoń observes that the map and the commentary reflect the state of research at the time of the publication of subsequent Polish volumes. Only in rare cases were some minor corrections introduced<sup>1</sup>.

Undoubtedly, though, the published work deserves a detailed analysis from the point of view of historical facts. However, I am not an expert in historical geography of Poland, which is why my assessment of the *Atlas* is primarily concerned with methods and source studies.

Volume 1 consists of 24 maps. It opens with a general map of the studied region from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., which is divided into four sheets in the 1: 250 000 scale. The opening map is followed by maps of, subsequently, the main roads; of the borders of administrative and Church districts; of land tenure; of Protestant communes in the Cracow and Sandomierz voivodeships at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (scale 1:500 000). Next, mid-16<sup>th</sup> c. city plans of Cracow with suburbs, Biecz, Częstochowa, Lublin, Łęczycza, Nowy Sącz, Piotrków, Płock, Rawa, Sandomierz, Sieradz, Siewierz, Warsaw, Wieliczka, Wieluń follow (scale 1:10 000). Other cartographic materials (in various scales) are devoted to special topics, including 1598 Cracow, the Wawel Hill at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (scale 1:2000), and Łódź area in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (scale 1:125 000).

To prepare the maps, modern geoinformation technologies were applied. It is a very strong feature of the project. GIS facilitated the unification of the represented data, providing the tool for analysing “geographical information”. Still, it is a pity that no information on the specific software used is present in the study. It might be useful for other researchers who develop Historical GIS.

The main results are reflected in the general map of the region. Despite the rather high sat-

uration with information, the displayed data are submitted accessibly thanks to an elaborate system of symbols. Apart from the administrative borders of the state, voivodeships, lands and districts, the book also discusses the borders of territorial Church divisions of different levels, i.e. diocesan, archdiocesan and parochial borders. Observing that in the Late Middle Ages most nearby settlements were connected by roads, the authors limited themselves to mapping only the major ones (public roads, highways), leaving local roads outside the scope of their investigations. In my opinion, this restriction is quite reasonable, especially given that the shape of sources doesn't allow to plot these roads precisely. Even the major roads were mapped by a retrogression method, i.e. on the basis of maps from the 18–19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The signs designating settlements differ in color – depending on ownership affiliation (Crown, Church, secular owner, town), and on geometry – differing in terms of their status and the size (city, town, large village, village or hamlet). Various shaped crosses mark the existence – or lack thereof – of Church administration (Catholic diocese capital, archdeaconry seat, deaconry seat, parochial seat, orthodox parish). Separate signs represent mill settlements, ironworks, mines, demesne settlements, abbeys and castles. The font of the accompanying captions allows the reader to distinguish settlements on the basis of their functions in a given administrative system (voivodeship capital, land capital, district capital, town without administrative functions, parochial village, large village, village or hamlet). On the other hand, different types of lines underlining settlement names determine whether or not any offices and institutions functioned within them (town starosta's district, general dietine and particular dietine, castellany, Crown Tribunal).

In general, the system of designation of historical borders and settlements used in the map is very informative and flexible, capable to adequately represent a combination of various features of one object. However, it is precisely the depiction of territorial borders, historical settlements and other objects that makes the

---

<sup>1</sup> The editorial collective of the English edition is represented by Władysław Pałucki, Stanisław Trawkowski, Henryk Rutkowski, Małgorzata Wilska; the authors include Piotr Kann, Elżbieta Rutkowska, Anna Faliszewska, Bogumił Szady (maps), Arkadiusz Borek, Marta Kuc-Czerep, Michał Gochna (indices), Tomasz Związek, Jarosław Suproniuk (redaction), Henryk Rutkowski, Kazimierz Pacuski, Hanna Dunin-Wąsowicz, Krzysztof Chłapowski, Marta Piber-Zbieranowska, Małgorzata Wilska, Michał Zbieranowski, Jerzy Duma (corrections).



basic content of any historical map – along with a river and lake network. The depiction of other elements of historical landscape, though, is not so spread. On the general map we can find borders of landscape zones (forests, thickets, swamps and waterlogged areas). In many respects these landscape elements predetermine the arrangement of settlements, road patterns and bordercrossings etc. Even though the preserved historical maps do provide the reader with the opportunity to reconstruct these borders only for the period not earlier than the turn of the 18–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, such an extrapolation on a situation of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. is still very useful.

The use of special designations for settlements of uncertain location seems even more valuable for historiography. Signs of two types are presented on the map: one for villages “with linked localization” (i.e. uncertain identification), and the other for villages “with approximate localization” (i.e. estimated localization *sensu stricto*). The first type marks a village identified hypothetically with latest village when the similarity of names or the order in which the names were listed in the sources suggested they could have meant one settlement but there is no information allowing for certain identification. The second type marks cases when a settlement could be localized only with an error exceeding the permissible 1 km (4 mm on the map). In Russian historiography it is not common to divide two types of uncertain location, although attempts are known in several studies to separate all the settlements whose position is presented in an approximation from those precisely localized.

In volume 2, after the section on historical sources, attention is directed to the specific research method applied here. The use of 16<sup>th</sup>-c. cartographical sources was not very productive because of their inaccuracy and insufficient specification. Three documents going back to the map of Kingdom Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Bernard Wapowski (published in 1526) are the most informative: Waclaw Grodecki's map (published about 1562), Andrzej Pograbka' map from 1570 and Gerardus Mercator's map from 1585. For the

Cracow voivodeship the oldest Polish printed map of duchies Oświęcim and Zator (published in Venice in 1563) was used. Other historical maps belong to the last decades of the 18–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Retrogressive mapping became the main method for working with cartographic materials on the *Atlas*. Data on the position of objects of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. are extrapolated from the latest materials. This method is commonly applied for determining the locations of Late Medieval settlements of any country, including Russia, for lack of anything more advanced.

The list of the written sources involved in the study is impressive: tax registers, bishops' visitations of parishes in each diocese, inventories of Church property, inspections of royal property, entries of the Crown Metrica, revision of letters, inspections of roads, customs and woods, etc. Besides documents of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., earlier and later important sources are included in the collections as well.

While attempting to reconstruct various settlement structures, the authors sought to attain maximum completeness. Mobilization of a wide range of cartographic and text sources yielded the desired result. First, they managed to considerably expand the list of settlements of the studied period – in comparison with that what was known after the publication of the period's tax registers in 1883–1895 by Adolf Pawiński. Secondly, from the 15 698 settlements registered the authors managed to localize 15 553. Only less than 1% of all known settlements didn't receive proper geographical coordinates. Sandomierz voivodeship has the best result (99,7% of settlements was mapped). Mazovia and Lublin has the least result (98,7%), but the difference is insignificant.

The authors of the *Atlas* realize that the historical toponymics contained in sources may be very variable as collectors of taxes and scribes didn't pay special attention to the spelling of site names or their proper administrative affiliation. However, comparison of data from different sources in one group and from different groups allows to reveal the proper variants.

Representation of historical and geographical realities of fifty years on one map generates

a methodical problem which wouldn't be noticeable on a map drawing representing a particular historical moment (for example, a year). For half a century hundreds or even thousands of changes occurred, connected with the emergence of new settlements, the transformation of villages into towns, the desolation of old settlements, change of their ownership affiliation and place in administrative or Church hierarchy, or road retracing or rerouting. The question which begs to be posed is whether it is possible to transfer all these changes on one map and what exactly the maps should display. From the moment of adoption of the concept of the *Atlas* in the 1960<sup>th</sup> the authors adhered to the following point of view: in case of foundation of the new settlement or transformation of the village into the town which happened within the studied period the latest state is shown on the map. However, if the settlement disappeared by the end of the century, it is shown on the map all the same.

A bit different rule is applied to the Lublin voivodeship. The map precisely reflects the 1564 situation, and later changes in ownership affiliation and position of borders are included in the commentary. Such a decision, of course, is not irreproachable, but it is difficult to demand an even more fractional representation of such a considerable layer of historical and geographical data on the map. In international practice, apparently, there is no standard solution to this problem.

Already while working on the *Atlas* the authors encountered a dilemma concerning the question of whether it is necessary to include in commentary essays based on special research work (assessment of informative opportunities of sources, landowners' structure, character and size of settlements, administrative division), or whether these should rather be published separately. The decision was to include the results of special studies in the commentaries. It made the work on *Atlas* more complicated but it provided undoubted conveniences to readers.

Results of work on *Atlas* are presented by topics in volumes 2 and 3, with sections on geographical environment, administrative division, settlement

structure of the region, network of roads, city plans and coats of arms of voivodeships, lands and cities. I will note only some moments which are of particular interest to the comparison of historical and geographical realities of Poland and Muskovy.

In the *Atlas* the characteristic of the region begins with a physiographic division and a short description of relief, landscape zones, hydromode, the prevailing types of soils and vegetation, microclimatic conditions. Passing of beds of rivers is corrected according to data of the 18–19<sup>th</sup> centuries maps. Evidencies of written sources of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. also are involved in landscape reconstruction.

After a general review of territorial changes in the region, what follows is a sketch about administrative systems (i.e. division of voivodeships into districts and parishes, tax collection and officials responsible for it). Church parishes are described as a local element of administrative structure which served not only for the immediate Church circle, but was also used by the authorities for taxation. A very similar situation is noted in cadaster books of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries for the lands of Veliky Novgorod<sup>2</sup>.

Parish borders (the parish affiliation of settlements to be exact) may not always be unambiguously defined because scribes and tax collectors frequently failed to register these data with sufficient accuracy. What is more, very often pastors of adjacent parishes could not reach agreement on the issue of borders. Nevertheless, the *Atlas* generally offers a detailed reconstruction of parish affiliation, taking into account the changes connected with the transition of temples to protestants.

While studying settlement structure it is important to know not only with what accu-

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<sup>2</sup> К.А. Неволин, *О пятинах и погостах новгородских*, "Записки Русского Географического общества", 8, 1853, pp. 101–111; А.М. Андрияшев, *Материалы по исторической географии Новгородской земли*, вып. 1, Москва 1914, pp. XXI–XXIII; А.А. Фролов, *Новый взгляд на территориально-административную систему земель Господина Великого Новгорода*, Санкт-Петербург 2008 (Новгородский исторический сборник, 11 (21)), pp. 151–165.

racy historical settlements were localized, but also which objects were not localized. Data on it are consolidated in several tables. Separate lists present different objects of economic structure designated by special names: mills, ironworks, demesnes, glassworks, inns, towns, rural settlements numbering more than 200 people, castles. Distribution of some of these categories of objects is illustrated by schematic maps. Tables present the density of settlements' network in various districts, accounting for their ownership affiliation, too (Crown, Church, secular landowners).

Settlement structure which was atypical of Polish voivodeships, was described in Mazovia (it was also observed in Podlasie). It may be explained by the specificity of social, demographic and ownership situation. The structure is characterized by quite a high concentration of rural settlements owned to a great extent by serfless gentry. Also the nomenclature and topography of these settlements are specific. New villages of the members of the same family were being created around the main settlement. These villages were given a new two-word name consisting of the main name – the name of the mother village – and the additional name, usually taken from the nickname of the new owner of the village. For example, tax collectors noted the existence of 11 villages called Gadomcy (Przasnysz district, Krzynowłoga Wielka parish), with each village consisting of only one house. It is interesting that a similar system appears also in Russian sources of the end of the 15–17<sup>th</sup> c. It was quite widespread in the Russian North, in the Toropets and Rzhev uyezds (administrative unit similar with voivodeship)<sup>3</sup>.

A special section of the *Atlas* is devoted to the characteristic of the land tenure structure. The statistics of land distribution among owners is presented in tables: Crown, Church, cities, large and small landowners. The commentary contains also a scrupulous reconstruction not only of the volumes of lands of various categories, but also of the volumes of each owner's landed property. Thus, the authors have done considerable work preparing source evidence to compare data from the tax registers of several years in order to separate land owners from tenants. Particular

small sketches are devoted to the Spisz starosta's district and the area around Łódź.

The section devoted to plans of Poland's largest cities is especially interesting. The plans took into account not only evidence from historical sources, but also special studies on the history of architecture, fortification, topography of temples and monasteries and other research literature. A separate part is devoted to Cracow in 1598. This chronological shear is extremely well provided with sources, such as one of the oldest plans of Cracow, city tax registers, acta scabinalia, council books, testaments of the burghers, books of the High Court of Magdeburg Law at the castle in Cracow, surveyors' books etc. Cadastral plans from the 19<sup>th</sup> c. contain details about houses and names of house owners.

The shape of historical data is so complete that appropriate tables manage to represent contemporary numbers of the Cracow houses which fill in the place of identified historical buildings, as well as names and occupations of house owners, their office or function, their coat of arms (for nobility). While reconstructing the planigraphy of other Polish cities, researchers sometimes explore not only an entire complex of written sources, but also, in certain cases, investigate the results of archeological excavations. Although these plans aren't so detailed as the plan of 1598 Cracow, the reader still gains valuable insights into their topography, elements of infrastructure and surrounding landscapes.

A substantial part of the *Atlas* concludes with the section on the coats of arms of voivodeships, lands and cities prepared in the form of short characteristics and historical data on each coat of arms, rather than special heraldic descriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Писцовые книги Обонежской пятины 1496 и 1563 гг., Ленинград 1930; М.В. Витов, *Историко-географические очерки Заонежья XVI–XVII веков*, Москва 1962; *Писцовые книги Новгородской земли*, т. 4: *Писцовые книги Деревской пятины 1530–40-х гг.*, сост. К.В. Баранов, Москва 2004. pp. 501–682; А.А. Фролов, *Некоторые итоги и перспективы историко-географического изучения средневековых волостей Буйцы и Лопастницы*, Москва 2014 (*Историческая география*, 2), pp. 54–104; *Писцовая приправочная книга 1588–1589 годов уезда Ржевы Володимировой (половина князя Дмитрия Ивановича)*, подг. А.А. Фролов, Москва-Санкт-Петербург 2014.

The last volume of the English edition contains bibliography and indexes (settlements and physiographic names). There are some peculiar features which are worth mentioning. The settlement index contains data not only on the name from 16<sup>th</sup> c. sources (together with variants), but also a contemporary toponym, data on administrative and parish affiliation, type of object and ownership affiliation. The originality of the content lies in the accuracy of localization and also in approximate geographical coordinates of the settlement (unlike the Polish edition which only contained references to a letter and a figure on the map). This innovation was made possible thanks to GIS-technologies. Such data were not particularly widespread in Russian historiography yet, although Konstantin Nevolin in his famous monograph published in 1853 provided a catalog of parishes with approximate coordinates<sup>4</sup>. Also the index of physiographic names

contains coordinates of objects. For linear objects they represent the position of the beginning and the end, for polygons it is the position of the center.

The reviewed *Atlas* is a big event in historical geography of the world. The debatable details noted above have a peculiar character. In general, it can be considered one of rare examples of work uniting professional and detailed study of data of historical sources with a modern form of cartographic presentation on the scale of the huge region. Importantly, the data collected in the *Atlas* constitute a significant part of the historical GIS of Poland created recently, which has already received online measurement (<http://www.atlasfontium.pl/index.php?article=korona>). ■

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<sup>4</sup> К.А. Неволин, *О пятинах*, pp. 112–215.