

A stylized black and white graphic of a globe, showing the continents of Europe and Africa. The globe is partially cut off on the left side.

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Economic Geography of Poland in the Period of Growth (14–16th Century) in the Polish Historical Study

Piotr Guzowski

The late Middle Ages and the early modern period in the history of Polish economy are considered in the Polish historical study a period of dynamic growth, undisturbed by the Black Death pandemic¹, nor by any deep economic crises². The political restoration of the Kingdom of Poland by Władysław I the Elbow-High (Pol. Władysław Łokietek) and its reinforcement under his son – Casimir – coincided with the period of German colonisation and the associated development of settlement, changes to the organisation and technique of farming and commercialisation of the economy. The last king from the Piast dynasty was the only king in the history of Poland to be given the nickname *the Great*; his activities, among others in the field of economy, were mentioned by the greatest Polish chronicle writer of the Middle Ages, Jan Długosz, who wrote that the king “found Poland made in clay and wood and dirty and strived to leave it made in stone and fa-

mous”³. The rule of the new dynasty (Jagiellon) brought the establishment of a Polish-Lithuanian state, the economy of which, at the beginning of the modern era, was included in the global economic system.

The aim of this article is to present results of works covering economic history and historical demography, which allow for a better understanding of the economic geography of Poland in the period of growth. I will focus on such issues as population geography, urbanisation, manorial economy and regionalisation of grain production. I will also present key source editions which enable the analysis of the condition and structure of the population and economy in the 16th century.

Population in the late Middle Ages

The first estimations of the population of the Kingdom of Poland based on a written source material were carried out for the year around 1340. Information regarding payment of Peter’s Pence, which in Poland was a mandatory tax paid by house or per capita for Rome⁴, date back to this period. Unfortunately, a detailed register for this tax including data for specific parishes has survived only for one diocese: of Krakow, while in other cases we have aggregated data. The data for Peter’s Pence have allowed Polish researchers to determine the population of individual provinces of the country⁵. When working

¹ A. Chylińska, U. Zawadzka, A. Sołtyśiak, *Pandemia dżumy w latach 1348–1379 na terenach Królestwa Polskiego: model epidemiologiczny i źródła historyczne*, in: *Epidemie, klęski, wojny. Funeralia Lednickie – spotkanie 10*, red. W. Dzieduszycki, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań 2008, p. 165–174; P. Guzowski, C. Kukło, R. Poniał, *O metodach pomiaru natężenia epidemii i zaraz w preindustrialnej Europie w demografii historycznej*, in: *Epidemie w dziejach Europy. Konsekwencje społeczne, gospodarcze i kulturowe*, red. K. Polek, Ł. Sroka, Kraków 2016, p. 130–133.

² J. Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski (do 1864 r.)*, Warszawa 1953, p. 34–172; M. Małowist, *The Trade of Eastern Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, in: *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2, ed. M.M. Postan, E. Miller, Cambridge 1987, p. 525–612; W. Rusiński, *Rozwój gospodarczy ziem polskich*, Warszawa 1969, p. 34–87; J. Wyrozumski, *Czy późnośredniowieczny kryzys feudalizmu dotknął Polskę?*, in: *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów*, red. T. Jasiński, T. Jurek, J.M. Pi-skorski, Poznań 1997, p. 103–113; J. Topolski, *Narodziny kapitalizmu w Europie XIV–XVII wieku*, Poznań 2003; P. Guzowski, *Kryzys gospodarczy późnego średniowiecza czy kryzys historiografii?*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych”, 68, 2008, p. 173–193; idem, *Money Economy and Economic Growth: The Case of Medieval and Early Modern Poland*, “Questiones Medii Aevii Novae”, 18, 2013, p. 235–256.

³ J. Długosz, *Roczniki, czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, ks. 9, Warszawa 2009, p. 443.

⁴ T. Gromnicki, *Świętopietrze w Polsce*, Kraków 1908.

⁵ T. Ladenberger, *Zaludnienie Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Lwów 1930; J. Mitkowski, *Uwagi o zaludnieniu Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych”, 10, 1948, p. 121–130; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski (do początków XIX wieku)*,

Table 1. Population on the territory of Poland around 1340

Provinces	Acc. to J. Mitkowski		Acc. to W. Kula		Acc. to E. Vielrose		Acc. to T. Ładogórski	
	population (in thousand)	density (persons/km ²)	population (in thousand)	density (persons/km ²)	population (in thousand)	density (persons/km ²)	population (in thousand)	density (persons/km ²)
Greater Poland	157	2.5	295.8	4.9	360.8	6.1	576	10.4
Lesser Poland	251	4.6	303.9	5.6	576.8	10.7	382	6.6
Mazovia	45	1.3	58.8	1.8	298.8	9.1	232	6.8
Silesia	326	7.9	376.5	9.1	–	–	488	10.8
Pomerania	192	10.3	221.8	11.8	–	–	186	9.6
Total	453	3.1	658.5	4.4	1236.4	8.1	1190	8.5

Source: J. Mitkowski, "Uwagi o zaludnieniu Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego", *"Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych"*, 10, 1948, p. 127; W. Kula, "Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski (do początków XIX wieku)", *"Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych"*, 13, 1951, p. 39; E. Vielrose, "Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku", *"Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej"*, 5 (1), 1957, p. 47; T. Ładogórski, "Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski XIV wieku", Wrocław 1958, p. 134

on the reconstruction thereof, Polish history and demography experts used various methods, which resulted in them obtaining different results (see table 1).

In hindsight, the estimations by Józef Mitkowski and Witold Kula are considered too "pessimistic"; nowadays, historians refer primarily to research by Tadeusz Ładogórski. Regardless of the methodological differences in the estimation of the number of population, undoubtedly the most densely populated Polish provinces were those which were not included in the Kingdom of Poland reinstated in the 14th century, i.e. Silesia and Pomerania. Ładogórski was the only demography expert to try to estimate the share of urban population in the population structure. Based on scarce data for Upper Silesia and Lesser Poland, he decided that as much as 18% of the population lived in urban settlements. Unfortunately, in the Central-European context, these were primarily small

towns of 100–500 inhabitants⁶. These results should be treated as poorly representative. In the estimation of the population of Poland by Henryk Samsonowicz for the year 1500, the author determined the percentage of persons living in big cities at the level of just 4–7%, depending on the country province⁷.

Urbanisation

Research on the development of urban network belong to a very important trend in the Polish historiography, both of the medieval studies, and of the early modern period, although economic significance of cities is not in focus, losing to a wide array of issues devoted to the political system, law and society. The starting point for any discussion of the topic of cities and towns is the German colonisation and the spread of the Magdeburg rights as the key elements of the urbanisation of the Polish territory. For this reason, large part of the research focused on the settlement movement and

⁶ "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 13, 1951, p. 23–106; E. Vielrose, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 5 (1), 1957, p. 3–49; T. Ładogórski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski XIV wieku*, Wrocław 1958.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 145–152.

⁷ H. Samsonowicz, *Probe einer demographischen Einschätzung Polen um das Jahr 1500*, "Studia Historiae Oeconomicae", 22, 1997, p. 17–24.

German colonisation, their chronological and geographic aspects⁸. The majority of works adopt the monograph format and discuss individual centres or regions; texts devoted to urban economy or trade relations are much more scarce. Until today the best synthetically oriented piece of writing is the work by Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz entitled *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (*The History of Towns and Bourgeoisie in Poland before the Partitions*), which describes comprehensively the typologies of towns in Poland in the past, their networks and economic foundations⁹.

The definition of a city in the Polish literature is based primarily on legal and not economic or demographic issues. Hence, town settlement under the Magdeburg rights (in different versions) and, thus, exclusion from the common law, granting of a self-government and the spatial organisation are considered formal creation of a town¹⁰. The first urban settlements were

carried out as early as in the 13th and at the end of the 15th century, in the estates of the king, the Church and knights, there were as many as 696 places of such character. Throughout the 16th century, the number grew to 873, and if we decide to include also the territories of Ukraine and Podlachia, annexed by the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland in 1569, the number of urban centres will rise to 1287¹¹. The density of the urban network was not identical throughout the whole country. Around 1500, in this respect, the leaders were Greater Poland (1 town per 215 km²), followed by Lesser Poland (1 town per 375 km²) and Mazovia (1 town per 409 km²). As far as Royal Prussia, annexed by Poland in the second half of the 15th century, is concerned, there was 1 town per 480 km², however one must remember that Prussian towns were the most densely populated and the richest (e.g. Gdańsk, Toruń).

The density of the urban network on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which since 1569 had constituted a single state with the Kingdom of Poland, was also diverse, but on average in the whole country there was 1 town per 367 km²¹².

Due to the character of towns in Central Europe, among which the most numerous were small towns¹³, their saturation in the region did not reflect its economic significance. For this reason, in the Polish literature, following in the footsteps of Henryk Samsonowicz, historians, quite commonly in the context of this period, use the typology of towns suggested by the Sejm in

⁸ Among synthetic works, the following can be listed: O. Lange, *Lokacje miast wielkopolskich na prawie niemieckim w wiekach średnich*, Lwów 1925; S. Pazyra, *Geneza i rozwój miast mazowieckich*, Warszawa 1959; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Nowe lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII w.*, Poznań 1964; Z. Guldon, *Lokacje miast kujawskich i dobrzyńskich w XIII–XVI w.*, in: *Ziemia Kujawska*, vol. 2, Inowrocław 1968, p. 19–34; F. Kiryk, *Z badań nad urbanizacją Lubelszczyzny w dobie jagiellońskiej*, "Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie. Prace Historyczne", 43 (6), 1972, p. 93–167; M. Horn, *Miejski ruch osadniczy na Rusi Czerwonej do końca XV w.*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 35, 1974, p. 49–74; idem, *Miejski ruch osadniczy na Rusi Czerwonej w latach 1501–1648*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Opolu. Historia", 13, 1975, p. 29–48; F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji Małopolski XII–XVI w. Województwo krakowskie (powiaty południowe)*, Kraków 1985; H. Samsonowicz, *Liczba i wielkość miast późnego średniowiecza Polski*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 86 (4), 1979, p. 917–931; F. Kiryk, *Urbanizacja Małopolski. Województwo sandomierskie, XII–XVI wiek*, Kielce 1994; R. Szczygiel, *Lokacje miast w Polsce XVI wieku*, Lublin 1989; E. Dybek, *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim w ziemi przemyskiej w latach 1345–1434*, Lublin 2004; T. Nowak, *Lokacje miast ziemi łęczyckiej na prawie niemieckim w średniowieczu*, in: *Scientia nihil est quam veritatis imago. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Lublin 2014, p. 140–150. See also the entire issue no. 3 of "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 28, 1980 devoted to the settlement movement.

⁹ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986.

¹⁰ B. Zientara, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze i przestrzenne miast w dobie lokacji*, in: *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie Środkowej*, red. A. Gieysztor, Warszawa 1972, p. 394–398.

¹¹ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje*, p. 84, 332, 334, 349.

¹² S. Alexandrowicz, *Geneza i rozwój sieci miasteczek Białorusi i Litwy do połowy XVII w.*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica", 7, 1970, p. 65–105; idem, *Powstanie sieci miejskiej Podlasia na tle wczesnych procesów urbanizacyjnych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 28 (3), 1980, p. 413–428.

¹³ A. Wyrobisz, *Małe miasta w Polsce XVI i XVII w.*, in: *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie Środkowo-wschodniej*, Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń 1976, p. 177–187; H. Samsonowicz, *Małe miasta w Środkowej Europie późnego średniowiecza. Próba modelu*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 50, 1989, p. 31–43.

Table 2. Density of the urban network in the Crown around 1500

Provinces/Voivodeships	Average area per 1 town in km ²
Greater Poland	215
Poznań	193
Kalisz	172
Sieradz (with Wieluń Land)	366
Łęczyca	147
Brześć Kujawski	330
Inowrocław (with Dobrzyń Land)	328
Lesser Poland proper	375
Kraków	284
Sandomierz	369
Lublin	925
Mazovia	409
Mazovian	451
Rawa	326
Płock	358
Royal Prussia	480
Pomeranian	717
Chełmno	336
Warmia	358
Malbork	350

Data source: M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, "Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej", Wrocław 1986, p. 119–121, 350

the tax proclamation of 1520 (repeated in the proclamation of 1590)¹⁴. It lists four categories of towns distinguished for their demographic-economic parameters:

- *civitates maiores*,
- *civitates et oppida secundi ordinis*,
- *oppida [...] habenti fora annuali et septimalia*,
- *oppida non habentes fora*.

The first category, at the time, included only three cities: Kraków, Poznań and Lwów.

The second group included 50 centres, none of which had 10,000 inhabitants and the majority was inhabited by 1,000 up to 3,000 persons. Other settlements were even smaller and belonged to towns of the categories 3 and 4. This categorisation did not cover autonomous towns of Royal Prussia, among which Gdańsk was outstanding as a Western-style emporium of commerce, with the number of inhabitants around 30,000 in the late Middle Ages¹⁵.

A slightly different approach to the categorisation of towns was constructed by Jacek Wiesiołowski, who based on the

¹⁴ S. Weyman, *Pierwsze ustawy podatkowe generalnego w Polsce (rok 1498, 1520) na tle ówczesnego systemu podatkowego*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 18, 1958, p. 12–68 (in particular 60–64); J. Senkowski, *Uniwersal poboru podatkowego z 1590 r.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 18 (3), 1970, p. 61–84 (in particular p. 75–77).

¹⁵ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje*, p. 106, 353.

number of soldiers sent to the Thirteen Years War, the amount of the alcohol excise tax paid and the presence of urban institutions such as guilds, hospitals and monasteries¹⁶. A modification to the town categorisation methods by Samsonowicz and Wiesiołowski has been recently suggested by Marek Słoń, who complemented the list of “urban-ness” criteria with the amount of the urban tax (*szos*) paid¹⁷.

Basic editions

Of breakthrough significance for the study of spatial aspects of the Polish economy at the beginning of the modern period were editions of two categories of mass sources, i.e. tax-related sources and goods inventory sources. The pioneer in this field was Adolf Pawiński, an expert on the political system of the state and its treasury in the period covering the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and Baroque; together with his associates and continuators at the end of the 19th century, under the “*Źródła Dziejowe*” (“Sources for the History”) series, he prepared editions of the oldest Polish tax registers along with preliminary works on the issues of population and economy. These were called *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym* (*Poland of the 16th Century in Geographic-Economic Perspective*) and were arranged by territory. The first volumes covered Greater Poland¹⁸, then Lesser Poland¹⁹, Mazovia²⁰, Podlachia²¹, Ruthenian territories (Red

Ruthenia²², Volhynia, Podolia²³ and the territory of Dnieper Ukraine)²⁴, Royal Prussia²⁵ and Livonia²⁶. Altogether in the years 1883–1915, the materials published triggered social and economic research at different scales. The source edition covered information about payers of four types of taxes: tax on farming land, land and city collection (*pobór ziemski i miejski*), alcohol excise tax, and urban tax paid by towns. The volumes on the Ruthenian lands were also complemented with inventory sources. The series by Pawiński, even though definitely a breakthrough, was not perfect. The next generations of historians, using not only sources published by Pawiński, but also accessing original materials in the archives, concluded that the series initiated by Pawiński did not meet publishing standards due to the amount of omissions, generalisations and mistakes. Since the 1950s, postulates have been made to either use archive materials directly or to prepare a new edition of tax sources from the 16th century²⁷. The challenge has been undertaken by the Historical Atlas Department at Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. The task of the team is to prepare electronic versions of tax registers from the 16th century available on the Internet in the form of a database, allowing both for the comparison of the transcribed text with the original and

¹⁶ J. Wiesiołowski, *Sieć miejska w Wielkopolsce w XII–XVI w. Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, 28 (3), 1980, p. 385–399.

¹⁷ M. Słoń, *Miasta prywatne w sieci miejskiej Wielkopolski XV–XVI wieku*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych”, 77, 2016, p. 93–123.

¹⁸ *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, t. 1–2: *Wielkopolska*, oprac. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1883 (Źródła Dziejowe, 12–13).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, t. 3–4: *Małopolska*, oprac. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1886–1895 (Źródła Dziejowe, 14–15).

²⁰ *Ibidem*, t. 5: *Mazowsze*, oprac. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1895 (Źródła Dziejowe, 16).

²¹ *Ibidem*, t. 6: *Podlasie*, cz. 1–3, oprac. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1908–1910 (Źródła Dziejowe, 17).

²² *Ibidem*, t. 7: *Ziemia ruskie*, cz. 1–2, oprac. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1902–1903 (Źródła Dziejowe, 18).

²³ *Ibidem*, t. 8: *Ziemia ruskie. Wołyń i Podole*, oprac. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1889 (Źródła Dziejowe, 19).

²⁴ *Ibidem*, t. 9–11: *Ziemia ruskie. Ukraina*, oprac. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1894–1897 (Źródła Dziejowe, 20–22).

²⁵ *Ibidem*, t. 12: *Prusy Królewskie*, wyd. I.T. Baranowski, Warszawa 1911 (Źródła Dziejowe, 23).

²⁶ *Ibidem*, t. 13: *Inflanty*, wyd. J. Jakubowski, J. Kordzikowski, Warszawa 1915 (Źródła Dziejowe, 24).

²⁷ I. Gieysztorowa, A. Żaboklicka, *Rejestry poborowe Mazowsza z XVI wieku. Uzasadnienie nowego wydawnictwa źródłowego*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, 3 (2), 1955, p. 339–340; W. Kula, *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej*, Warszawa 1963, p. 143; K. Mikulski, *Społeczeństwo i gospodarka*, in: *Spójnienie w przeszłość*, t. 1: *Średniowiecze, Nowożytność*, Warszawa 2009, p. 282–289.

for spatial identification. The currently available materials from Greater Poland (voivodeships: Poznań and Kalisz)²⁸ will in 2–3 years be complemented with editions of registers from the remaining regions of the present day Poland.

The second publishing series which had a tremendous impact on the study of economic geography of Poland is related to inspections of royal estates. By the decision of the Sejm of 1563, the royal estates were to be subjected to inspections by special committees composed of representatives of the king and the parliament, which were also to appraise their earning power. Such action was to be re-taken every 5 years. The materials left by the inspectors are vast and characterised by a varying degree of reliability. The basic record pattern includes information on the population of royal towns and villages, their professional structure, the level of feudal taxes imposed; it also offers data on farming and animal husbandry in the monarch's manors (Ger. *Volwerk*, Pol. *folwark*, plural form *folwarki*). The originators of the series decided to publish materials for each region in various time sections, related to the general political and economic situation of the country. Thus, today, when nearly 60 years have passed from the initiation of the series, we have at our disposal a full set of descriptions of royal estates of the first inspection dated 1564–1565²⁹, complemented with in-

ventories from 5 years before for some regions annexed by the Kingdom of Poland in 1569 (e.g. Podlachia)³⁰. The next time series is related to the period of wars of the mid-17th century, the published materials come from the second, third or the beginning of the fourth decade of the 17th century. The size of war damages resulting from the war with Sweden, Moscow, Cossacks and the Rákóczi invasion were to be illustrated with editions showing the royal estates at the end of the '50s and beginning of the '60s of the 17th century. The last two sections concern the second half of the 18th century; the first dates back to around 1765, while the other one was drawn up just before the fall of the state in 1789³¹.

Population of the Kingdom of Poland around 1580

Relatively richly preserved treasury sources from the 16th century, in particular from periods when the basis for taxation was updated, have become the starting point for estimations of the population of Poland in the early modern period and the study of economic geography of the country.

The estimations of the condition of the population of the country were usually carried out – like in the late Middle Ages – at the level of the entire provinces. Thus, we have calculations of the inhabitant numbers for Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Mazovia prepared by prominent demography experts such as Egone Vielrose, Witold Kula and Irena

²⁸ *Atlas historyczny Polski. Rejestry poborowe województwa kaliskiego w XVI w.*, in: *Atlas Źródeł i Materiałów do Dziejów Dawnej Polski*, nr 2, red. M. Stoń, oprac. A. Borek et al. (<http://atlasfontium.pl/index.php?article=kaliskie>, access: May 18, 2018); *Atlas historyczny Polski. Rejestry poborowe województwa poznańskiego w XVI w.*, in: *Atlas Źródeł i Materiałów do Dziejów Dawnej Polski*, nr 3, red. M. Stoń, oprac. A. Borek et al. (<http://atlasfontium.pl/index.php?article=poznanskie>, access: May 18, 2018).

²⁹ *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego 1564*, cz. 1–2, wyd. J. Małeckie, Warszawa 1962–1964; *Lustracja województwa lubelskiego 1565*, wyd. A. Wyczański, Wrocław–Warszawa 1959; *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1564–65*, wyd. W. Ochmański, Wrocław 1963; *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich 1564–1565*, cz. 1, wyd. A. Tomczak, C. Ohryzko-Włodarska, J. Włodarczyk, Bydgoszcz 1963; *ibidem*, cz. 2, wyd. A. Tomczak, Bydgoszcz 1963; *Lustracja województwa mazowieckiego 1565*, cz. 1–2, wyd. I. Gieysztorowa, A. Zaboklicka, Warszawa 1967–1968; *Lustracje województwa płockiego 1565–1789*, wyd. A. Sucheni-Grabow-

ska, S.M. Szacherska, Warszawa 1965; *Lustracje województwa rawskiego 1564 i 1570*, wyd. Z. Kędzierska, Warszawa 1959; *Lustracja województwa pomorskiego 1565*, wyd. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961; *Lustracja województw malborskiego i chełmińskiego 1565*, wyd. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961; *Lustracja województw ruskiego, podolskiego i brzeskiego*, cz. 1–2, wyd. K. Chłapowski, H. Żytkowicz, Warszawa–Łódź 1992–2001.

³⁰ *Lustracja województwa podlaskiego 1570 i 1576*, publ. J. Topolski, Wrocław 1959.

³¹ More about whole series see: K. Chłapowski, J. Dygdała, *Prace edytorskie nad lustracjami dóbr królewskich XVI–XVIII w.*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 43, 2005, p. 161–171.

Gieysztorowa³². These scholars used data from tax registers (*rejestr poboru*) for the land tax from the years 1578–1581, i.e. a tax which covered all social groups of village inhabitants. The urban tax, *szos*, was treated with more reserve, as it was calculated based on the value of property and had not been updated since the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Instead, in the estimations of the urban population, inspections and other inventory sources were used together with the collections register. Among demographic works, there is one which stands out – by Vielrose, who recreated the condition and structure of the population of Poland according to the criterion of residence with break-down into individual voivodeships³³. By adding data from Royal Prussia, we can obtain information on the population of the main provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, without Ruthenian lands and Podlachia (table 3).

Investigation of the estate structure of individual provinces of the country proved much more difficult. Although in the early modern period, the Polish-Lithuanian state was called the Commonwealth of the Nobility, a precise reconstruction of the estate structure of villagers remains to be conducted. Today, we can only point to vast discrepancies between specific regions. Estimations prepared for Greater and Lesser Poland indicate that in old, core provinces of the country its share in the society amounted to around 3%³⁴, in Mazovia it exceeded 23%³⁵, while in Podlachia it was likely even bigger, reaching several dozen percent; this was the world of minor, rather poor petty gentry, which, nevertheless, knew well its political rights.

According to Andrzej Wyczański, in the society of the whole country, the nobility constituted 5–6% of the inhabitants³⁶.

The wealth of the nobility

With the help of tax sources, attempts were also made to create an economic stratification of this dominant social group. The noble estate was extremely diverse, it included not only estate owners with thousands of peasants, but also gentry without any subordinates, working land on their own or not even owning land. Folwarks, which typically are assumed to be the source of wealth of the nobility, are very difficult to grasp in the sources, as information thereon is provided only at the occasions of land transactions, agreements of tenancy or pledge or court proceedings concerning inheritance. Folwark households were not burdened with taxes for the state and in tax sources we find no direct hint as to the scale of their existence, their organisation and character. But, as the land on which peasants of the nobility (but also of towns, the king and the Church) worked was taxed just like other forms of business of subordinate population (craft, trade), Wyczański suggested that the economic position of a given land owner could be deduced based on the amount of tax paid from his estates. According to this author, the tax rates were based on the economic potential of the taxed entities, and tax rates, which were the same across the country, make it possible to compare the economic situation of the privileged group on a macroscale. Wyczański himself applied the suggested convenient analytical tool only to the example of the voivodeship of Kraków in the 16th century³⁷. Wyczański's method was rejected by Krzysztof Boroda, who offered a stratification of the nobility of three voivodeships: Kraków, Łęczyca and Płock, also using tax sources, but in

³² W. Kula, *Stan*, p. 39–73, E. Vielrose, *Ludność*, p. 22–42; I. Gieysztorowa, *Ludność*, in: *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku*, t. 1, red. A. Mączak, Warszawa 1981, p. 431.

³³ E. Vielrose, *Ludność*, p. 39.

³⁴ A. Wyczański, *How Many Nobles Lived in 16th Century Poland – The Case of Cracow Voievodship*, in: *Economy, Society, Historiography*, ed. F. Glatz, Budapest 1989, p. 93–97.

³⁵ W. Kula, *Stan*, p. 71.

³⁶ A. Wyczański, *Szlachta polska XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2001, p. 17.

³⁷ Idem, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku. Studia*, Wrocław 1977, p. 9–69.

Table 3. Structure of the population of Poland around 1578 according to place of residence

Voivodeship	Villagers (in thousand)	Urban population (in thousand)	Total	Percentage of urban population
Poznań	186.6	90.1	276.7	33
Kalisz	222.5	92.3	314.8	29
Inowrocław	32.5	18.6	51.1	36
Brześć	87.4	27.2	114.6	24
Dobrzyń Land	45.0	9.1	54.1	17
Łęczyca	105.0	35.8	140.8	25
Sieradz and Wieluń Land	171.9	51.1	223.0	23
Greater Poland total	850.9	324.2	1175.1	28
Kraków	309.3	167.1	476.4	31
Sandomierz	386.0	131.1	517.1	25
Lublin	129.8	54.3	184.1	30
Lesser Poland total	825.1	352.5	1177.6	30
Płock	119.3	26.7	146.0	18
Rawa	110.1	28.6	138.7	20
Mazovian	422.6	92.3	514.9	18
Mazovia total	652.0	147.6	799.6	18
Pomeranian	92.0	55.0	147.0	37
Chełmno	65.0	30.0	95.0	32
Malbork	31.0	24.0	55.0	44
Royal Prussia total	188.0	109.0	297.0	38
Total	2516,0	933,3	3449,3	26

Data sources: E. Vielrose, "Ludność", p. 39; "Atlas historyczny Polski: Prusy Królewskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku", cz. 1, oprac. M. Biskup, L. Koca, Warszawa 1961, p. 73

a different manner³⁸. He decided that a better index of the economic standing of the nobility would be the size of the taxed acreage of farming land (both land used by peasants and land used directly by gentry without peasants). According to this author, the taxed acreage should have a corresponding proportional non-taxed body of land under the direct management of the nobleman, constituting the folwark or folwarks working to satisfy his personal

needs or export. Nevertheless, one must not overlook the reservation made by the author that "the numbers of hypothetically owned average folwarks matched with the specific wealth categories correspond neither to the real number of folwarks, nor to the real acreage of folwarks at the disposal of individual owners, but to the potential for their creation on the basis of the available serfdom delivered by peasants using their own tools and the personnel of folwarks³⁹". No sources are available

³⁸ K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, p. 131–257.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

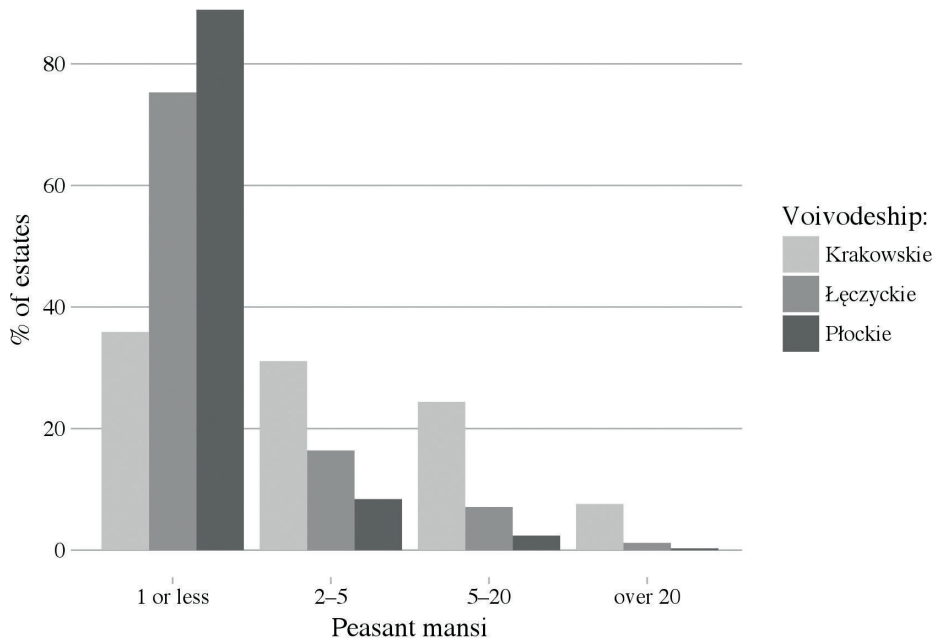


Diagram 1. Stratification of the nobility of voivodeships: Kraków, Łęczyca and Płock around 1578–1581.

Source: K. Boroda, "Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku", Białystok 2016, p. 131–257

to verify whether the folwark potential was used, and if yes, to what extent. Thus, when evaluating the economic standing of the nobility, we should stick to data relating to actually taxed acreage, i.e. that which was registered in tax documents. This means that both methods of using tax sources (Wyczański's and Boroda's), in the context of economic stratification of the nobility, are far from perfect and imprecise; it is also clear that they do not determine in full either the amount of the nobility's wealth or the amounts of their income. Nevertheless, it should be admitted that due to source limitations, these remain the only ways to determine, on a macroscale, the economic diversity of the key social group in the country. Thanks to these studies, we can point out huge diversity of the nobility in terms of wealth and specific characteristics of individual regions. The significant share of estates of petty gentry paying taxes from

acreage up to 1 peasant mansus (Pol. *łan kmięcy*) or working the land on their own comes as a surprise. In the Płock voivodeship, it amounted to nearly 89% of the nobility, in Łęczyca – over 75%, and in Kraków nearly 36%⁴⁰. On the other hand, the estates of middle nobility (5–20 taxed peasant mansi), which supposedly dominated the political and economic life, constituted in the voivodeship of Płock only 2.4% of all noblemen's estates, in Łęczyca – 7.1%, while in Kraków as much as 25.4%⁴¹ (diagram 1).

Folwarks

There is much less information on the economic organisation of noblemen's estates than on the large estates, mainly royal and the Church's, where the development of bureaucracy necessary for management

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 252.

⁴¹ Ibidem.

Table 4. Characteristics of model noblemen's folwarks in different regions of the country in the 16th century

	Lesser Poland	Mazovia	Eastern Greater Poland	Western Greater Poland
Folwark acreage (in tan)	4.0	3.6	3.6	3.6
Peasant household acreage (in tan)	4.8	5.5	3.5	4.4
Number of salaried servants	8	6	7–8	8
Number of cows	12	6	7	10
Number of sheep	16	27	42	94
Income from plant production (in %)	78.3	82.9	74.4	74.4
Income from animal husbandry (in %)	21.7	17.1	25.6	25.6
Income from 1 folwark tan (in zlotys)	55.20	39.90	37.20	46.90

Data source: A. Wyczański, "Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w Polsce w latach 1500–1580", Warszawa 1960, p. 234–261

had led to regular inventories being drawn up or bills kept. The key work on the organisation of noblemen's folwarks remains the work by Andrzej Wyczański, published over 50 years ago, in which the author demonstrated the regional specificity of households working not only to satisfy their own needs, but also producing for export⁴². On the basis of the analysis of inventories of noblemen's estates, the author distinguished four regions: Eastern Greater Poland, Western Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Mazovia, which differed in terms of average folwark households, the structure of the production and income.

Despite the creation of the general regional characteristic of folwark households, we are not able to reconstruct the map of folwarks in the entire country due to the aforementioned lack of entries in tax sources. One hint of existence of a folwark potential can be saturation of a region, an estate or a settlement

with peasants without land (lodgers) and peasants with little land (gardeners), i.e. population which had to support themselves with salaried work. Analyses of the presence of these population categories fall under the study of the professional structure of villagers. The first step in this direction was taken by the publishers of tax sources – Adolf Pawiński and Aleksander Jabłonowski⁴³. Later on, Jan Rutkowski⁴⁴ also followed in their footsteps, and recently this has also been done by Krzysztof Boroda. The last author did not consider the problem of peasants without land or with little land as an element of the social structure, but rather as a potential reservoir of labour necessary for the development of a folwark, which was, to a large extent, based on serfdom⁴⁵.

⁴³ Particular volumes of the series "Źródła Dziejowe" – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym* ("Sources for the History" – *Poland in the 16th c. in the geographic-statistical perspective*) include preliminary statistical works concerning those regions of the country which are the subject of the given volume.

⁴⁴ J. Rutkowski, *Statystyka zawodowa ludności wiejskiej w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Kraków 1918.

⁴⁵ K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza*, p. 259–400.

⁴² A. Wyczański, *Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w Polsce w latach 1500–1580*, Warszawa 1960.

Nevertheless, starting from the economy of the noble elite, Boroda also paid attention to the village craft and town specialisation seen through the perspective of treasury sources (urban collections). His analyses, just like in the case of farming economy, were focused on three voivodeships: Kraków, Łęczyca and Płock.

Economic potential of towns

The conducted analyses were focused on two aspects: determination of the character of urban centres against the economic background of the region and indication of the specialisations of individual towns. The first issue was addressed with the assumption that a town with up to 12 craftsmen had to be an agricultural town and craft, for the majority of inhabitants, could only be an additional source of income. In a town with between 13 and 25 craftsmen, agriculture was also dominant, but for some of them craft was the main source of income. Towns with between 26 and 50 craftsmen were clearly craft-oriented, but still some percentage of the population were farmers. Towns inhabited by 51 to 100 craftsmen were craft-oriented centres, where farming activities were additional sources of income, while in towns of more than 100 craftsmen, the majority of population had to live on the craft⁴⁶. The classification of towns and cities of the Kraków voivodeship confirmed the domination of Kraków, the capital of the country, the second biggest city in Poland after Gdańsk. Within the radius of 35–40 km around the city all other organisms with city rights were mixed craft/agriculture-oriented (up to 50 craftsmen) and should be treated as satellites of the capital. Other towns of the Kraków voivodeship (and the two other voivodeships studied by Boroda) fall under the characteristic of the typical Central European towns.

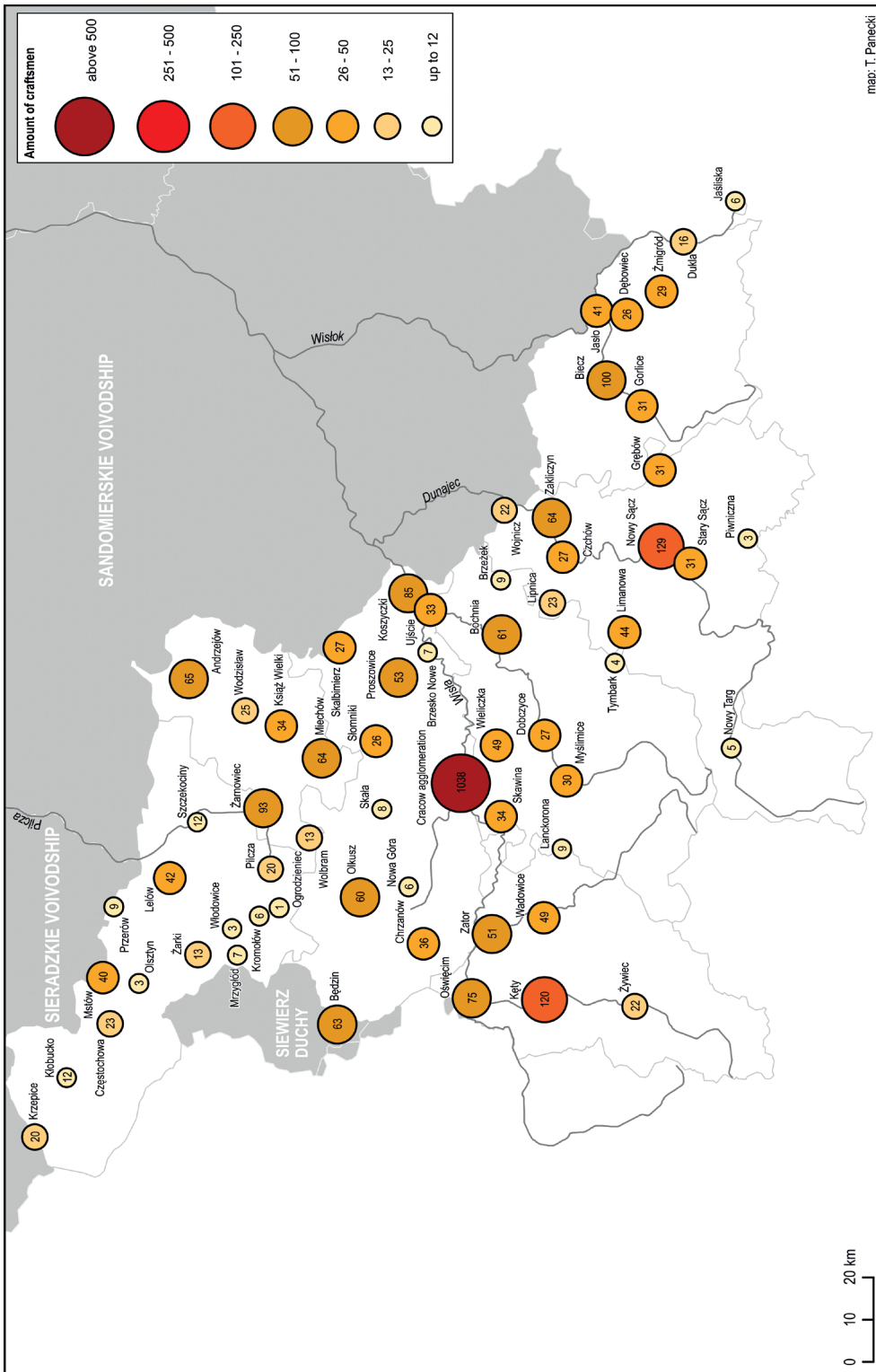
⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 414; A. Wyrobisz, *Functional Types of Polish Towns in the 16–18th Centuries*, "The Journal of European Economic History", 12 (1), 1983, p. 69–103.

In order to determine the craft specialisation of specific towns, Boroda distinguished 11 sectors of business activity and used them to analyse data in tax registers. According to this author, they were the following categories:

- exclusive production and services (pharmacies, goldsmiths, barbers, bath workers, playing cards makers, parchment makers, printers, painters, glassmakers, comb makers, stokers);
- construction works (masons, carpenters, stove fitters, joiners);
- production of dishes (potters, cooperers);
- production of raw leather (tanners) and leather clothing and accessories (shoemakers, purse makers, belt makers, furriers);
- production of clothing (tailors, hat makers, haberdashers);
- textile producers (cutters, dyers, drapers, linen makers, fustian makers, weavers, shearers);
- grease makers (soap makers, tallow makers, meat and salt traders squeezing oil);
- metallurgy and mechanical jobs (locksmiths, henchmen, turners, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, producers of items made of tin and gunmetal, bladesmiths, knife makers, needle makers);
- food processing (bakers, malt house workers, butchers, groats traders);
- production of harnesses, carts and ropes (harness makers, wheelers, carriage-builders, saddlers, rope makers);
- trade (bloater dealers, salt dealers, meat dealers, barterers, horse dealers, stallholders, traders)⁴⁷.

Analyses of the number of craftsmen or the resulting craft profiles of towns on the basis of registers of city collections do not render the economic potential of particular centres fully, but still they can definitely help to establish the place of a given centre

⁴⁷ K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza*, p. 425.



Map 1. Categorisation of towns of Kraków voivodeship in 1581 and 1588 according to the number of craftsmen. Source: K. Borada, "Geografia gospodarcza", p. 416

in the regional urban network, making it possible to establish whether “it served the function of a production centre for the agricultural surroundings, it was a satellite centre in relation to a bigger centre or whether it itself was a centre of agricultural production and a local goods exchange centre”⁴⁸. Slightly different in character are studies using registers of the alcohol excise tax paid on produced and sold beer, wine and meads. The amount of tax income on this account is informative of the level of production and consumption of the population (beer was a basic element of the diet), and even of the business rhythm of individual centres (sometimes the tax was paid on a quarterly basis). The voivodship of Kraków, which was characterised by the biggest production of beer and treasury income on this account, was divided by Boroda into two zones: the southern, where own production of innkeepers was significant, and the northern, where city and court-made beer dominated and there was virtually no own production by the innkeepers⁴⁹. Clearly, the most significant centre of beer production was the agglomeration of Kraków (3 legally separate entities: Kraków, Kazimierz, Kleparz), with the production volumes of 20,000,000–30,000,000 litres a year, “situating it in the group of large European production centres, and beer produced therein was consumed within the boundaries of the city itself and in the local market encompassing rural areas within the radius of 30 km”⁵⁰. A similar amount of production (25,000,000 litres) was achieved around 1560 by breweries in Gdańsk⁵¹.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 413.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 573.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 681.

⁵¹ A. Klonder, *Napoje fermentacyjne w Prusach Królewskich w XVI–XVII wieku (produkcja – import – konsumpcja)*, Wrocław et al. 1989, p. 34–37; idem, *Browarnictwo w Prusach Królewskich (2 połowa XVI–XVII w.)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1983.

Markets

The extent of the Kraków beer market, observed by Boroda, confirms the research into the capital market in the 16th century carried out more than 50 years earlier by Jan Małecki⁵². He noted that in order to meet the needs of the city inhabitants, animals for slaughter (primarily oxen) were brought from the area within the radius of approx. 30 km. Such a distance could be covered during one day. This author studied also the regional impact of the Kraków’s trade through the prism of the measurements used and the measurements of Kraków were used commonly within the distance of 20–30 km from the city⁵³. Unfortunately, even though the analysis of the market range based on former measurements is a basic method for studying economic relations in Poland in the past, so far, we have not seen a good synthetic work on this topic. The most attention in the context of economic geography was devoted to grain measurements due to their role in both internal and external trade. Of particular significance in this respect is the outstanding work by Stanisław Mielczarski on the grain trade in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century⁵⁴. Based on data from inspections from 1564–1565, 1569–1570 and 1616, he outlined, among others, the geography of basic grain measurements and local markets in the Kingdom of Poland, and his studies of this issue are the starting point for further researches⁵⁵.

The significance of Mielczarski’s work results primarily from him making an attempt to determine the scope of impact of grain export from Poland on the situation of the internal market. Mielczarski approached the issue comprehensively,

⁵² J. Małecki, *Studia nad rynkiem regionalnym Krakowa w XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1963.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 61–73.

⁵⁴ S. Mielczarski, *Rynek zbożowy na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku. Próba rejonizacji*, Gdańsk 1962.

⁵⁵ K. Skupieński, *Struktury systemowe polskich miar zbożowych w XVI wieku*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 69 (4), 1978, p. 623–646.

addressing the topic on many levels in terms of geography and economy. He assumed that “the goods market in the spatial sense is understood as the place where exchange takes place. Its constituents are: the centre of the market, the gravitating area and the gravitating area boundary. The centre of the market is the place where the processes of exchange concentrate, while the gravitating area covers the territory where the price, after subtraction of transport costs, tends to be the same. An auxiliary notion is the gravity direction, which points to the market centre. The most arbitrary notion is the gravitating area boundary, as there is no way to determine linear borders of economic phenomena, which change according to current economic conditions”⁵⁶. Having at his disposal data from the entire country, the scholar focused on three types of markets distinguished according to the territorial range and defined in the following way: “Local market is the smallest unit of exchange territory and the centre of this market impacts only the closest surroundings. Regional market is much bigger than local market and covers an area of one or several voivodeships. The superordinate unit for regional market is national market, overlapping on the area in question with the Vistula basin, where the trade was organised using the river to export goods from the whole country”⁵⁷.

In his analyses, Mielczarski employed the theory of the equilibrium price, because sale and purchasing of grain in Poland were performed under the conditions of free market, where all social groups could relatively freely participate. He arrived at the conclusion that even though he had at his disposal grain prices from different regions of the country, he was not able to compare them with each other due to the extremely complex system of Old

Polish measurements. Thus, he decided to observe mutual relations of the prices of two basic grains on local markets: oat produced and sold on site and intended for feed and rye sold both on the local market and exported from the country. The prices of oats were more stable, while those of rye were more prone to fluctuations of supply, demand and transport costs. According to the equilibrium price theory, in the long run prices aim at an equilibrium, i.e. the level when the amount of demand is equal to the amount of supply. Małecki determined the mutual relation of the prices of oat and rye under the conditions of market equilibrium, and then observed their level in individual regions. As a result, maps were created which illustrated regionalisation of the production, local, regional markets as well as the range of Gdańsk trade. Piotr Guzowski went in Małecki’s footsteps, and, using the method of the latter and a slightly broader source basis, determined the situation on local and regional markets of wheat and barley and the impact thereon of the export and the internal market⁵⁸.

The discussion of the grain market in Poland, apart from data from inspections and inventories, is based also on two more sources. The first are customs registers, starting with internal country registers and ending with the Sund dues registers. Among country customs, customs register from the customs house in Włocławek⁵⁹, published in 1915, are an outstanding example; they have been used in analyses of the Vistula trade by Stanisław Kutrzeba, Robert Ernst Raths and, first and foremost, Roman Rybarski⁶⁰. They enable

⁵⁸ P. Guzowski, *The Influence of Exports on Grain Production on Polish Royal Demesne Farms in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, “Agricultural History Review”, 59, 2011, p. 312–327.

⁵⁹ *Regestra theloni aquatici Wladislawiensi saeculi XVI*, wyd. S. Kutrzeba, F. Duda, Kraków 1915.

⁶⁰ S. Kutrzeba, *Wista w historii gospodarczej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warszawa 1920; R.E. Raths, *Der Weichselhandel im XVI Jahrhundert*, Marburg 1927; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, t. 1–2, Warszawa 1958.

⁵⁶ S. Mielczarski, *Rynek zbożowy*, p. 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

Table 5. Geographic origination of grains transported directly through the customs office in Włocławek (Kuyavia)

Region name	1537	1546	1556	1568	1575
Nieszawa and Dobrzyń Land	–	0.9	1.1	0.2	1.8
Brześć Kujawski Voivodeship	–	0.2	11.5	5.6	4.8
Płock Voivodeship	21.9	5.7	5.9	8.4	4.7
Rawa Voivodeship	19.7	21.4	5.4	5.3	7.2
Lands: Zakroczym, Wyszogród, Czersk, Warszawa	39.5	36.7	16.9	21.6	19.8
Lands: Ciechanów, Różan, Łomża, Wizna, Liw, Nur	9.2	5.9	15.6	17.1	19.8
Other regions of Mazovia	0.2	6.9	1.0	1.8	1.8
Sieradz, Łęczyca, Kalisz Voivodeships	1.5	–	3.6	1.2	44.0
Sandomierz Voivodeship	4.5	3.4	11.3	9.8	15.1
Lublin Voivodeship	–	7.6	5.5	6.5	7.9
Kraków Voivodeship	–	6.5	1.0	0.6	–
Podlachia Voivodeship	2.6	0.5	6.8	6.2	7.3
Brześć Litewski Voivodeship	–	1.4	0.4	1.9	–
Lithuania	2.2	1.3	1.8	0.2	0.6
Betz Voivodeship	–	–	8.5	5.3	1.6
Chełm Land	–	–	3.7	2.6	1.7
Volhynia Voivodeship	–	–	–	3.3	1.5
Ruthenian Voivodeship	–	1.3	0.1	2.2	–

Data source: R. Rybarski, "Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu", t. 2, Warszawa 1958, tab. 4; S. Gierszewski, "Wisła w dziejach Polski", Gdańsk 1982, p. 64–65

determination of the originating sites of grains transported from the interior of the country via the Vistula.

Roman Rybarski used also customs books from the house on the Nogat in Biała Góra. Thanks to this, it was possible to discuss the grain trade in the basin of the Lower Vistula – in the northern

Greater Poland and Royal Prussia⁶¹. In the literature, also data obtained from customs houses in Warsaw were analysed; these were crucial for the evaluation of the role of Mazovia in export⁶². There

⁶¹ Ibidem, t. 1, p. 38–39.

⁶² T. Chudoba, Z zagadnień handlu wiślanego Warszawy w XVI wieku, "Przegląd Historyczny", 50 (2), 1959, p. 297–321; idem, Warszawski rynek zbożowy w XVI wieku, "Rocznik Warszawski", 6, 1967, p. 15–47;

have also been attempts at determination of the range of Baltic trade of grain in the context of the Crown's territories in Ukraine (Volhynia, Red Ruthenia) and the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania⁶³. Here, apart from transport using the Vistula, it was also necessary to consider the Neman⁶⁴. A synthetic summary of nearly one hundred years of research can be found in an article by Zenon Guldon and Jadwiga Muszyńska, which in terms of chronology covers not only the period of the economic growth of Poland in the 16th century, but also the later period of the crisis in the 17th century and the economic restoration in the second half of the 18th century⁶⁵. Possibilities of using various types of data from customs houses are in the case of the Polish territories few. This results from the fact that the majority of registers were destroyed during the World War II and, in spite of occasional publication of preserved and discovered, even today, fragments of sources of this type⁶⁶, we cannot expect to find comprehensive, in terms of chronology and subject matter, information that Rybarski obtained before the war, when writing the fundamental work entitled *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu (Trade and Trade Politics of Poland in the 16th*

*Century)*⁶⁷. The awareness of the importance of including Poland in the global trade system has directed the attention of Polish scholars also to the broader, Baltic context of the export from the Polish territory. Its scale and significance were most comprehensively presented by Antoni Mączak in the work *Między Gdańskiem a Sundem (Between Gdańsk and Sund)*⁶⁸ and his observations were complemented by a database illustrating Baltic trade created by Krzysztof Narojczyk⁶⁹.

The other source supporting research into grain economy and trade on a macro-scale, which complements data from the inspections, are collections of prices and salaries from Polish towns. The publishing series, initiated before the World War II, covered the biggest centres of the former Commonwealth: Kraków, Gdańsk, Warszawa, Lwów and Lublin⁷⁰. Apart from the data for Kraków, which were collected for the period from the end of the 14th century, the collections for the other cities concern the early modern era. They have become the foundation for various studies into the integration of markets within the country and the relations of the Polish economy with international trade. The movement of prices in this perspective was investigated both by prominent historians of the classical Polish school of geographic history, such as Witold Kula⁷¹, and contemporary scholars concerned with issues

D. Głowska, *Udział duchowieństwa mazowieckiego w wiślanym spławie zboża w XVI w.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 42 (3–4), 1994, p. 317–324.

⁶³ J. Oleksicki, *Spław zboża rzeką Narwią w XVI w.*, in: *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, red. A. Wyrobisz, Warszawa 1981, p. 105–144; A. Wyrobisz, *Spław na Bugu w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 32 (4), 1984, p. 471–490; Z. Guldon, *W kwestii udziału Ukrainy w handlu zbożowym z Gdańskiem w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, "Zapiski Historyczne", 30 (3), 1965, p. 67–73.

⁶⁴ A. Groth, *Statystyka handlu morskiego portów Zalewu Wiślanego w latach 1581–1712*, Wrocław 1990; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Związki handlowe ziem litewskich i białoruskich z Królewcem w świetle rejestrów celnych komory grodzieńskiej z lat 1600 i 1606*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 1, 1993, p. 21–31.

⁶⁵ Z. Guldon, J. Muszyńska, *Zasięg gdańskiego i królewieckiego rynku zbożowego a rozwój gospodarki folwaczno-pańszczyźnianej w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Czasy Nowożytne", 4, 1998, p. 141–165.

⁶⁶ *Księgi celne Korony z drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, wyd. S. Kazusek, Kielce 2017.

⁶⁷ A discussion of the possibilities of using preserved customs registers is offered by T. Związek, *Uwagi w związku z edycją "Księg celnych Korony z drugiej połowy XVI wieku"*, wyd. S. Kazusek, Kielce 2017, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 78, 2017, p. 395–420.

⁶⁸ A. Mączak, *Między Gdańskiem a Sundem. Studia nad handlem bałtyckim od połowy XVI do połowy XVII w.*, Warszawa 1972.

⁶⁹ M. Malinowski, *Little Divergence Revisited: Polish Weighted Real Wages in European Perspective, 1500–1800*, "European Review of Economic History", 20 (3), 2016, p. 345–367; idem, *Serfs and the City: Market Conditions, Surplus Extraction Institutions, and Urban Growth in Early Modern Poland*, "European Review of Economic History", 20 (2), 2016, p. 123–146.

⁷⁰ W. Adamczyk, *Ceny w Lublinie*, Lwów 1935; idem, *Ceny w Warszawie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1938; S. Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1928; J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600*, Lwów 1935; idem, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1937.

⁷¹ W. Kula, *Teoria ekonomiczna ustroju feudalnego*, Warszawa 1983.

of little divergence in the early modern Europe⁷².

Conclusion

The synthetic outline of selected Polish studies into the economy of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period presented above surely does not exhaust the topic of economic geography. Certain economic issues, which are particularly important for the spatial perspective, deserve a separate work due to a long tradition of research. These include issues of fairs and markets⁷³ or commercial contacts⁷⁴. Recently, environmental history has started to develop with the geographic-economic aspect playing a key role⁷⁵. Although we cannot say that economic geography is a strong trend in historical research, in the perspective of the digitalisation of the

humanities of the recent years it is facing a tremendous chance for development. Undoubtedly, much support for works devoted to economic geography can be found in publishing series which for many years have been prepared at Tadeusz Manteuffel History Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, such as: Historical Atlas of Poland and Historico-geographic dictionary of Polish territories in the Middle Ages, which have been undergoing digitalisation in the recent years. The repeatedly aforementioned work of Krzysztof Boroda, presenting geography of tax incomes in the 16th century, introduced GIS methods to the relatively conservative research of early modern economy⁷⁶. ■

Translated by Paulina Wactawik

⁷² M. Malinowski, *Little Divergence*, p. 345–367; idem, *Serfs*, p. 123–146.

⁷³ Key works on this topics include: S. Lewicki, *Targi lwowskie, od XIV–XIX wieku*, Lwów 1921; J. Topolski, *Rola Gniezna w handlu europejskim od XV do XVII w.*, "Studia i Materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza", 7 (2), 1962, p. 5–78; S. Gierszewski, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe mniejszych miast województwa pomorskiego w XVI i XVII w.*, Gdańsk 1966; H. Samsonowicz, *Jarmarki w Polsce na tle sytuacji gospodarczej w Europie w XV–XVI wieku*, in: *Europa – Słowiańszczyzna – Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, red. J. Bardach, Poznań 1970, p. 523–532; J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu polskiego w XVI–XVII wieku. Handel wołami*, Gdańsk 1977; J. Kurkowski, *Sieć jarmarczna województwa lubelskiego w XVI w.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", 34 (2), 1986, p. 227–247; J. Wiesiołowski, *Targi, targowiska, jarmarki w późnośredniowiecznej aglomeracji poznańskiej*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2, 1996, p. 7–24; J. Kus, *Jarostaw ośrodkiem wielkiego handlu w XVI–XVII w.*, "Muzeum w Jarostawiu. Zeszyty Muzealne", 1, 1996, p. 51–70; idem, *Jarmarki jarostawskie i ich wpływ na rozwój miasta w XVI i XVII wieku*, "Rocznik Historyczno-Archivalny", 9, 1995, p. 29–43; P. Paluchowski, *Miejsca i terminy jarmarków na terenie Prus Królewskich i Książęcych w końcu XVI wieku na podstawie wykazów z gdańskich kalendarzy*, "Czasz Nowożytny", 24, 2011, p. 37–59.

⁷⁴ H. Samsonowicz, *Handel Lublina na przełomie XV i XVI w.*, "Przegląd Historyczny", 59 (4), 1968, p. 612–627; idem, *Horyzonty przestrzennego małego miasta. Kontakty Brześcia Kujawskiego w XV w.*, in: *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, red. K. Baczkowski et al., Kraków 1995, p. 355–360; G. Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni gospodarczej Europy (XIII–XV w.). Centrum czy peryferie?*, Wrocław 2009; J. Lorenc, *Zasięg kontaktów mieszkańców małego miasta a ich horyzont geograficzny. Przykład Szadka w XV wieku*, in: *Życie codzienne w antycznej i średniowiecznej Europie, wybrane zagadnienia*, red. A. Żuchowska, K. Bałękowski, Lublin 2016, p. 193–218.

⁷⁵ A. Izdebski et al., *On the Use of Palynological Data in Economic History: New Methods and Application to Agricultural Output in Central Europe, 0–2000 AD*, "Explorations in Economic History", 59, 2016, p. 17–29.

⁷⁶ The research for this article was supported by Poland's National Programme for the Development of Humanities as part of the project "Historical Atlas of 16th century Poland – the series completed and supplemented" in the years 2015–2020 no. 1aH15037383.

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Summary

The aim of this article is to present the results of works in the field of economic history and historical demographics, which make it possible to understand the economic geography of Poland in the period of economic growth 14–16th century better. I will focus on such issues as population geography, urbanisation, folwark

economy, markets and division into regions of grain production. Key source editions have also been presented, which make it possible to analyse the condition and structure of the population and economy in the 16th century, i.e. tax registers and inventories of royal estates from the years 1564–1565. ■

Keywords: economic geography, population, urbanisation, manorial economy, local and regional markets

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