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## The street names in East Central European cities and towns in the pre-industrial period from a comparative perspective\*\*

Nazwy ulic w miastach i miasteczkach  
Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w okresie przedustrialnym  
w perspektywie porównawczej

**Abstract:** This research explores the realm of pre-industrial street names within East Central European cities, aiming to unveil the historical, linguistic, and socio-cultural dimensions they encapsulate. Through a cross-regional analysis, common archetypes and naming patterns were researched, transcending geographical confines. The study underscores the relevance of historical atlases in facilitating comparative research, shedding light on street names as repositories of narratives. These names, carrying echoes of professions, ethnic origins, and geographical landmarks, serve as windows into urban evolution and societal dynamics. By embracing the complexity of street names, this research emphasizes the importance of studying street names as sources of urban history.

**Keywords:** street names, historical atlases, pre-industrial cities, comparative analysis

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**Streszczenie:** Badanie to zagłębia się w dziedzinę przedindustrialnych nazw ulic w miastach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, mając na celu odsłonięcie historycznego, językowego i społeczno-kulturowego wymiaru, który one zawierają. Poprzez analizę międzyregionalną zbadano wspólne archetypy i wzorce nazewnictwa, wykraczające poza granice geograficzne. Artykuł podkreśla znaczenie atlasów historycznych w ułatwianiu badań porównawczych, rzucając światło na nazwy ulic jako repozytoria narracji. Nazwy te, niosące echa zawodów, pochodzenia etnicznego i punktów orientacyjnych, służą jako okno na ewolucję miast i dynamikę społeczną. Obejmując złożoność nazw ulic, badania te podkreślają znaczenie studiowania nazw ulic jako źródeł historii miast.

**Słowa kluczowe:** nazwy ulic, atlasy historyczne, miasta przedindustrialne, analiza porównawcza

Names in cities are valuable historical sources that carry information about the town's history and the people who live there. Street names consist of encoded messages and meanings related to the functionality of urban space and social structure in old cities and towns. These names are valuable historical sources, carrying information about the town's history and the people who lived there. They function as basic codes that convey messages and meanings reflecting the urban space's functionality and social structure in historic cities. Their comparison can show the presence or absence of common cultural patterns in different historical regions.

There are many historical, linguistic, geographical, sociological, and, especially, sociotopographical studies on street names, and of course, researchers have analyzed street names using different methodological approaches. Polish historians Roman Chaja and Zdzisław Noga argued that the city space is not only a place where social processes took place but also a product of human activity and imagination. At the same time, the names of late medieval and early modern cities represented citizens' perceptions of the space around them. The mental aspect of street naming remains a relatively unexplored research area, particularly within a comparative context. Based on their thesis, I intend to compare street names and their perception in different historical regions – Lesser Poland, Silesia and Prussia – and explore the existence of common archetypes.

Several articles state the prospects for a comparative approach using Lviv and other Polish cities. But there is still a great field for future research. This work aims to expand a comparative analysis of Poland's territory and test the use of atlases as a basis and source for my research. The article is devoted to a comparative study of street names in selected cities of the research region.

Various cities that emerged in the historical regions of Lesser Poland, Silesia, and Prussia since the Middle Ages were selected for comparison. These selected cities span a range of categories: metropolitan cities (Kraków, Wrocław); large cities (Elbląg, Toruń); medium-sized cities that served as regional centers (Lviv, Chełmno); and a small residential town (Ziębice); a private town (Koronowo); a mining town (Bochnia).<sup>1</sup>

Hungarian researchers, Katalin Szende and Magdolna Szilágyi proposed a broad typology of more than 500 cities published in the “Atlas of Historic Cities” project.<sup>2</sup> They classified all cities according to the following types: agricultural; industrial; trade; mining; cities with a river port; cities with a seaport; spa-cities;<sup>3</sup> fortified and fortress cities; cities where secular power and administration are located; cities and centers of church power and administration; university cities; ancient cities;<sup>4</sup> and cities founded in the Middle Ages. The article provides a list of all cities with historical atlases classified as the types mentioned above. Table<sup>5</sup> shows that each city belonged to several types simultaneously. There are hardly any identical towns. However, this typological diversity emphasizes the presence of common cultural patterns across different historical regions in this study.

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<sup>1</sup> R. Czaja, *Historical Atlas of Polish Towns – between source edition and the cartographic presentation of research on the history of towns*, “*Studia Geohistorica*” 2019, vol. 6, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> K. Szende, M. Szilágyi, *Town typology in the context of historic towns atlases: A target or a tool?*, in: *Political functions of urban spaces and town types through the ages. Making use of the historic towns atlases in Europe*, eds. R. Czaja et al., Cracow–Toruń–Vienna 2019, p. 267–302.

<sup>3</sup> “Towns where baths of recreational and medical qualities had a significant impact on urban development are clearly identified through their facilities for special uses of mineral or thermal water”. *Ibidem* p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Cities that arose on the sites of ancient settlements.

<sup>5</sup> K. Szende, M. Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, p. 284–301.

A researcher from Ireland – Prof. Angrét Simms<sup>6</sup> – in a paper on the challenges of comparative studies in the project of historical atlases of European cities, points out that in the early stages of discussions of the project after the 1950s, researchers assumed that large-scale maps would be the best type of source for the comparative analysis of European cities. Additionally, comparison was an integral part of the initial concept behind the Historical Atlas project as an academic method. The standard requirements for the publication of the atlas, which were formed by the International Commission on the History of Cities in 1967 and somewhat more clearly defined after the meeting of the Atlas Working Group in Munich in 1995, were to contribute to this: standard scales for mandatory maps, the presence of a textual, historical essay, and the inclusion of historic maps and views of the city.<sup>7</sup>

However, over time, as more countries joined the project and published their own city atlases, certain practical realities complicated the possibility of a comparative approach. Angret Simms presents six problems that researchers have faced (conceptual approaches [or rather deviations from rules – O.V.] of established publication rules; disproportionate base maps for comparison; uneven presentation of data; language barriers; difficulties accessing or purchasing atlases; and terminology).<sup>8</sup> I also encountered certain challenges while conducting this research.

First, it is worth noting that the selection of cities for comparison was partially determined by the availability of atlases on the official website of one of the publishing projects: Historical Atlas of Polish Cities.<sup>9</sup> On a related note, it is important to mention that the publication in electronic format of at least some maps of Ukrainian cities (within the constraints of

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<sup>6</sup> A. Simms, *The challenge of comparative urban history for the European Historic Towns Atlas project*, in: *Political functions of urban spaces and town types through the ages...*, p. 303–321.

<sup>7</sup> M. Kapral', *Європейський атлас історичних міст: концепція, реалізація й український контекст*, “Український історичний журнал” 2014, vol. 4, p. 147–160 [M. Капраль, *Європейський атлас історичних міст: концепція, реалізація й український контекст*, “Український історичний журнал” 2014, № 4, с. 147–160.] Some detail about the process: p. 151–152.

<sup>8</sup> Details about problems and challenges: A. Simms, op. cit., p. 308–310.

<sup>9</sup> <http://atlasmiast.umk.pl/atlasy/>.

property rights), of which five volumes have already been published: Lviv, Halych, Zhovkva, Zhydachiv, and Belz, would contribute to the emergence of a more significant number of urban comparative studies in Ukraine and clarification of local features of such cities for foreign researchers because all Ukrainian town atlases also include an English version of the introductory text and maps.

As mentioned earlier, the Atlas Working Group meeting in May 1995 in Münster (which, by virtue of the venue, was called the Münster Agreement) declared that a historical essay should be a mandatory element of every atlas. However, this may vary in thematic content and volume.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, specific requirements for the content and structure of historical essays were not thoroughly discussed. It seems quite logical that teams of atlas compilers, aiming to present their materials to the broadest possible range of foreign researchers, opted for a bilingual format in publishing atlases. However, the city atlases analyzed for this study are presented in Polish-English and Polish-German. For example, the atlases of the cities of Bochnia, Ziębice, Koronowo, Lviv, Kraków, and Toruń contain the English version either in parallel or in the second half. Atlases of Chełmno and Elbląg have a German version. The Wrocław atlas has only Polish text. Such diversity causes a problem: the issue of language barriers for foreign researchers. Thus, to compare street names in this study, it was necessary to choose the Polish language as the common language of all atlases published in Poland. Hence, the names are presented in both Polish and English in the table.

Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that numerous studies explicitly focus on street names within specific cities, often using them as additional sources, such as in socio-topographical research. The authors approach the stages of formation of all names and their origins in great detail.

Comprehensive studies of this nature were conducted by Stanisław Tomkowicz,<sup>11</sup> and further elaborated upon by Elżbeta Supranowych<sup>12</sup> re-

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<sup>10</sup> F. Opll, *The European Atlas of Historic Towns. Project, vision, achievements*, “Ler História” 2011, vol. 60; <https://journals.openedition.org/lerhistoria/1544?lang=en>.

<sup>11</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów: ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Kraków 1926.

<sup>12</sup> E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, Kraków 1995.

garding Kraków street names. Krysztof Mikulski<sup>13</sup> and Roman Chaja<sup>14</sup> conducted similar research on Toruń. Zygmunt Antkowiak<sup>15</sup> delved into Wrocław's street names. Maryana Dolynska<sup>16</sup> focused on Lviv, among others. However, for the purpose of comparing street names in this study, text essays and maps from historical city atlases were chosen as the primary sources to explore the potential utility of atlases for comparative research.

In not all atlases did the authors pay due attention to ancient street names. Although old maps contain names, they mainly describe the periods of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, where the names may have changed since earlier periods. Street names are rarely marked on reconstruction maps (for example, streets are not indicated on the map dedicated to the development of the area of Stary Sącz (1400–1770),<sup>17</sup> or modern ones are marked (as seen on the map depicting the professional structure of Toruń taxpayers in 1455<sup>18</sup>). Of course, this approach of compilers of atlases and authors of maps helps the researcher to orient himself and imagine the reconstruction in the modern space of the city. However, it does not take into account an equally important source – names in the city.

Fortunately, the authors of the textual sections of atlases devoted more attention to the old nomenclature, and along with the modern names in parentheses, they presented the ancient ones or vice versa. As a result, it became possible to extract city names from the text of Lviv,<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> K. Mikulski, *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo Torunia od końca XIV do początku XVIII wieku. Topografia i hodonomastyka Nowego Miasta Torunia w XIV–XVIII*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 1999, vol. 62 (1), p. 7–38.

<sup>14</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992.

<sup>15</sup> Z. Antkowiak, *Ulice i place Wrocławia*, Wrocław 1970.

<sup>16</sup> M. Dolins'ka, *Ístorična topografiâ L'vova XIV–XIX st.*, Lviv 2006 [М. Долинська, *Історична топографія Львова XIV–XIX ст.*, Львів 2006.]

<sup>17</sup> [http://atlasmiast.umk.pl/pliki/stary\\_sacz/AHMP\\_Stary\\_Sacz\\_3\\_6.pdf](http://atlasmiast.umk.pl/pliki/stary_sacz/AHMP_Stary_Sacz_3_6.pdf)

<sup>18</sup> [http://atlasmiast.umk.pl/pliki/torun\\_ii/AHMP\\_Torun\\_II\\_24\\_1.pdf](http://atlasmiast.umk.pl/pliki/torun_ii/AHMP_Torun_II_24_1.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> *Atlas ukraïns'kih istoričnih mîst.* – vol. 1: *L'VIV* / scientific edition of the atlas M. Kapral'; the authors: M. Dolins'ka, Ú. Diba, T. Grinčišin, U. Ívanočko, M. Kapral', U. Krištalovič, Ú. Lukoms'kij, Í. Okončenko, O. Okončenko, V. Petegirič, B. Posac'kij, A. Felonûk, S. Âmelinec'. K: DNVP "Katografiâ", 2014. – 95 pp. + 42 maps [Атлас українських історичних міст. – Т. 1: ЛЬВІВ / Наук. ред. атласу М. Капраль; Автори: М. Долинська, Ю. Диба, Т. Гринчишин, У. Іваночко, М. Капраль, У. Кришталович,

Kraków,<sup>20</sup> Wrocław,<sup>21</sup> Toruń,<sup>22</sup> Elbląg,<sup>23</sup> Chełmno,<sup>24</sup> Koronowo,<sup>25</sup> Ziębice,<sup>26</sup> and Bochnia<sup>27</sup> and organize them in a table based on their types.

It must be stated that the variety of names was actually more extensive than what is presented in the table. Przemysław Tyszka, researching how Kraków's inhabitants perceived the urban space during the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, suggests grouping street names according to the formulas: 1) street + proper name; 2) place A + landmark.<sup>28</sup> The first formula includes names that contain a denotation (the word 'street') and a proper name: e.g., Baker street, Wide Street. The second formula involves names without denotation, primarily used with a preposition, as proposed by Tyszka. For example, the names *Ante Portam Cracoviensem* (in front of Kraków Gate) or *circa fontem Regium* (near the royal spring)<sup>29</sup> are recorded in Lviv.<sup>30</sup> These names did not undergo transformation and remained unchanged in such variants for centuries. In this paper, I will analyze street names that belong mainly

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Ю. Лукомський, І. Оконченко, О. Оконченко, В. Петегирич, Б. Посацький, А. Фелонюк, С. Ямелинець. К: ДНВП "Катографія", 2014. – 95 с. + 42 карти.]

<sup>20</sup> *Atlas historyczny Polski*, vol. 5 (1): *Małopolska*, Kraków, 2007; *Atlas historyczny Polski. Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, part 2: *Komentarz, indeksy*, ed. H. Rutkowski, Warszawa 2008, p. 319 + 13 maps. The streets of Kleparz and Kazimierz towns are also listed in the atlas, but they are not included in the table.

<sup>21</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 4 (13): *Śląsk*, Wrocław 2017.

<sup>22</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 1 (8): *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, Toruń 2019.

<sup>23</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 1 (1): *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, Elbląg 1993.

<sup>24</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 1 (3): *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, Chełmno 1999; *Atlas historyczny miast polskich. Prusy królewskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 2: *Komentarz, indeksy*, ed. T. Panecki, M. Słoń, Warszawa 2021, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 2 (2): *Kujawy*, Koronowo 2016.

<sup>26</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 4 (16): *Śląsk, Ziębice* 2014.

<sup>27</sup> *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 5 (4): *Małopolska*, Bochnia 2016.

<sup>28</sup> P. Tyszka, *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV–XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców*, Lublin 2001, p. 138–147.

<sup>29</sup> <https://map.humaniora.ucu.edu.ua/en/>.

<sup>30</sup> There is my database of street names of the late medieval and early modern period (1382–1768) appears like an interactive map of Lviv, where the streets are shown on the map of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, there is a layer with a modern map that allows to understand their location. The names are taken from tax (szos) books, and, since such registers were kept only in the 16–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the names of streets of the earlier period are recorded from the oldest city books.

to the first formula because such names are best suited for comparison in several cities of different types.

Many researchers working on city names paid particular attention to the classification of names. Researching the informative function of the medieval street names of Kraków, Poznań, and Wrocław, Barbara Miszewska points out that ancient city names had an applied function, generally informing about the location of certain objects in space, and identifies eight types.<sup>31</sup>

Ewa Oronowych-Kida aimed to clarify the understanding of the term 'topographical names' in plateonymy within literature. However, after analyzing several researchers' works, she concluded that for many years it was not possible to formulate a generally accepted definition for such names. And topographical names are often interpreted either in a very narrow sense or, on the contrary, in very broad categories.<sup>32</sup> Andrzej Wyrobisz observed that despite various attempts to classify city names in multiple studies (both historical and philological or linguistic), none of them turned out to be exhaustive or satisfactory.<sup>33</sup>

Linguist Prof. Kwiryna Handke proposed classification and division into types of all names found in Polish cities, which is used by many researchers.

First of all, it is worth distinguishing two large groups – motivated and unmotivated.<sup>34</sup> The first group comprises names with a genuine basis and a documented historical naming process. In contrast, the second group lacks such a basis, and the process of their formation remains unrecorded. In this study, attention is paid only to the names that functioned in pre-in-

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<sup>31</sup> B. Miszewska, *Informacyjna funkcja zachowanych średniowiecznych nazw ulicy Krakowa, Poznania i Wrocławia*, in: *Miasta w badaniach geografów*, vol. 1, eds. P. Trzepacz, J. Więcław-Michniewska, A. Brzos, Kraków 2015, p. 261.

<sup>32</sup> E. Oronowicz-Kida, *Topographical names in Polish plateonymy: Scope and evolution of the term*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Sectio FF, Philologiae" 2019, vol. 37 (1), p. 139.

<sup>33</sup> A. Wyrobisz, *Nazwy ulic, placów i dzielnic w miastach polskich: nośniki informacji – źródła historyczne – zabytki kultury*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 1999, vol. 90 (4), p. 512.

<sup>34</sup> K. Handke, *Dzieje Warszawy naziwami pisane*, Warszawa 2011, p. 26–27.

dustrial times and existed in the city space for a long time; that is, they endured through the period of formation.

Additionally, Kwiryna Handke introduced the concept of archetypes for names formed in Rome, where the name of a city gate was replicated by the name of the road extending from it (for example, *porta Aurelia / via Aurelia, porta Latina / via Latina*).<sup>35</sup> Some of these names of gates and, in my case, streets were directional: in Kraków – *Stawkowska Gate / Stawkowska Street*; in Toruń – *Chełmińska Gate / Chełmińska Street*; in Wrocław – *Świdnicka Gate / Świdnicka Street, Oławska Gate / Oławska Street*; in Elbląg – *Malborska Gate / Malborska Street*; in Chełmno – *Grubińska Gate / Grubińska Street and Merseburska Gate / Merseburska Street*; in Ziębice – *Paczkowska Gate / Paczkowska Street*; in Bochnia – *Krakowska Gate / Krakowska Street, Sandecka gate / Sandecka Street, Tarnowska gate / Tarnowska Street*; in Lviv – *Halytska Gate / Halytska Street*.

In Lviv, it is worth noting the Tatar Gate and Street, which was last recorded in the sources in 1423. And since 1441, it has already been mentioned as a directional street: Krakowska Gate and Street. This change effectively exemplifies the archetype mentioned earlier, involving the duplication of the gate's name with the street's name.

Upon initial examination, the toponym 'Merseburg' might not overtly convey directional connotations. Nevertheless, the scholarly investigations by Ferdinand Schulz, which focus on the medieval context of Chełmno, suggest that the initial German settlers from Magdeburg who inhabited this place contributed to the emergence of this appellation.<sup>36</sup>

Ferdinand Oppl, while researching the topographical names of city gates in the Middle Ages, among others,<sup>37</sup> singled out names referring to a place located in the immediate vicinity of the city gate and names referring to a place located at a great distance from a certain city gate.<sup>38</sup> If the former

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<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> F. Schulz, *Die Stadt Kulm im Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1888, vol. 23, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> F. Oppl, *Topographische Benennungen in der mittelalterlichen Stadt als Spiegel von Raumvorstellungen*, in: *Cities and their spaces. Concepts and their use in Europe*, eds. M. Pauly, M. Scheutz, Köln–Wien 2014, p. 48–49.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, p. 50–51.

were true, they had an informative function and indicated the direction to the nearest settlements, villages, or towns that were not far from the city. He leaves the question of the motivation of the others open. However, he indicates that “this category clearly reflects the primarily economic importance of certain locations for individual cities”.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that the directional names of gates and streets, derived from nearby or distant settlements, necessitate independent research for clarifying the reasons behind their emergence (in addition to the economic factors mentioned earlier). Moreover, a more extensive dataset of cities and countries is required for a comprehensive comparative analysis.

Kwiryna Handke conducted a comprehensive philological analysis of the names in Warsaw (for example, she singled out the structural names of streets) and also included modern names in the classification. Considering that this study exclusively focuses on ancient names, the classification should be simplified.

In summary, I have categorized the names from the late Middle Ages and early modern times into the following types:

- directional names originating from villages / cities / countries;
- names originating from ethnic communities;
- names derived from professions / human characteristics;
- names directly related to the object (here it is necessary to additionally distinguish three subgroups because I found quite a lot of such names; therefore, for convenience, they should be placed separately:
  - religious,
  - secular,
  - topographic;
- names reflecting the natural and cultural landscape, including topography, hydrography, vegetation, animals, and human activities.<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, a group of names originating from land plot owners’ names should be included. However, the townspeople rarely used such names for more than a few generations in the selected period. What we can see in the example of the names derived from the owners in Lviv (*Frayborkovska*

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<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, p. 51.

<sup>40</sup> See tab no. 1 at the end of the article.

*Street* was used during 1524–1605; *Abrkowska Street* – during 1522–1618; *Palczykowska<sup>41</sup> Street* – 1517–1570). However, two names should be singled out:

- *Temryczowska St.* probably existed from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century;
- *Sixtowska St.* is invariably recorded in sources from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and until 1944.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of *Sixtowska St.*, the reason for such an extended use can be assumed that it was the property of the Sixt family from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. And later, the name of the street continued to be used in honor and for the merits of the most famous representative of the family: Erasmus Sixtus, who was a well-known Lviv physician, scientist, and city mayor.

Regarding the name of *Temryczowska St.*, it is challenging to assume the reason for such prolonged use. An entry from 1449 in the draft of the Main inventory of a hundred lans indicates that Nicolaus Temrych purchased one and a half lans from Peter the Furier.<sup>43</sup> It took some time to form the name, which was first clearly recorded in the sources in 1508. There is little information about the Temrycz family; they were middle-class burghers. Nicolaus Temrych bought the mentioned plot in the suburb and had a tenement house in the first part of Rynok Square in the middle of the city.<sup>44</sup> Later, in 1561, Paulus Nowokampianus purchased the land on which this street ran from Stefan Temrych, a descendant of the Temrych family. But the street's name remained until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In this case, there were no known family members. The name was used inertly, then traditionally.

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<sup>41</sup> The origin of this name has not been accurately clarified in the literature. However, in the register of rent taxpayers I found the entry “ulica za kościołem bernardynskim podle Psiego rynku, kthorą zową od locatora Palczykowską” (A. Felonûk, *Opisi peredmîst' L'vova XVI–XVIII stolit'*, L'viv 2014, p. 143. [A. Фелонюк, *Описи передмістя Львова XVI–XVIII століть*, Львів 2014, с. 143.]), which makes it possible to unambiguously attribute this name to the one that comes from the owner.

<sup>42</sup> With a short break in 1938–1944.

<sup>43</sup> M. Dolins'ka, op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>44</sup> Central'nij deržavnij istoričnij arhiv u mîstî L'vovî, f. 52, op. 2, spr. 770, ark. 1. [Центральний державний історичний архів у місті Львові, ф. 52, оп. 2, спр. 770, арк. 1.]

The etymology of Tobias Street in Elblag is likely linked to a burgher named Tobias, who was recorded in 1298 as owning land parcels along this thoroughfare. Subsequently, starting from 1413, an alternate toponym, 'Kettenbornstrasse', emerged, signifying the presence of a well equipped with a crane mechanism employed for the elevation of water buckets.<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, only a few names derived from ethnic groups were found in the selected cities, even though it is evident that these towns engaged in active trade and had representatives from various nationalities present. However, the few groups that inhabited a block in the town or had several houses nearby did not establish themselves in the city long enough to give a street a name. Andrzej Janeczek, researching ethnic street names in the towns of the so-called Red Ruthenia in detail, offers the following definition for the term 'ethnic street': it is an urban space inhabited by representatives of an ethnic group that is the majority or at least overrepresented there, compared to the general ethnic structure in the city, which should be reflected in the local naming system through a name that conveys an ethnic identity.<sup>46</sup>

In the researched cities, the most used ethnic name was *Jewish Street* (Lviv, Kraków, Wrocław, Ziębice, and Bochnia). *Ruska Street* was in Lviv and Wrocław. In Wrocław was also *Galijska Street*, where Gallic (Walloon) weavers settled. Only in Lviv were there *Armenian* and *Tatar streets*. Tatar Street appears in documents only from around 1382 to 1441, yet there are indications that it might have existed for a much longer period – emerging and persisting well before the establishment of the city center.<sup>47</sup>

Myron Kapral draws attention to the fact that small ethnic groups living in Lviv (Italians, Scots, and others) joined other communities rela-

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<sup>45</sup> A. Semrau, *Beiträge zur Kunde der ältesten Orts- und Flurnamen in der Stadt Elbing und ihrer Freiheit*, "Mitteilungen des Coppernicus Vereins fuer Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn" 1922, vol. 30, p. 64.

<sup>46</sup> A. Janeczek, *Ulice etniczne w miastach Rusi Czerwonej w XIV–XVI wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materiałnej" 1999, vol. 47 (1–2), p. 132.

<sup>47</sup> For more information on the probable reasons for the name change from Tatar-ska, see: O. Vira, *Geneza ta funkcionuvannâ nazv vulic' u seredn'ovičnomu L'vovi*, "City History, Culture, Society" 2020, vol. 10 (3), p. 46–47 [O. Bipa, Генеза та функціонування назв вулиць у середньовічному Львові, "City History, Culture, Society" 2020, vol. 10 (3), p. 46–47.]

tively quickly. However, communities defined by nationality and religion (Ruthenians, Armenians, Jews) were less susceptible to assimilation; they obeyed laws, enjoyed royal privileges, and created institutions and structures to manage their communities. Their communities had own social structure (elite, middle class, poor). A significant proportion of them lived within the narrow limits of certain city quarters.<sup>48</sup>

Hence, it is important to reiterate that the presence of only these names in the selected cities does not comprehensively depict the ethnic diversity of these urban centers. However, only these communities, having their own rights and being less prone to assimilation, were able to represent themselves in the space of one or another city in a name derived from their national group.

Names derived from craft professions also rank among the oldest in each city. First of all, such a name probably indicated a cluster of artisans (their own houses or workshops) within a particular area. Andrzej Wyrobisz points out that professional names were a constant and did not change, even if the socio-topographical situation in which they arose changed, when over time, the representatives of the profession gave the street its name and stopped living there. He highlights that the street's name could originate even when only one representative of a particular profession resided there, not necessarily the entire group. In Kraków, for example, St. Mark Street in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries was called Szrotarska or Szrotmistrzowska because there was a carrier's house (only one!) that transported beer barrels<sup>49</sup> to pubs. Nevertheless, such instances are quite exceptional, and the name's origin (like ethnic streets) generally implied a group of craftsmen.

Several shoemakers and tailors always lived on Cobbler Street in Lviv.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, following the construction of the Jesuit Church at the street's end, the name underwent a change, becoming Cobbler street to the Jesuits

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<sup>48</sup> M. Kapral, *Places of civic sociability in Lviv, Kraków, Toruń, and Gdańsk in premodern period*, in: *Political functions of urban spaces and town types through the ages...*, p. 240.

<sup>49</sup> A. Wyrobisz, op. cit., p. 520.

<sup>50</sup> M. Kapral', *Vlasniki neruhomosti seredmistâ L'vova 30–40-h rokiv XVI stolittâ u svitlî šosovih reestriv (sociotopografičnij aspekt)*, "Zapiski Naukovogo tovaristva imenì Ševčenka 233: Praci istorično-filosof'skoj sekciî" 1997, p. 158–161 [M. Kapral', *Власники нерухомості середмістя Львова 30–40-х років XVI століття у світлі шосових*

or occasionally simply Jesuit street.<sup>51</sup> In essence, between 1622 and the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the townspeople employed both names. It is plausible to assume that the simultaneous use of dual names during that period suggests that the name Cobbler Street had lost its original rationale. Conversely, the dual name persisted and did not transition solely to Jesuit, underscoring the traditional retention of the name Cobbler and the persistence of a strong sentiment towards ancient names. Nonetheless, street names derived from professions are crucial for understanding the city's social and professional structure as well as its socio-topography.

The names of the streets that are tangential to the object serve an informative function. Therefore, most often, when the object disappeared, the name also went out of use.

Linguists distinguish the last group as 'adjective names', constituting the most diverse group. Among them, I can distinguish several separate sub-groups: those originating from animals (Dog, Goat, Cattle, Dove St. etc.), plants (Rose, Fir St.), landscapes (Wide, Mug St.), and various (Zarwanska, Black St.). Andrzej Wyrobisz suggests combining them into a large group as "names that reflect the natural and cultural landscape: relief and hydrography, vegetation, animals and human activities". Which, although verbose, nevertheless fully conveys the origin and variety of such names.

Researchers sometimes observed similarities among certain types of names in cities, including specific names. Barbara Miszewska, choosing to study the informative function in the city names of Kraków, Poznań and Wrocław, writes that due to "the similar origin of the cities selected for analysis and the planning elements characteristic of this type of cities, as well as the saturation of the urban space with institutions and objects important for the Middle Ages, may indicate the existence of similar types of

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реєстрів (соціомонографічний аспект), "Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка 233: Праці Історично-філософської секції" 1997, p. 158–161.]

<sup>51</sup> More about the formation of the name: O. Vira, *Hodonymia of Lviv and Krakow: historical and comparative aspect*, "Včenì zapiski Tavrìjs'kogo nàcional'nogo universitetu imenì V. I. Vernads'kogo. Serià: Istorìčni nauki" 2022, vol. 33 (72/1), p. 200 [O. Vira, *Hodonymia of Lviv and Krakow: historical and comparative aspect*, "Вчені записки Таврійського національного університету імені В. І. Вернадського. Серія: Історичні науки" 2022, vol. 33 (72/1), p. 200.]

street names”<sup>52</sup> The same thesis was expressed by Andrzej Wyrobisz when he noted that “cities had a large number of repeated names, both in terms of type and vocabulary. The similarity of the naming rules and the similarity of the linguistic material led to the appearance of several similar or identical names. This mostly applies to the oldest names associated with the location stage and the period after the city’s location. These are mostly topographical and cultural names (for example, Grodzka, Kościelna, Wałowa, Mostowa) and professional names (for example, Szewska, Gancarska, Sukiennicza, Piekarska, etc.), as well as directional ones derived from the names of neighbouring towns. [...] However, this is the effect of the transfer of the same urban organization, the repetition of the same political, social, economic and spatial decisions, or in other words, similar linguistic reactions to a similarly directed need to name similar objects with the help of the same, still used vocabulary”<sup>53</sup>

However, as evident from this study, name types exhibited similarities not only among cities sharing location, planning, or social structure similarities but also across cities with diverse characteristics. This was also noted by Kwidzyna Handke, emphasizing a certain cultural universalism in the nomenclature of European cities.<sup>54</sup>

A diverse array of name types has been documented in each of the nine cities, giving rise to a unique toponymic system for every urban center. This article offers occasional contributions to the ongoing discourse surrounding the potential utilization of European city atlases for comparative research.

In summary, the exploration of street names in East Central European cities and towns during the pre-industrial period uncovers a rich tapestry of historical, linguistic, and socio-cultural insights. Through a comprehensive comparative analysis across regions, the presence of common archetypes and naming patterns that transcend geographic and cultural boundaries becomes evident. The study of street names as valuable historical sources

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<sup>52</sup> B. Miszewska, op. cit., p. 260–261.

<sup>53</sup> A. Janeczek, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>54</sup> K. Handke, *Nazewnictwo miejskie – świadek epoki i cenny zabytek*, “Ochrona Zabytków” 2004, vol. 3–4, p. 125.

has illuminated not only the evolution of urban spaces but also the intricate interplay between human activity, perception of space, and societal structures. Street names, bearing the imprints of professions, ethnic communities, and geographical features, serve as windows into the socio-topographical makeup of these cities.

While the commonalities between cities may be influenced by shared urban organization, linguistic reactions, and cultural universalism, it is important to recognize that each city possesses its unique toponymic system that reflects its distinct historical and socio-cultural context.

In extending the boundaries of comparative research through a multidimensional analysis, this study underscores the significance of historical atlases as valuable resources. By examining the interplay of history, language, geography, and societal dynamics, we have revealed how street names are not mere labels, but carriers of narratives that transcend time and space.

In embracing the complexities and nuances of street names, we invite future researchers to embark on journeys of discovery, unearthing hidden histories and unraveling the intricate meanings that lie within the names etched onto the urban landscape.

**Table 1.** Table of street names comparison

Type	Lviv	Kraków	Wrocław	Toruń	Elbląg	Chelmno	Koronowo	Ziębice	Bochnia
Directional names originating from villages/ cities / countries	Krakowska, Halyska, Lyczakowska, Sokilnytska	Śląskowska Oław ska	Świdnicka, Oław ska	Chęmińska Polska-Malborska	Grubinśka, Toruńska, Mierzeburska	Chwaliszewska, Kozięcka- -Zduńska, Świecka	Wrocawska, Paczkowska	Sądecka, Krakowska, Tarnowska, Piotrkowska, Oracka	
Names originating from ethnic communities	Tatar, Virmenska, Jewish, Rutenian	Żydowska	Ruska, Żydowska, Galijska, Polska	Polska				Żydowska	Żydowska
Names derived from professions / human characteristics	Cobbler, Baker, Porter, Tannery, Locksmith	Szewska, Stolarska, Garbarska, Piekarska, Legacka, Szrotarska, Tandeta	Szewska, Rzeźnicza, Igielna, Kotlarska, Sukiemnice, Rycerska, Junkierska, Łaciarska, Pańska, Garbarska, Słodowa, Kiełbaśnicza, Nożownicza, Kuźnicza	Piekary, Szewska, Garbarska, Tragar ska, Kucharska, Ślusarska, Gamcarska, Sadlarska, Sukiemnicza	Rzeźnicka, Kowalska, Garbarska, Sukienicza, Rybacka, Bednarska, Mnisiak, Kusznierska	Szyperska, Browarna, Ślusarska, Kaznodziejska, Knapska, Kotlarska, Polska	Rzeźnicka, Tkacka, Kaznodziejska, Knapska, Kotlarska, Woźna, Junkierska	Piekarska, Szewska, Kowalska, Rzeźnicza, Garbarska, Woźna, Junkierska	

Table 1. Table of street names comparison (cont.)

Type	Lviv	Kraków	Wrocław	Toruń	Elblag	Chelmno	Koronowo	Ziębice	Bochnia
			Białoścórnicza, Garnarska, Krawiecka, Grzbieniarska, Piekarska, Rybacka						
Names directly related to the object: religious	St. Spirit, Corpus Christi, st. Stanislaus, st. Anna, st. Cross	św. Anny, św. Ducha, Floriańska, św. Jana, Rogacka, Mikołajska, św. Szczepa- na, Bracka, św. Macieja, Kanonicza	Katedralna, Kapitułna, św. Miko- łaja, Ducha Świętego, Biskupia, św. Katarzyny, św. Wojcie- cha, św. Wita	św. Ducha, św. Anny, św. Jakuba, ulica Przy Kościele Najświętszej Marii Panny	Ducha św., Koscielna, Grobli św. Jerzego, wokół kościoła św. Jakuba	Ducha św., Koscielna, Grobli św. Marcina, Za św. Pawłem	Kościelna Klasztorna	św. Krzyża, Klasztorna	
Secular / man-made	Cattle mar- ket, Behind the slaug- therhouses, Wallachian Bridge street	Grodzka	Na Grobli, Więzenna, Nowy Targ	Mostowa, Szkołna	Stary Rynek, Więzowa, Mostowa	Łazienna, Podwórzowa	Grodzka, Łaziebnicza	Podmurna	

**Table 1.** Table of street names comparison (cont.)

Type	Lviv	Kraków	Wrocław	Toruń	Elblag	Chełmno	Koronowo	Ziębice	Bochnia
Topographic	Cripples mountain street	Wiślana	Odrzańska		nad Kumiąq, Murna, Wapienna, wzduż Grobli Młyńskiej, Grobli Złodziejskiej			Puselgasse	
Names reflecting the natural and cultural landscape – topography and hydrography, vegetation, animals and human activity	Zaryńska, Wide, Dog market	Poprzeczna, Gołębia, Sienna, Czarna Ulica, Szeroka, Psi Rynek, Świnia lub Różana	Kurzy Targ, Szeroka, Polska, Różana, Jodłowa, Krowia, Psią	Szeroka, Polska, Błotna, Kurna, Psią, Ciasna, Kurna, Rabiańska, Różana, Starotoruńska, Bydlęca, Prosta, Kozia, Wysoka, Ciasna	Pśia, Szeroka, Wodna, Długa, Stoneczna	Wodna, Kamienna, Tłusta, Rogowa, Wąska, Psią	Podgórska, Różana, Psią, Nyska, Sittischgasse	Golebia, Biala, Solna, Różana	