
PROBLEMS

The Peasant's Farm and the Landlord's Farm in Poland from the 16th to the Middle of the 18th Century

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I. BIRTH AND GROWTH OF SERFDOM UP TO THE MID 18TH CENTURY.

The question of the birth of serfdom* (*ustrój folwarczno-pańszczyniany*) was raised by J. Rutkowski at the Oslo International Congress of Historians

* *List of abbreviations used in the bibliography*: APH = Acta Poloniae Historica; CPH = Czasopismo Prawo-Historyczne; Ergon = appendice a: Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej; KH = Kwartalnik Historyczny; KHKM = Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej; PH = Przegląd Historyczny; RDSiG = Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych; SHO = Studia Historiae Oeconomicae; Studia = z dziejów gospodarstwa wiejskiego. We have to note also the following surveys on the agricultural history of late feudalism in Poland in recent years:

Comptes rendus de l'activité des centres de recherches, in *L'Histoire de l'agriculture et de la vie rurale en Pologne*, in « Ergon », vol. IV, Warsaw, 1964, pp. 605-666.

LESKIEWICZ J., *Aperçu de travaux sur l'histoire rurale de la Pologne*, in « Ergon », vol. II, 1960, pp. 342-360.

MACZAK A., *Polnische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Agrargeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrh.*, 1945-1957, in « APH », vol. I, 1958, pp. 33-57.

TOPOLSKI J., *Badania historyczno-gospodarcze w Polsce* (Historical economic research in Poland), in « RDSiG », vol. 25, 1963, pp. 9-45 and *Le développement des recherches d'histoire économique en Pologne*, in « SHO », vol. I, 1966, pp. 3-42 and *Développement des études historiques en Pologne 1945-1968*, in *La Pologne au XIII Congrès International des Sciences Historiques à Moscou*, vol. I, Warsaw 1970, pp. 32-44.

ZABKO-POTOPOWICZ A., *Dzieje badan nad historia rolnictwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej oraz Polski porozbiorewej* (History of research on the agricultural history of the old Republic and of Poland after its dismemberment), in « Studia », vol. II, 1959, pp. 7-80.

For reports on some studies see *Études d'histoire rurale en Pologne*, in « Studia », vol. 7, Warsaw, 1965.

A collection of retrospective bibliography is contained in *Bibliographie sélective des*

in 1928.¹ It is a question to which historians have since devoted their attention both in the broader frame of Central and Eastern Europe² and in the narrower frame of Poland.³ Once again the road to be followed seems to be that of compared research. It is pointed to by the almost contemporary origin of serfdom, or at least some of its elements, in many European countries. Two fundamental aspects have to be recognized in the question raised by Rutkowski in 1928: *a*) what brought the landlord's domain (the term customarily used in Polish historiography is *folwark*) in being and *b*) what brought serfdom into being. The same factors did not operate in both cases.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, in the 14th and 15th centuries, renting was the type of land tenure that prevailed in Poland, as well as in many other European countries, as the influence of the local market developed. The incomes of the big landowners were in fact based essentially on the rents and services in kind they received from the peasants living on their land. The peasants did not have to do much work for the landowners because the farms directly administered by the latter were not large, if they existed at all, and usually produced for household needs only and not for

travaux des historiens polonais parus dans les années 1945-1968, edited by J. Tazbir in *La Pologne au XIII Congrès International des Sciences Historiques à Moscou*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1970, pp. 98-111. A collection of the most recent bibliography (from 1965) is contained in *Studia Historiae Oeconomicae*, vol. I (1966) and following volumes.

Owing to their temporary shortage, we must apologize for having not used all the Polish diacritical characters.

¹ RUTKOWSKI J., *La genèse du régime de la corvée dans l'Europe Centrale depuis la fin du Moyen Age*, in «*La Pologne au VI Congrès International des Sciences Historiques à Oslo 1928*», Warsaw, 1930, pp. 211-217.

² NICHTWEISS J., *Zur Frage der zweiten Leibeigenschaft und des sogenannten preussischen Weges der Entwicklung des Kapitalismus in der Landwirtschaft Ostdeutschlands* (On the question of the second feudal period and the so-called Prussian form of the development of capitalism in the agriculture of Eastern Germany), in «*Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*», vol. I, 1953, pp. 687-717; ZIENTARA B., *Z zagadnień spornych tzw. «wtórnego poddaństwa» w Europie Środkowej* (Controversial problems of the so-called «second servitude» in Central Europe), in «*PH*», vol. 47, 1956, issue 1, pp. 3-47; GREKOV B., *Prawdowosci w dziejach chłopów w Europie* (Precepts in the history of peasants in Europe), in «*KH*», a. 46, 1948, issue 3-4, pp. 286-300; TYMIENIECKI K., *W sprawie powstania zaostrozonego poddaństwa w Polsce i Europie Środkowej* (Question of the origin of forced servitude in Poland and Central Europe), in «*Roczniki Historyczne*», a. 24, 1958, pp. 283-328; TOPOLSKI J., *La réfeodalisation dans l'économie des grands domaines en Europe Centrale et Orientale (XVI-XVII ss.)*, Moscow, 1970. Report to the 5th International Congress of Economic History in Leningrad.

³ ORSINI ROSENBERG S., *Rozwój i geneza folwarku pańszczyźnianego w dobrach katedry gnieźnieńskiej w XVI w.* (Development and genesis of serfdom in the lands of the Cathedral of Gniezno in the 16th century), Poznań, 1925; ARNOLD S., *Podłoże gospodarczo-społeczne polskiego Odrodzenia* (Economic and social substratum of the Polish Renaissance), Warsaw, 1953; RUSIŃSKI W., *Drogi rozwojowe folwarku pańszczyźnianego* (Paths of development of the late feudal estate), in «*PH*», vol. 47, 1956, issue 4, pp. 617-655.

the market.⁴ From the 15th century on there was a growing demand for agricultural products. Trade expanded beyond the local boundaries and markets at some considerable distance became available. This led the big landowners to enlarge their farms so as to produce for the market too. The growing demand for agricultural products may be considered the principal cause of the transformation of farms in Central and Eastern Europe and therefore also in Poland. In these new conditions production for the market on their own farms provided the landowners with a larger share of profits than the traditional forms of feudal rent had afforded.⁵

This transformation was an extremely complex process. We are still not able to establish when and in what order the several regions of the country were drawn into the sphere of wide range grain trade. Victory in the war against the Teutonic Order and the Peace of Toruń (1466) granted Poland direct access to the Baltic and its ports, but this does not explain everything. Some indirect information may be gained from « geography », *i. e.* from the chronological sequence of the births of the big estates which produced for the market in the different regions of the country, and from grain supplies to Danzig. It is generally agreed that in the first stage of development it was demand on the domestic market, especially in the regions in the centre of the country, that urged the big landowners to expand their farming activities.⁶ This may also explain the rapid growth of serfdom on some Church

⁴ There is a rich bibliography on the renting of land in Poland in the 14th and 16th centuries. Recommended reading is: LOWMIANSKI H., *Les recherches sur l'histoire du moyen âge jusqu'à la fin du XV s. au cours des vingt années de la République Populaire de Pologne*, in « La Pologne au XII Congrès International des Sciences Historiques à Vienne », Warsaw, 1965, pp. 181-186; RUTKOWSKA-PLACHCINSKA A., *W sprawie charakteru rezerwy pańskiej w okresie gospodarki czynszowej* (The question of the nature of landowners farm in the renting economy period), in « PH », vol. 48, 1957, pp. 411-435.

⁵ GRODECKI B., *Początki gospodarki folwarcznej w Polsce* (Origins of the folwark economy in Poland), in « Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej » Warsaw, 1949, pp. 66-72; ZAJACZKOWSKI S. M., *Początki folwarku w ziemiach łeczyckiej i sieradzkiej do początku XVI w.* (Origins of the folwark in the Palatinate of Leczyca and Sieradz up to the beginning of the 16th century), in « RDSiG », vol. 31, 1970, pp. 1-45; RUSIŃSKI W., *Kilka uwag o istocie ekonomiki feudalnej w XV-XVIII w.* (Some considerations on the reality of feudal economy in the 15th-18th centuries), in « RDSiG », vol. 27, 1965, pp. 9-17, 31; SZCZYGIELSKI W., *Die Ökonomische Aktivität des polnischen Adels im 16-18 Jahrhundert*, in « SHO », vol. II, 1967, pp. 83-101.

⁶ The huge estates of the Chapter of Cracow, Pabianice, in the centre of the country are a good example: the folwark producing for the market developed there at the beginning of the 16th century but it was only in 1582 that cereals began to be delivered regularly to Danzig. Advised reading: WAWRZYŃCZYK A., *Gospodarstwo dworskie w dobrach Pabianice 1559-1570* (The landlord's farm on the Pabianice lands 1559-1570), Wrocław, 1967, pp. 88-92 and also: *Problem spadku wydajności dóbr Pabianice w II poł. XVI w.* (Problem of the shrinkage in production on the Pabianice lands in the second half of the 16th century), in « Studia », vol. 12, issue 2, Warsaw, 1970, pp. 75-76.

estates in Little Poland.⁷ It would be wrong, however, to assume that big farms producing for the market developed first where the best communications existed, so that access to Danzig and foreign markets was easier. Actually the big estates in East Pomerania (Royal Prussia), which were nearest to Danzig, were the last to develop and their growth was weak.⁸

The following factors were essential for the organization of big estates growing cereals for the market: land, labour, tools, beasts of burden, and farm buildings. Land was no great problem. Owing to the country's scant population⁹ there was plenty of land that was either lying fallow¹⁰ or that came under the heading of «empty land», having been abandoned by the population that had previously settled on it.¹¹ The phenomenon of peasants being expelled from their farms so as to enable the land-

⁷ An excellent introduction to the study of these problems in Little Poland in the second half of the 15th century is provided by DŁUGOSZ J., *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vols. I-III, Cracow, 1863-1864. A critical analysis of this source is attempted by KURAS S., *Regestrum ecclesiae Cracoviensis. Studium nad powstaniem tzw. Liber Beneficiorum* (Regestrum ecclesiae Cracoviensis. Study on the origin of the so-called «Liber Beneficiorum»), Warsaw, 1966; LUCIŃSKI J., *Liber Beneficiorum J. Długosza* (J. Długosza's «Liber Beneficiorum»), in «Studia Zródłoznawcze», vol. XIII, 1968, pp. 147-160. Also deserving attention are: INGLÓT S., *Stan i rozmieszczenie uposażenia biskupstwa krakowskiego w pol. XV w.* (State and geographical distribution of the estates of the bishopric of Cracow in the middle of the 15th century), Lvov, 1925; ŻYTKOWICZ L., *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim w dobrach kościelnych XVI w.* (Studies on farming on the Church estates in the 16th century), Warsaw, 1962.

⁸ RUTKOWSKI J., *Panszczyzna i praca najemna w organizacji folwarków królewskich w Prusach za Zygmunta Augusta* (Serfdom and paid labour in the organization of real estate in Prussia under Sigismund Augustus), in «Studia z dziejów wsi polskiej XVI-XVIII w.», Warsaw, 1956, pp. 109-126; MACZAK A., *Folwark pańszczyzniany a wies w Prusach Królewskich w XVI/XVII wieku* (The landed estate and the peasant farm in Royal Prussia in the 16th and 17th centuries) in «PH», vol. 47, 1956, issue 2, pp. 356-359. In considering the increase in serfdom in this regions, it must be mentioned that the peasant farms (called *ghurskie*) were large and consisted of several *wlokas* of land.

⁹ See HOSZÓWSKI S., *Dynamika rozwoju zaludnienia Polski w epoce feudalnej, X-XVIII w.* (Dynamics of population growth in Poland in the feudal era, 10th-18th centuries), in «RDSiG», vol. XIII, 1951, pp. 137-198; GIEYSZTOROWA I., *Recherches sur la démographie historique et en particulier rurale en Pologne*, in «Ergon», vol. 4, 1964, pp. 507-528 and also *Research into History of Poland Demographic*, in «APH», vol. 18, 1968, pp. 5-17; VIELROSE E., *Die Bevölkerung Polens vom 10-17 Jh.*, translated from the Polish, Magdeburg, 1959.

¹⁰ HŁADYŁOWICZ K. J., *Zmiany krajobrazu i rozwój osadnictwa w Wielkopolsce od XIV do XIX wieku* (Transformation of the landscape and development of settlements from the 14th to the 19th centuries), Lvov, 1932; BISKUP M., *Prusy Królewskie w II pol. XVI w.* (Royal Prussia in the second half of the 16th century), Warsaw, 1961; *Województwo plockie ok. 1578 r.* (The Palatinate of Plock towards 1578), Warsaw, 1958 (both works are published in the Atlas Historyczny Polski series).

¹¹ See RUSIŃSKI W., *Wüstungen. Ein Agrarproblem des feudalen Europas*, in «APH», vol. 5, 1962, pp. 48-76.

owners to establish or enlarge their own farms must be understood in the sense that the peasants were moved to other land or that their farms were reduced and the « surplus » annexed to the big estate. This may therefore be referred to as the phenomenon of « feudal expulsion » to distinguish it from the later expulsions preceding the establishment of capitalism. In the latter case expulsion meant that the peasants were removed from the land, whereas in the former case the big landowner was interested in keeping the population on the land so that it could provide the labour that was indispensable.¹² It was in this period in fact that the peasant population was tied to the land.

Early literature has attached too much importance to the so-called purchase of *solectwo*, i.e. to the land owned by the village *soltys* (hereditary chief of village administration) as a system for enlarging the big estates.¹³ Later researches have shown that the annexation of *solectwo* lands was of little importance to the territorial expansion of the big estates.¹⁴ In addition to the lands mentioned above, whether or not they were inhabited, the landowners' expansion objects were meadows and pastures and deforested land. Indirectly this went against the interests of the peasants as it restricted their possibility of using these lands.

Far more complicated was the problem of obtaining manpower to cultivate the land on the big estates, i.e. the social organization of production. The thesis that wages were paid on the *folwark* in the first stage of its development or that both wage-earners and serfs were employed, has been rejected.¹⁵

¹² Large-scale mass expulsions are rightly contested by: A. WYCZANSKI (against R. GRODECKI and S. ARNOLD) in *O folwarku szlacheckim w Polsce XVI st.* (Folwark of the nobles in Poland in the 16th century), in « KH », a. 61, 1954, n. 4 pp. 176-180; and in *Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w Polsce w l. 1500-1580* (Studies on the latifundia of the nobles in Poland in 1500-1580), Warsaw, 1960, pp. 42-50; RUSINSKI W., *Drogi rozwojowe* (Paths of development), pp. 627-628.

¹³ See RUTKOWSKI J., *Skup solectw w Polsce w XVI w.* (Purchase of the *solectwo* in Poland in the 16th century), in « Studia z dziejow wsi polskiej w XVI-XVIII w. », Warsaw, 1956, pp. 65-80; DOBROWOLSKI K., *W sprawie skupu solectwo w d. Polsce w XV i XVI w.* (The question of the purchase of the *solectwo* in old Poland in the 15th and 16th centuries), in « KH », a. 38, 1924, pp. 1-28; LYSIAK L., *Wlasnosc soltysia (wojtowska) w Malopolsce do konca XVI w.* (Properties of the *soltys* in Little Poland up to the end of the 16th century), Cracow, 1964; KIELBICKA A., *Studia nad solectwami w wojewodztwie krakowskim w XVI-XVIII w.* (Studies on the *solectwo* in the palatinate of Cracow in the 16th to 18th centuries), Torun, 1964.

¹⁴ RUSINSKI W., *Drogi rozwojowe* (Development paths), p. 623; ZYTKOWICZ L., *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim* (Studies on farms), pp. 158-172 and, recently, VERULANI A., *Geneza statutu warchiego o wykupie solectw* (Genesis of the Warka Statute on the redemption of the *solectwo*), in « KH », a. 76, 1969, n. 3, pp. 557-581.

¹⁵ ARNOLD S., *op. cit.*, pp. 31-34; WYCZANSKI A., *Studia nad folwarkiem* (Study on the latifundia), pp. 122-138; TOPOLSKI J., *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach arcybiskupstwa gnieznskigo od XVI do XVIII w.* (Rural economy on the property of the Archbishopric of Gniezno from the 16th to the 18th centuries), Poznan 1958, pp. 144-145.

Examples of paid work are known, as wage-earners are regularly to be found on the big estates, and big farms employing paid manpower developed on the fertile lands of fluvial origin of Malbork as well as in the surroundings of the big towns.¹⁶ However the low productivity of agriculture at the time and the consequent low yield of labour, as well as the ratio of market prices for cereals to the cost of labour made paid work unremunerative. It must also be considered that large investments of capital would have been necessary to base production on paid labour. The landlord would have been compelled to buy and maintain beasts of burden and tools and to build and provide for the upkeep of buildings and installations. Serfdom system placed all or almost all of the expenses for stocks and fixed and movable equipment on the peasants, thus reducing the landowner's expenses to a minimum. The serf-labourer worked on the *folwark* with his own tools and beasts of burden and the farm installations could be built and repaired without spending any money. The land granted in usufruct was the payment the peasant received for his work.¹⁷

¹⁶ RUTKOWSKI J., *Panszczyzna i praca najemna* (Serfdom and paid labour), *op. cit.*; MAJEWSKI J., *Gospodarstwo folwarczne we wsiach miasta Poznania w l. 1582-1644* (The *folwark* in the lands of the city of Poznan in the years 1582-1644), Poznan, 1957, pp. 149-195.

¹⁷ RUTKOWSKI J., *op. cit.*, pp. 120-122; see LIPINSKI E., *Studia nad historia polskiej myśli ekonomicznej* (Studies on the history of Polish economic thought), Warsaw, 1956, pp. 66; KULA W., *Teoria ekonomiczna ustroju feudalnego. Próba modelu* (Economic theory of the feudal system. Testing of a model), Warsaw, 1962, pp. 57-58; ŻYTKOWICZ L., *Z badań nad wydajnością pracy w rolnictwie feudalnym* (Studies on the productivity of labour in feudal agriculture), in «KHKM», vol. 17, 1969, n. 3, p. 549.

A classification of the incomes of the big landowners under the feudal system has been made by RUTKOWSKI I., *Badania nad podziałem dochodów w Polsce w czasach nowożytnych* (Studies on income distribution in Poland in modern times), vol. I, Cracow, 1938.

The late feudal estate, especially the *folwark*, occupies an important place in Polish research owing to the exceptionally rich sources available (many inventories of lands, the books of the big estates, instructions and correspondence on economic matters, inspections of Church property, inspections of real estate, etc.) especially for the 16th and first half of the 17th century as well as for the second half of the 18th century. Mention may be made here of the following studies (in addition to the monographs by J. Topolski and A. Wawrzczukowa already quoted).

BARANOWSKI B., *Gospodarstwo chłopskie i folwarczne we Wschodnie Wielkopolsce w XVIII w.* (The peasant's farm and the *folwark* in Eastern Great Poland in the 18th century), Warsaw, 1956.

CACKOWSKI S., *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach biskupstwa i kapituły chełmińskiej w XVII-XVIII w.* (Rural economy in the estates of the bishopric and chapter of Chełmno in the 17th and 18th centuries), vols. I-II, Torun, 1961-1963.

CHLEBOWCZYK J., *Gospodarka komory cieszyńskiej na przełomie XVII-XVIII oraz w I poł. XVIII w.* (The economy of the chamber of Cieszyn between the 17th and 18th centuries and in the first half of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1966.

HOMECKI A., *Produkcja i handel zbożowy w latyfundiach Lubomirskich w II poł.*

It is understandable, therefore, that serfdom should have become the dominant social form of land tenure in the Polish Republic and in the bordering countries. However this did not happen everywhere. On the lands of Malbork and in those around the town of Poznan (as well as around some other towns) the big estates were, as already mentioned, cultivated with the help of paid manpower. This can be accounted for by the more favourable conditions for the sale of products, such as the nearness of the market and the lower or inexistent costs of transport to the market towns.¹⁸ There were

XVII i pierwszej XVIII w. (Grain production and trade in the latifundium of Lubomirski in the second half of the 17th and first part of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1970.

LESKIEWICZOWA J., *Dobra osieckie w okresie gospodarki folwarczno-panszczyznianej XVI-XIX w.* (Estates of Osieck at the time of the late feudal economy in the 16th-19th centuries), Wrocław, 1957.

MADUROWICZ-URBANSKA H., *Gospodarstwo folwarczne w dobrach biskupstwa krakowskiego na progranicy polsko-slaskim w XVII-XVIII w.* (The landlord's farm on the lands of the bishopric of Cracow on the Polish-Silesian border in the 17th-18th century), in «Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego», n. 56, 1962, pp. 39-102.

MAJEWSKI J., *Gospodarstwo folwarczne we wsiach miasta Poznania w l. 1582-1644* (The folwark in the lands of the city of Poznan in the years 1582-1644), Poznan, 1957.

MICHALKIEWICZ S., *Gospodarka magnacka na Slasku II pol. XVIII w. na przykladzie majatku Ksiaz* (The magnates' farms in Silesia in the second half of the 18th century: taking as example the estates of Ksiaz), Wrocław, 1969.

ODYNIEC W., *Starostwo puckie 1546-1678* («Starostia» of Puck 1546-1678), Gdan'sk, 1961.

ROZYCKA-GLASSOWA M., *Gospodarka rolna wielkiej wlasnosci w Polsce w XVIII w.* (The rural economy of the big estates in Poland in the 18th century), Wrocław, 1964.

RYBARSKI R., *Gospodarstwo Ksiestwa Oswiecimskiego w XVI w.* (The economy of the Duchy of Oswiecim in the 16th century), Cracow, 1931 (referring to the part of Silesia that remained within the boundaries of the Polish Republic).

RYCHLIKOWA J., *Studia nad towarowa produkcja wielkiej wlasnosci w Malopolsce w l. 1764-1805* (Studies on the market production of the big estates in Little Poland in the years 1764-1805), part I: *Towarowa gospodarka zbozowa* (Grain production for the market), Wrocław, 1966.

RYCHLIKOWA I., *Produkcja zbozowa wielkiej wlasnosci w Malopolsce w l. 1764-1805* (Grain production of the big estates in Little Poland in the years 1764-1805), Warsaw, 1967.

TOPOLSKA M. B., *Dobra szklowskie na Bialorusi Wschodniej w XVII i XVIII w.* (Property of Szklow in Eastern White Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries), Warsaw, 1969.

WIATROWSKI L., *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach pszczyznych od pol. XVII do pocz. XIX w.* (The rural economy in the estates of Pszczyzna from the middle of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1965.

WYCZANSKI A., *Studia nad gospodarka starostwa Korczynskiego 1500-1660* (Studies on the production of the starostia of Korczyn 1500-1660), Warsaw, 1964.

¹⁸ MAJEWSKI J., *op. cit.*, pp. 154-195; RUTKOWSKI J., *Ze studiow nad polozeniem czeladzi folwarcznej w dawnej Polsce* (Studies on the condition of farm labourers on landed estates in old Poland), in «Studia z dziejow wsi polskiej XVI-XVIII w.», pp. 127-142.

The problem of the cost and profitableness of transporting goods in large quantities, and therefore also grain, has not waited in vain for exhaustive treatment. Transport

also regions in which the *folwark* never came into being or did not develop. This was due to different reasons. For example there were no « folwarks » in the widespread possessions of the cities of Elbląg (Elblig) and Danzig, situated on the fertile soil along the Vistula. In these regions, which had easy access to the market, the peasants could operate big farms of several *włoki* (old measure equal to 16,8 hectares)^{18 bis} on a commercial scale and the landowner — in this case the city — could consequently obtain an income from the land in the form of rents in money.¹⁹ In the regions at the foot of the mountains the natural conditions for the development of cereal-growing were lacking. Here sheep-farming became the population's main occupation and the relations between peasants and landlord were consequently different.²⁰

The development of the big cereal-growing estates included also the vast territories of the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania which, after the Union of Lublin in 1569, found themselves inside the frontiers of the Polish Republic. In Lithuania, and at least in the western part of White Russia *folwarki* began to arise in the 14th century already. They were cultivated with the help of serfs. Earlier than elsewhere they began to place servile

difficulties and costs, it must be remembered, were of great importance and had a considerable influence on the profitableness of the grain trade on the one hand and on the social structure on the other hand, restricting the part played by traders. See: BURSZA J., *Handel magnacki i kupiecki między Sieniawą nad Sanem a Gdanskim od końca XVII do poł. XVIII w.* (Trade of the magnates and merchants between Sieniawa on the San and Gdan'sk from the end of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century), in « RDSiG », vol. 16, 1955, pp. 174-238; *Materiały do techniki splawu rzeczynego na Sanie i sredniej Wisle z XVII i XVIII w.* (Material for the technique of river navigation of the San and the middle Vistula in the 17th and 18th centuries), in « KHKM », a. 3, 1955, n. 4, pp. 752-782; GULDON Z., *Zwiazki handlowe dóbr magnackich na Prawobrzeznej Ukrainie z Gdanskim w XVIII w.* (Trade connections of the magnates' estates in West Ukraine with Danzig in the 18th century), Torun, 1966, pp. 74-111; JEWSIEWICKI B., *Koszty gospodarezego transportu kolowego w Polsce w XVI-XVIII w.* (Costs of road haulage in Poland in the 16th-18th centuries), in « RDSiG », vol. 31, 1970, pp. 165-175; MIELCZARSKI S., *Koszty transportu i ich uplyw na udzial kupcow w handlu zbozowym w Polsce XVI w.* (Transport costs and their influence on the merchants' share of the grain trade in Poland in the 16th century), in « KHKM », a. 12, 1965, n. 2, pp. 269-279.

^{18 bis} It is useful to note that *Mansus Culmensis* was equal to 16,8 hectares in Polish Kingdom, while *Mansus Lithuaniensis* was equal to 21,6 hectares.

¹⁹ PIATKOWSKI A., *Posiadlosci ziemskie miasta Elblaga w XVII i XVIII w.* (Landed property of the city of Elbląg [Elblig] in the 17th and 18th centuries), Wrocław, 1972, The analysis of this kind of peasant farm is made by A. MACZAK in *Gospodarstwo chlopskie na Zulawach Malborskich w poczatkach XVII w.* (The peasant farm on the lands of Malbork at the beginning of the 17th century), Warsaw, 1962.

²⁰ In these regions settlement developed on the basis of the so-called Walachian law brought by the shepherds from the Balkan countries. The settlers paid rents and also gave services in kind. See: RAFACZ J., *Dzieje i ustrój Podhala Nowotarskiego* (History and social structure of Podhale Nowotarskie), Warsaw, 1935; SCHRAMM W., *Formy osadnictwa wiejskiego w Srodkowych Karpatach na tle rozwoju historycznego* (Forms of rural settlement in the Central Carpathians against the background of historical development), Warsaw, 1961.

obligations on the dependent population (the so-called *ludzie ciagli*, peasant-serfs, working on the landlord's farm with their own beasts of burden), particularly as *folwarki* were beginning to develop under the influence of the demand for cereals. In the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century the agrarian reform promoted by Sigismund Augustus in 1557 as carried out on these lands. Originally this reform was to have been confined to the sovereign's vast properties, but in practice it was extended to many private properties as well. Its implementation was based on Polish experience. The objects of the reform were to regulate and increase the peasants' obligations, to increase the roll of rents in money rather than in kind, and to create the conditions required for the enlargement of landed estates. The *corvée* was to consist of two days' work a week on a *włoka ciągła* (plot of land of 21.6 hectares cultivated by peasant-serfs with their own beasts of burden, in exchange for the *włoki* let to the peasant) and one *włoka* out of seven was to be annexed to the landlord's estate. In short the relations created on these lands were similar to those existing on the Crown (Polish Kingdom) lands of the Republic. Note must be taken of some peculiarities concerning the lands of Żmudz (western part of Lithuania), probably accounted for by the proximity of the Baltic ports as well as by the passage to the system of renting of the population in the vast royal estates (in the estate of Szawle in Żmudz in 1640, in the remaining estates in the second half of the 17th century).²¹ The *folwarki* were never able to develop in

²¹ The development of agrarian relationships in Lithuania and White Russia have been studied in particular in both Polish and Soviet historiography. The bibliography on this subject has been dealt with by: OCHMAŃSKI J., *Rołnictwo na Litwie feudalnej w świetle nowszych badań* (Agriculture in feudal Lithuania in the light of recent researches), in «KHKM», a. 9, 1961, n. 4, pp. 819-826. See also: *La grande réforme agraire en Lituanie et en Ruthénie Blanche au XVI siècle*, in «Ergon», vol. 2, 1960, pp. 327-342; LOWMIANSKI H., *Uwagi w sprawie podłoża społecznego i gospodarczego unii jagiellońskiej* (Considerations on the social and economic substratum of the Union of the Jagiellons), in «Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu czterechsetnej rocznicy wydania pierwszego statutu litewskiego», Wilna, 1935, pp. 287-325; KASPERCZAK S., *Rozwój gospodarki folwarcznej na Litwie i Białorusi do poł. XVI w.* (Development of the big estates in Lithuania and White Russia up to the end of the 16th century), Poznań, 1965; OCHMAŃSKI J., *Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów biskupstwa wileńskiego 1387-1550* (Origin and development of the latifundium of the bishopric of Wilna 1387-1550), Poznań, 1963, Queen Bona Sforza played a very important role in the economic organization of the properties of the Grand-Duchy. See: POCIECHA W., *Królowa Bona (1494-1557)* (Queen Bona), vol. III, Poznań, 1958. Of the earlier Polish researches, the following deserve to be mentioned: INGLÓT S., *Sprawy gospodarcze Lwa Sapiehy 1588-1607* (Economic Questions of Lew Sapieha. 1588-1607), in «Studia... poświęcone F. Bujakowski», Lwów, 1931, pp. 165-226; KOSCIALKOWSKI S., *Ze studiów nad dziejami ekonomii królewskich na Litwie* (Studies on the history of the royal domains in Lithuania), in «Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie», vol. 5, 1911-1914, pp. 85-168; also: ANTONI TYZENHANSZ, vols. I-II, London, 1970-71; KULA W., *Szkice o manufakturach w Polsce XVIII w.* (Essay on Manufacturing in Poland in the 18th century), part III, Warsaw,

Eastern White Russia because of the difficult and costly transport of cereals to the Baltic ports and the weakness of city markets.²²

In Ukraine the landlord's farm began to develop fairly early since the customs registers record large-scale cereal movements already in 1583. However this was true above all of the regions having easier access to the river ports on the Bug and the San, tributaries of the Vistula. But in the 18th century, when the long and disastrous wars and Tartar raids at last came to an end, these late feudal farm spread also to more distant territories, for instance to Podolia, where its development was not so intense as in the Vistula basin. Where the transport of cereals was not remunerative, the landowners' incomes were based on rents, and the manufacture and sale of spirits acquired growing importance.²³

This late feudal system spread also to the regions which, at the time, were outside the boundaries of the Republic: Silesia and West Pomerania. In Silesia conditions were more suitable for the development of the local market as the country was far more highly urbanized and extensive unproductive areas existed at the foot of the mountains. Unlike the territories of the Republic, Silesia never became a grain exporting centre. On the contrary a certain amount of cereals was imported from the neighbouring Great Poland. Big farms producing for the market grew up in Silesia towards the end of the 15th century, and particularly after the middle of the 17th century. This phenomenon was fostered by the existence of many territories that became depopulated after the ravages of the Thirty Years War. Owing to the pattern of demand and natural cultivation conditions, production here was centred less exclusively than in the Kingdom on cereals; in fact animal husbandry, fishing, hop-growing, etc. played a more important role. Serfdom (binding peasants to the land) developed early in the 16th century (laws of 1505, 1512 and 1528), but the measures relating to it were only unified in 1652. Social and economic relations in Silesia showed considerable differences.²⁴

1956, pp. 309-448; WIECZOREK W., *Z dziejów ustroju rolnego W. Ks. Litewskiego w XVIII w.* (History of the agrarian structure in the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania in the 18th century), Poznań, 1930; ZABKO-POTOPOWICZ A., *Praca najemna i najemnik w rolnictwie W. Ks. Litewskiego w XVIII w.* (Paid work and farm labourers in the agriculture of the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania in the 18th century), Warsaw, 1928.

²² TOPOLSKA M. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 77-83, 112-133.

²³ See GULDON Z., *Związki handlowe dóbr magnackich* (Trade relations of the magnates' estates); HOMECKI A., *op. cit.*; RYCHLIKOWA I., *Produkcja zbozowa* (Grain production); SERCZYK W. A., *Gospodarstwo magnackie w województwie podolskim w II poł. XVIII w.* (The magnate's farm in the palatinate of Podolia in the middle of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1965.

²⁴ HECK R., *Uwagi o gospodarce folwarcznej na Śląsku w okresie Odrodzenia* (Considerations on the landowner's farm in Silesia in the Renaissance period), in « Sobotka », a. 11, 1956, n. 2, pp. 169-211; also: *Studia nad położeniem ekonomicznym ludności wiejskiej na Śląsku w XVI w.* (Studies on the economic situation of the rural population

In Western Pomerania (up to 1637 a duchy which was subsequently divided between Brandenburg and Sweden), the big farm (*folwark*) producing for the market was born at the end of the 14th century under the pressure of the city's demand for agricultural produce. Its development reached a peak in the 16th century. Exports were not of the same importance as in neighbouring countries.²⁵ There at the end of the 16th century, the process of binding peasants to the land came to an end there; since 1616 they had been forbidden to leave the land.

It is not easy to calculate the degree of development of big estates (*folwarki*) in the Polish lands. The most appropriate measure seems to be the index determining the ratio between sowing on the landlord's farm and on the peasant farms (making the latter equal to 100). This ratio varied appreciably according to time and place. The landlord's farms certainly did not produce as much as those of the peasants.²⁶

As a matter of fact the yield of grain harvests can only be investigated for the landlords' farms, and especially for the big estates which were the only ones that kept regular books. This is a question that has been given particular attention by students in the last twenty years.²⁷ A typical harvest

in Silesia in the 16th century), Wrocław, 1959; JANCZAK J., *Rozmieszczenie produkcji roślinnej i zwierzecej na Śląsku na przełomie XVIII i XIX w.* (Distribution of crops and livestock production in Silesia at the turn of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1964; WOLANSKI M., *Związki handlowe Śląska z kreczypospoli ta w XVII w.* (Trade relations between Silesia and the Polish Republic in the 17th century), Wrocław, 1961, pp. 277-288; see also note 18.

²⁵ TOPOLSKI J., *Uwagi o przyczynach powstania i rozwoju gospodarki folwarczno-panszczyznianej na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Consideration on the causes responsible for the birth and growth of the late feudal type of economy in Western Pomerania), in «*Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*», vol. 6, 1960, issue 2, pp. 118-125; WACHOWIAK B., *Gospodareze położenie chłopów w domenach księstwa szczecińskiego w XVI i w I poł. XVII w.* (The economic situation of the peasants on the lands belonging to the Duchy of Stettin in the 16th and first half of the 17th century), Stettin, 1967, pp. 35-46.

²⁶ This is a point upon which agreement is general. Regarding the index of growth of the landowners' farms, see: ZYTKOWICZ L., *Ze studiów nad wysokością plonów w Polsce od XVI do XVIII w.* (Studies on the yield ratios in Poland from the 16th to the 18th centuries), in «*KHKM*», a. 14, 1966, n. 3, pp. 472-474. See also: *Studia nad wydajnością gospodarstwa wiejskiego na Mazowszu* (Studies on the productivity of peasant farms in Mazovia in the 17th century), Warsaw, 1969, pp. 85-88.

²⁷ Systematic researches on harvests were started by A. WAWRZYŃCZYKOWA, *Proba ustalenia wysokości plonów w dobrach Pabianice w II poł. XVI w.* (An attempt to establish the size of harvests on the Pabianice properties in the second half of the 16th century), in «*Studia z dziejów gospodarstwa wiejskiego*», vol. 2, 1959, pp. 81-129. See also: *Problem wysokości plonów w królewczynach mazowieckich w II poł. XVI i I ewierci XVII w.* (The question of the yield ratios in the royal possessions in Mazovia in the second half of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century), *ibid.*, vol. 4, 1961, issue 1, pp. 39-129 (researches by other author on the intensity of production on the various estates are also quoted). By the same author see also: *Stan badań nad wysokością plonów w rolnictwie polskim XVI-XVIII w.* (State of researches on the yield

appears to have consisted of from 2 to 4 seeds for each area sown. It is only in the second half of the 18th century that a certain improvement is noted as harvests with between 3 and 6 seeds begin to prevail.²⁸ This low yield was the consequence of primitive cultivation methods, a scant development of livestock breeding, and, especially on the big estates, the extensive character of agriculture at the time. The system of allowing the land to lie fallow for a certain period did not prevent it from becoming impoverished.²⁹ Under this aspect the situation in Poland did not differ much from the situation in the bordering regions. There was, on the contrary, a great difference between Poland and some West European countries, but Poland nevertheless became the foremost exporter of cereals to the West. The transformation of the farm in Poland from tenancy to serfdom gave rise to appreciable and — it must be added — adverse consequences on the further evolution of society. Its effects were strongest and weighed most heavily on the destinies and situation of the peasant population. A substantial change took place in the social, economic and juridical position of the peasants. The increase in the landlords' demands on the one hand and, on the other hand, the

ratios in Polish agriculture in the 16th-18th centuries), in «KHM», a. 8, 1960, n. 1, pp. 103-117 in which the studies on this subject are examined; SZCZYGIELSKI W., *Produkcja rolnicza gospodarstwa folwarcznego w ziemi wielunskiej od XVI do XVIII w.* (Agricultural production of the landlord's farm in the lands of Wielun from the 16th to the 18th century), Łódź, 1963; and *Le rendement de la production agricole en Pologne du XVI au XVIII siècle sur le fond européen*, in «Ergon», vol. 5, 1966, pp. 795-805; ŻYTKOWICZ L., *Grain Yields in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Slovakia in the 16 to 18 centuries*, «APH», vol. 24, 1971, pp. 51-72. Another point of view is represented by WYCZANSKI A., *O badaniu plonówzboż w dawnej Polsce* (On studies on grain harvests in old Poland), in «KHKM», a. 16, 1968, n. 2, pp. 251-274; see also: *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI i I poł. XVII w.* (Studies on the consumption of foodstuffs in Poland in the 16th and first half of the 18th century), Warsaw, 1969, pp. 193-206 and *The Agricultural Production and its Amount in the XVIth Century in Poland*, in «SHO», vol. 4, 1970, pp. 3-13. See also: RYCHLIKOWA I., *Perspektywy badania plonów w II poł. XVIII i I poł. XIX w. na terytorium Małopolski i Polski Środkowej* (Perspectives of the research on harvests in the territory of Little Poland and Central Poland in the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th century), in «Studia Historyczne», vol. 12, 1969, pp. 311-336.

²⁸ A more accurate calculation does not seem possible at the present stage of research. For the period under consideration attempts to calculate the yield of a given unit of land, e.g. quintals per hectare, would be misleading. See RYCHLIKOWA I., *W sprawie modernizacji warsztatu historyka rolnictwa* (On the question of the modernization of the research methods of agricultural historians), in «KHKM», a. 16, 1968, n. 1, pp. 28-36.

²⁹ OCHMANSKI W., *Wiedza rolnicza w Polsce od XVI do poł. XVIII w.* (Knowledge of agriculture in Poland from the 16th to the middle of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1965, pp. 53-70, 101-104; PODRAZA A., *Jakub Kazimierz Haur, pisarz rolniczy z XVII w.* (Jakub Kazimierz Haur, rural writer of the 17th century), Wrocław, 1961, pp. 115-136. See: TOPOLSKI J., *Les changements dans la technique agricole en Pologne à l'époque moderne XVI-XVIII s.*, in «Rivista di Storia dell'Agricoltura», vol. 3, 1963, n. 4, pp. 56-67.

existence of unfarmed lands and « uninhabited areas » on lands formerly farmed were an incentive for the peasants to escape. To react against this the dominant class availed itself of its prominent political position in the State. A gradual narrowing of the peasant's legal status on the land (*glæbae adscriptio*) is witnessed from the beginning of the development of the latifundia (1496). The many laws issued by the Diet against escapes (more than 60 in the 16th and 17th centuries) are evidence that escape was proving an efficient means of resistance for the peasant class.³⁰ At the same time relations between the peasant and the government authorities were gradually broken off. From the middle of the 15th century suits brought by subjects against their lords disappeared from the royal courts of justice.³¹ The result was that the lord enjoyed full power.³² The legal situation of the peasant population can be defined as strict serfdom. Up to 1768 *ius vitae ac necis* was in the hand of the nobility. Controversy still exists as regards the problem of what meaning is to be given to deals connected with the sale of serfs.³³

Together with his rights the peasant also lost his economic independence as his contacts with the market grew more restricted; under the burden of his obligations to the landlord, the peasant was less and less able to increase production on his own farm. His surplus production for the market shrank enormously in respect of total production. Consequently only peasants with big farms were able to enjoy the benefits of the rise in grain prices.³⁴

³⁰ See SRENIOWSKI S., *Zbiegostwo chłopów w dawnej Polsce jako zagadnienie ustroju społecznego* (Peasants' desertions in old Poland as a problem of social structure), Warsaw, 1948. The problem of the different forms of resistance of the Polish peasant class is examined by many authors. A number of attitudes are described by S. INGLOT in the introduction to *Historia chłopów polskich*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1970, pp. 25-27; see also pp. 401-406.

³¹ LYSIAK L., *Sadownictwo królewskie w sprawach chłopskich do poł. XVI w.* (Royal jurisdiction in peasants' law-suits up to the middle of the 16th century), in «CPH», vol. 17, 1965, issue 2, p. 63, rejects the thesis so far accepted that the king only granted the right to pass sentences in law-suits between subjects and their masters in 1518. See also: MATUSZEWSKI J., *W sprawie genezy sadu referendarskiego* (The question of the genesis of the Court of Referendaria), in «CPH», vol. 6, 1954, issue 2, pp. 338-366.

The legal and social peculiarities of the peasants' situation on the royal estates are mentioned by Z. CWIEK in *Z dziejów wsi koronnej XVII w.* (History of the Royal Possessions in the 17th century), Warsaw, 1966.

³² *Historia chłopów polskich*, vol. I, pp. 310-319.

³³ See DERESIEWICZ J., *Handel chłopami w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Peasant trading in the old Polish Republic), Warsaw, 1958; see also: MATUSZEWSKI J., *Czy handlowano chłopami w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej* (On whether peasants were traded in the Old Polish Republic), in «Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego», vol. 15A, 1960, pp. 71-74; ORZECHOWSKI K., *O władztwie pana feudalnego wobec uzależnionych od niego chłopów* (On the power of the feudal lord over his peasants), in «CPH», vol. 12, 1960, issue 2, pp. 279-296.

³⁴ According to calculations based on the register of the Church tithe for the first half of the 17th century in Mazovia, only peasants cultivating a whole *włoka* of land

It is no easy matter to ascertain the economic importance of the burdens placed on the peasants by the landlords in this period, for the following reasons: *a)* the complicated structure and great heterogeneity of the feudal income; *b)* the impossibility of reducing all its elements to a common denominator, *e. g.* through their calculation in money; *c)* an insufficient knowledge of the rate of production of the peasant farms. The «conversion» of the servitudes into money is a methodological error: labour was not a commodity and seldom passed through the market.³⁵

It is these reasons that make it impossible to answer the question concerning the extent to which obligations to the landlord influenced the production effects and possibilities of the peasants.³⁶ At the stage reached at present by the knowledge of this problems all that can be said is that from the end of the 16th century the peasant-serf with a self-sufficient farm was obliged to keep a labourer and a beast of burden to perform his duties on the landlord's property, especially during the harvest season when these duties were heaviest. He was also obliged to give the landlord about 15% of his production in the form of services and rents. To the foregoing must be add Church dues, *i. e.* the tithe and the so-called *missalia* or mass offerings,³⁷ as well as

could permanently enjoy a considerable surplus; see ZYTKOWICZ L., *An Investigation into Agricultural Production in Mazovia in the First Half of the 17th Century*, in «APH», vol. 18, 1968, pp. 109-113.

³⁵ See KULA W., *Teoria ekonomiczna* (Economic theory), p. 27-44. Nevertheless this method is still used.

³⁶ The essay by M. KNIAT, *Gospodarcze znaczenie cieżarów ludności włościanskiej w Polsce w XVIII w.* (Economic importance of the tributes of the peasant population in Poland in the 18th century) in «Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk», vol. 6, Poznań, 1930, pp. 121-183, gave rise to important reserves of a methodological nature. See in this connection KULA W., *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej* (Problems and methods of economic history), Warsaw, 1963, pp. 229-231. Almost all the authors who have dealt with the peasant farm have attempted to calculate the amount of the services due to the landowner; see the already quoted studies by S. Cackowski, R. Heck, J. Topolski, E. Trzyna, B. Wachowiak, A. Wawrzynczykowa and others (see note 41 below). A special study has been devoted to the later period by A. FALNIOWSKA-GRADOWSKA, *Świadczenia poddanych na rzecz dworu w królewskich województwach krakowskiego w II poł. XVII w.* (Services and tributes due by peasants of the royal estates of the palatinate of Craców in the second half of the 18th century), Wrocław, 1964.

³⁷ The Church tithe — from the time of the publication of the essay by M. WYZYNSKI, *Ze studiów nad historią dziesięciny w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Studies on the history of the tithe in Medieval Poland), Lwów, 1929 — has been the object of studies regarding in particular conflicts between the nobles and the clergy; see in this connection KOWALSKA H., *Walka o dziesięciny na sejmach egzekucyjnych w l. 1562-1565* (The fight for the tithe in the executive diets in the years 1562-1565), in «Reformacja i Odrodzenie w Polsce», vol. I, 1956, pp. 71-101; JANCZAK J. K., *Zagadnienie cieżarów kościelnych we wsiach województwa łeczyckiego w XVI-XVIII w.* (The problem of Church taxes in the lands of the palatinate of Leeczyca in the 16th-18th centuries) in «Rocznik Łódzki», vol. 4, 1961, pp. 31-49.

government taxes, the frequency and amount of which depended on the resolutions taken time by time by the Diet. All this prevents us from establishing precisely the grain budget of the peasant farm.³⁸

Rents in kind, taxes and servitudes were not the only forms of economic exploitation of the land. There were also the nobles' monopolies as in the case of the grinding of cereals and the *propinatio* (manufacture and sale of beer and brandy). After the suppression of the free cabarets and the repeal of the peasants' right to make their own beer (in the 16th century), the income received by the nobles from the *propinatio* increased rapidly. Particularly where the sale of cereals was difficult, the *propinatio* was the nobles' main source of income. The most plentiful information concerning the growth of this monopoly refers to the second half of the 18th century. In this period, to quote an example, 30-40 percent of the grain production of the Czartoryski farms was used to make spirits.³⁹ Another tool used by the landlords to exploit the peasants was the measuring system employed at the time, or rather the way in which these measures were used. The measurement of the land allowed the workers' obligations to be increased and the measurement of the cereals allowed their services in kind to be increased.⁴⁰

The development of the *folwark* and of servitudes obviously had a very considerable influence on the economic and social structure of the rural population.⁴¹ The percentage of self-sufficient farms, known as *kmiece*

³⁸ See WYCZANSKI A., *Próba analizy matematycznej ekonomiki gospodarstwa chłopskiego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.* (Attempted mathematical analysis of the economy of peasant farms in Poland in the 16th-18th centuries) in «*Studia z dziejów gospodarstwa wiejskiego*», vol. 8, 1966, pp. 341-347; CACKOWSKI S., *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 154-157; WAWRZYŃCZYKOWA A., *Gospodarstwo chłopskie w dobrach królewskich na Mazowszu w XVI i na pocz. XVII w.* (The peasant farm in the royal estates in Mazovia in the 16th and early 17th century), Warsaw, 1962, pp. 185-192; ŻYTKOWICZ L., *Studia nad wydajnością gospodarstwa wiejskiego* (Studies on the productivity of farms), pp. 76-84.

³⁹ LESKIEWICZOWA J., *Próba analizy gospodarki dóbr magnackich w Polsce* (Attempted analysis of the economy of the magnates' estates in Poland), Warsaw, 1964, appendix p. 4; CZARTORYSKI J., *Mysli moje o zasadach gospodarskich* (My ideas on economic principles), in «*PH*», vol. 46, 1955, issue 3, p. 447; RYCHLIKOWA I., *Studia nad towarową produkcją* (Studies on production for the market), pp. 217-234, 241-249.

⁴⁰ KULA W., *Miary i ludzie* (Measures and men), Warsaw, 1970, pp. 225-259; see SRENIOWSKI S., *Uwagi o łanach w ustroju folwarczno-panszczyznianym wsi polskiej* (Observations concerning the old land measures in the Polish countryside in the 16-18th centuries), in «*KHKM*», a. 3, 1955, n. 2, pp. 301-331; FALNIOWSKA-GRADOWSKA A., *Miary zbozowe w województwie krakowskim w XVIII w.* (Grain measures in the palatinate of Cracow in the 18th century), in «*KHKM*», a. 13, 1965, n. 4, pp. 663-688; RYCHLIKOWA I., *Staropolskie miary ziemi* (The old Polish land measures), in «*KHKM*», a. 18, 1970, n.1, pp. 85-103.

⁴¹ On the economic, vocational and social structure of the rural population see RUTKOWSKI J., *Statystyka zawodowa ludności wiejskiej w Polsce w II poł. XVI w.* (Vocational statistics concerning the rural population in Poland in the second half of the 16th century), in «*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny*»,

and in Pomerania as *gburske*, decreased. This was due, to a certain extent, to the economic policy pursued by the landlord's farm. The ideal size for a landlord's farm was half a *tan* (an old land measure equal to approximately 16,8 hectares) as a farm of this size could maintain the necessary manpower without too many demands on the time of the peasant and his family. However the size of the farm did not depend on the landlord and the excessive increase in taxes led to an increase in the number of farms consisting of a quarter of a *tan*, which prevailed in some parts of the country. This shrinkage in the acreage of the self-sufficient farms grew still more marked after the ravages caused by the wars in the middle of the 17th century, although the amount of land available for cultivation increased as a result of the loss of population.⁴² At the same time the percentage of the other classes

vol. 61, 1918, pp. 277-360 and appendixes, Cracow, 1918, and also *Studia nad położeniem włościan w Polsce w XVIII w.* (Studies on the situation of peasants in Poland in the 18th century), in «*Studia z dziejów wsi polskiej, XVI-XVIII w.*», Warsaw, 1956, pp. 145-240; JAKÓBCZYK W., *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich zachodnich województw korony w II poł. XVI w.* (Stratification of the rural population in the royal lands of the western palatinate of the Kingdom in the second half of the 16th century), in «*RDSiG*», vol. 5, 1936, pp. 45-68; KOZŁOWSKI E., *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w Wielkopolsce w II poł. XVI w.* (Stratification of the rural population of Great Poland in the second half of the 16th century), in «*Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*», vol. 5, 1928, pp. 157-252; MOSCICKI A., *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w dobrach kapituły poznańskiej w I poł. XVI w.* (Stratification of the rural population in the properties of the chapter of Poznan in the first half of the 16th century), in «*RDSiG*», vol. 2, 1932, pp. 113-121; RUSIŃSKI W., *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich Prus Królewskich w II poł. XVII w.* (Stratification of the rural population in the royal lands of Royal Prussia in the second half of the 17th century), in «*RDSiG*», vol. 6, 1937, pp. 87-114; INGLÓT S., *Stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze w dobrach biskupstwa wrocławskiego w I poł. XVI w.* (Socio-economic relations on the lands of the bishopric of Wrocław in the first half of the 16th century), Lwów, 1927; TRZYNA E., *Położenie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich województwach krakowskiego w XVII w.* (Situation of the rural population in the royal lands of the palatinate of Cracow in the 17th century), Wrocław, 1963.

In the years 1953-1957 a discussion arose concerning the stratification of the rural population in the late feudal system; see SRENIOWSKI S., *Problem rozwarstwienia chłopstwa w ustroju folwarczno-panszczyznianym w Polsce* (Problem of the stratification of peasants in the late feudal system in Poland), in «*PH*», vol. 46, 1955, issue 4, pp. 584-607; RUSIŃSKI W., *Uwagi o rozwarstwieniu wsi w Polsce XVIII w.* (Considerations on the stratification of the peasants in Poland in the 18th century), in «*KH*», a. 60, 1953, n. 2, pp. 161-182; controversial theses, *ibid.*, a. 61, 1954, n. 1, pp. 205-231; see also: MADUROWICZ H.-PODRAZA A., *Ekonomiczne przesłanki i elementy kapitalistycznego rozwarstwienia wsi małopolskiej w II poł. XVIII w.* (Economic premises and elements of capitalist stratification of the peasants in Little Poland in the second half of the 18th century), in «*Studia z dziejów wsi małopolskiej w II poł. XVIII w.*», Warsaw, 1957, pp. 225-260.

⁴² The structure of the ownership of land by the peasants is dealt with in the researches previously quoted by S. Cackowski, A. Maczak, E. Trzyna, A. Wawrzynczykowa and others.

of rural population increased, the so-called *zagrodniki*, peasants holding in usufruct only a small plot of land around a house and subject to servitudes, the *chalupniki*, peasants having only a houses, mostly of wood (*chalupa*), with a small kitchen garden and subject to servitudes, and the *komorniki*, labourers who lived in a rented cottage. Here are some examples:

PERCENTAGE OF INDEPENDENT PEASANTS (KMIECJE)
IN 176 ROYAL VILLAGES IN THE PALATINATE OF CRACOW

Part of the palatinate	Year 1564	1st half of 17th century	Year 1660
North	68.6	55.8	40.9
Centre	67.5	50.3	33.0
South	74.7	65.9	56.6 ⁴³

In the southern part of the palatinate, a mountainous region, conditions were unfavourable for the development of landlords' farms and the decrease in the number of independent peasants was consequently slower. Another example comes from the opposite side of the country, *i. e.* from the lands on the border of the Prussian Principality (lands of Chelm and Lubava):

PROPERTIES OF THE BISHOPS OF CHELM

	Year 1614	Year 1646	Year 1676
% of independent peasants	79.6	58.5	50.4

PROPERTIES OF THE CHAPTER OF CHELM

	Year 1605	Year 1651	Year 1666
% of independent peasants	85.7	70.4	69.3 ⁴⁴

All these events, which were unpropitious for peasant farms, did not succeed in completely excluding them from trade. As has already been said, big peasant farms producing for the market predominated in the highly urbanized regions, such as Royal Prussia. However all the peasant farms, irrespective of their size, were obliged to convert part of their production into money, even if their own consumption suffered as a consequence, to obtain the funds they needed to pay their rents and government taxes and buy such as articles as they were not able to produce themselves (salt, herrings, iron parts for tools, some clothing and shoes). The high profits the landlords obtained from the *propinatio* show that the peasants had money with which to buy spirits.⁴⁵

⁴³ TRYNA E., *Położenie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich województwach krakowskiego* (Situation of the rural population in the royal lands of the palatinate of Cracow), pp. 86-87.

⁴⁴ CACROWSKI S., *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 106-107.

⁴⁵ Not only the landowners, but also the towns, especially the small one, made money out of the production and sale of spirits.

Certainly the peasants did not sell cereals only. As has already been said, only the big farms, only those with several *włoli* or *lans* of land could count on a steady surplus grain production. The products sold by the peasants were those derived from animal husbandry, such as cheese, poultry and some head of cattle, and next vegetables, firewood and products picked in the woods (mushrooms and berries). It was thus possible to supply a number of big and small towns even if they were but scarcely populated.⁴⁶ But this was not the only channel through which grain grown by the peasants reached the market. Large quantities poured into the granaries on the landlord's farms as rent in kind or milling dues. The ecclesiastic institutions collected grain in the form of tithes. In short the marketable bulk of peasant's grain, sold directly by the peasants themselves or by the landlord, far exceeded the quantity supplied by the landlords' farms. This is a point of considerable importance in estimating the economic role of the landlord's farm (*folwark*). The conclusion reached is that the landlords' farms did not, proportionally, make a very large contribution to the increase in the quantity of grain traded.⁴⁷ The most important point is that the development of the landlords' farms ensured the big landowners of a very large slice of the incomes of the peasant farms.

Polish historiography is fairly unanimous in recognizing the first signs of the economic crisis or regression in the last decades of the 16th century. This crisis was to last until the middle of 18th century. Of course the peasant farms were affected too.⁴⁸ Although it has been rightly pointed out that this complicated problem still calls for detailed analytic research, synthetic deduc-

⁴⁶ RUSIŃSKI W., *O rynku wewnętrznym w Polsce II poł. XVIII w.* (Poland's domestic market in the second half of the 18th century), in «RDSiG», vol. 16, 1954, tables 1A and 1B calculate the Crown's town-dwelling population to have been 17.9% of the total in 1775. A large part of this population was moreover engaged in agriculture. The network of big and small towns in Lithuania and in White Russia is traced by S. ALEXANDROWICZ in *Geneza i rozwój sieci miasteczek Białorusi i Litwy od XV do poł. XVII w.* (Genesis and growth of the network of small towns in White Russia and Lithuania from the 15th to the middle of the 17th century, with map), in «Acta Baltico-Slavica», vol. 47, 1970, pp. 47-108.

⁴⁷ This is the conclusion drawn from the attempted calculation of the grain sales of the big estates of the bishopric of Plock in Mazovia in the middle of the 17th century. ZYTKOWICZ L., *Studia nad wydajnością gospodarstwa wiejskiego* (Studies on the productivity of the rural economy), pp. 123-126.

⁴⁸ SRENIOWSKI S., *Oznaki regresu w ustroju folwarczno-panszczyznianym w Polsce u schyłku XVI w.* (Signs of regression in Poland towards the end of 16th century), in «KH», a. 61, 1954, n. 2, pp. 165-196; TOPOLSKI J., *O tzw. kryzysie gospodarczym XVII w. w Europie* (On the so-called economic crisis of the 17th century in Europe), in «KH», a. 59, 1962, n. 2, pp. 364-379, also *La régression économique en Pologne du XVI au XVIII siècle*, in «APH», vol. 7, 1962, pp. 28-49; WYCZAŃSKI A., *W sprawie kryzysu XVII st.* (On the question of the 17th century crisis), in «KH», a. 59, 1962, n. 3, pp. 656-672; MACZAK A., *O kryzysie i kryzysach XVII w.* (On the 17th century crisis and crises), in «KH», a. 70, 1963, n. 1, pp. 53-68.

tions are nevertheless possible.⁴⁹ In the second half of the 17th century the whole country suffered enormous damages from the wars. We are better acquainted with the extent of these damages⁵⁰ than with their economic consequences⁵¹ and with the process of economic reconstruction.⁵² The latter is generally stated to have been a lengthy process. At the beginning of the 18th century there were new defeats and further devastations (the Great Northern War of 1700-1709) to which were added natural calamities such as the epidemic of 1708-1709 so that it was only towards 1740 that some signs of recovery became recognizable.⁵³

Here we can only note that the period running from the middle of the 17th century is perhaps the period of agrarian history in Poland about which least is known. The scarcity of sources is a serious obstacle to research. Sources are in fact far less plentiful than those available for the preceding and above all for the following period. This is due to the country's general economic and cultural decay in the period in question. For this reason the most important problem in the history of Poland in these years — the development and character of economic reconstruction after the devastation caused by the war — is still almost completely unexplored.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ The need for further research is pointed out by HOSZOWSKI S., *Kleski elementarne w Polsce w l. 1587-1648* (Natural calamities in Poland in the years 1587-1648), in «Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane R. Grodeckiemu», Warsaw, 1960, p. 453; WYCZANSKI A., *Polska Rzeczpospolita szlachecka* (The Poland of the Nobles' Republic), Warsaw, 1965, p. 199.

⁵⁰ See a series of articles in «Polska w okresie drugiej wojny polnocnej 1655-1660», vol. 2, Warsaw, 1957 and TOPOLSKI J., *Wplyw wojen pol. XVII w. na sytuacje ekonomiczna Podlasia* (Influence on the economic situation of Podlasie of the wars in the middle of the 17th century), in «Studia Historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej H. Lowmianskiego», Warsaw, 1958, pp. 309-349. The results of these researches are probably over-pessimistic and should be corrected, the need being felt for ampler sources.

⁵¹ See TOPOLSKI J., *Uwagi o badaniach nad wplywem zniszczen wojennych w pol. XVII w. na sytuacje ekonomiczna kraju* (Considerations on research concerning the influence of war destruction on the country's economic situation in the middle of the 18th century), in «Studia i materialy do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza», vol. 1, 1960, issue 1, pp. 468-478.

⁵² One of the few researches on this subject is by TRZYNA E., *Kwestia zniszczen wojennych i wojskowych oraz zabamowanie rozwejn gospodarczego królewskich województwa krakowskiego w II pol. XVII w.* (The question of war and military destruction and the curbing of economic development in the royal lands in the second half of the 17th century), in «Malopolskie Studia Historyczne», a. 8, 1965, issue 1-2, pp. 71-94.

⁵³ TOPOLSKI J., *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach arcybiskupstwa gnieznienskigo* (Rural economy on the property of the archbishopric of Gniezno), p. 148 ff.; GIEROWSKI J., in «Historia Polski», vol. I, part 2, Warsaw, 1957, p. 746 ff.; RÓZYCKA-GLASSOWA M., *op. cit.*, pp. 122-130.

⁵⁴ The question of the reconstruction of the countryside after the ravages of war, raised by Rutkowski, still requires further research. RUTKOWSKI J., *Przebudowa wsi w Polsce po wojnach z pol. XVII w.* (Reconstruction of the countryside in Poland after the wars in the middle of the 17th century), in «Studia z dziejów wsi polskiej», pp. 81-107.

Finally the history of the changes in the agrarian structure in the period of late feudalism may be said to have aroused considerable interest among Polish historians. This is probably due to the fact that the big estates (*folwark*) and serfdom (*pańszczyzna*) left a strong imprint on the whole historical process, influencing the destinies of the people and of the state. What is particularly striking, however, is the fact that such prominence is given by research studies to the economic aspects: the feudal income, social organization, the size of production and the trading of agricultural produce. There are still some zones of shadow in the social history of the rural population, but noteworthy progress has been made also in this field.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ A collection of research in this field is to be found in *Historia chłopów polskich*, edited by S. Inglot, vol. I, Warsaw, 1970.