
Functional Types of Polish Towns in the XVI-XVIIIth Centuries

Andrzej Wyrobisz
University of Warszawa

Functional typology is used successfully by geographers, economists and sociologists as a systematic means for studying the social and economic functions of contemporary towns. Quantitative methods and an analysis of the professional structure of the population most frequently provide the basis for distinguishing the functional types of such towns. Historians have rarely attempted to describe the functional types of towns in the past, although it would seem that despite an absence of suitable statistical sources, this operation can make a valuable contribution to research on towns and their economic and social role.¹ I should

¹ The most important concepts and research conducted by geographers on the functional typology of towns are presented in: K.A. BOESTER, *Die städtischen Funktionen. Ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Stadtgeographie aufgrund empirischer Untersuchungen in Thüringen*, Berlin 1960, pp. 9-33; R.J. FUCHS, *Soviet Urban Geography - An Appraisal of Post-war Research*, "Annals of the Association of American Geographers", vol. LIV, 1964, no. 2, pp. 276-289; R.H.T. SMITH, *The Function of Australian Towns*, "Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie", vol. LVI, 1965, no. 3, pp. 81-92; IDEM, *Method and Purpose in Functional Town Classification*, "Annals of the Association of American Geographers", vol. LV, 1965, no. 3, pp. 539-548; K. DZIEWONSKI, *Baza ekonomiczna i struktura funkcjonalna miast. Studium rozwoju pojęć, metod i ich zastosowań (The Economic Basis and the Functional Structure of Towns. A Study of the Development of Concepts, Methods and Their Use)*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 38-46, 68-76.

The following works are of particular importance: A. HETTNER, *Die wirtschaftlichen Typen der Ansiedlungen*, "Geographische Zeitschrift", vol. VIII, 1902, pp. 92-100

like to propose a functional typology for Polish towns between the XVIth and the XVIIIth centuries, since such a classification enables us to put into clear order the enormous and varied sources with which the historian of Polish towns has to deal, and reveals certain similarities in their development. Of course, we do not have at our disposal sources which would enable us to base our typology on statistics or an analysis of the professional structure of the towns, but quantitative methods are, after all, neither sufficient nor indispensable. The administrative, religious and cultural functions of the towns were connected with the siting of important offices, schools, scientific institutions and centres of worship, and not simply with the number of officials, clergy, teachers and students or their percentage as regards the total population. Given the underdeveloped state of Polish bureaucracy in the pre-partition period, the number of officials employed by even the most important authorities was minimal. Also the number of clergy in famous pilgrimage centres were not

(the first proposal for basing the functional typology of towns on statistical data); M. AUROUSSEAU, The Distribution of Population - A Constructive Problem, "Geographical Review", vol. XI, no. 4, pp. 563-592; Cit. D. HARRIS, A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States, *ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, 1943, no. 1, pp. 86-99; H.J. KEUNIG, Een typologie van Nederlandse steden, "Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie", vol. XLI, 1950, no. 8-9, pp. 187-206; J. KOSTROWICKI, O funkcjach miastotwórczych i typach funkcyjnych miast (On Town-creating Functions and the Functional Types of Towns), "Przegląd Geograficzny", vol. XXIV, 1952, no. 1-2, pp. 7-64; L.L. POWNALL, The Functions of New Zealand Towns, "Annals of the Association of American Geographers", vol. XLIII, 1953, no. 4, pp. 332-350; J.F. HART, Functions and Occupational Structures of Cities of the American South, *ibid.*, vol. XLV, 1955, no. 3, pp. 269-286; H.J. NELSON, A Service Classification of American Cities, "Economic Geography", vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 189-210; L. KOSIŃSKI, Problem of the Functional Structure of Polish Towns, *ibid.*, vol. XXXI, 1959, suppl., pp. 35-67.

Among sociological works on the subject, the following is particularly significant: J. COMHAIRE, W.J. CAHNMAN, *How Cities Grew: the Historical Sociology of Cities*, Madison 1959, pp. 11-18. Noteworthy Polish contributions include: T. LALIK, Funkcje miast i miasteczek w Polsce późniejszego średniowiecza (The Functions of Large and Small Towns in Poland in the Later Middle Ages), "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. XXIII, 1975, no. 4, pp. 551-565; B. KACZMARSKI, Charakter funkcyjny miast śląskich w końcu XVIII wieku (The Functional Character of Silesian Towns at the Close of the XVIIIth Century), *ibid.*, vol. XIV, 1966, no. 2, pp. 209-241.

necessarily larger than in the lesser known but sizeable monasteries. Towns (and sometimes even villages) with well-frequented fairs became trade centres, even though local professional merchants might have been few in number. Whether a town was considered to be a manufacturing centre depended not on the number of craftsmen but on the capabilities of producing for a more extensive market — this, in turn, depended not only on the number of workshops, but also on the nature of production and technology used. To put it briefly, the assessment of the social and economic functions of a town should be based on a variety of other criteria not simply on quantitative research. This does not mean a rejection of statistical methods whenever their use is possible and justified, but that it is necessary to use other methods not only to replace quantitative analyses in those cases where there are no suitable statistical sources, but to also supplement and verify these sources.

Geographical, sociological, economic and historical approaches contain a variety of methods for distinguishing between functional types of towns. W. Sombart reduced all the urban functions to the following two basic types: town-creating (*Städte-gründer*) and supplementary (*Städtefüller*). J. Comhaire and W.J. Cahnman divided towns into production-oriented and consumption-oriented cities; they included into the latter group those which were compelled to import the majority of articles needed and exported little, while in the production-oriented cities there existed a certain equilibrium between import and export. The Comhaire-Cahnman classification seems particularly useful for historical research and I have made it the basis of my functional typology of the Polish towns, with of course inevitable modifications to allow for conditions prevailing in the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries. Other valued distinctions of town functions which I have employed, cover economic functions (the securing of raw materials and their processing, retail and wholesale trade, local and long-distance trade, credit and banking, transport ser-

vices) and others which could be generally called social functions (centres of state authorities and administration, residential towns, scholastic, cultural, scientific and entertainment centres, health service, resorts, military and religious centres). Using the Comhaire-Cahnman classification, the whole group of productive towns fulfils essentially economic functions, while the consumption-oriented towns have certain economic functions yet also possess social functions. The mutual relation between economic and social functions can be characteristic for given stages of urban development (the domination of political and religious functions over economic ones during the early periods of urban development) and can indicate the degree of their growth. Those different functions can and, as a rule, do occur concurrently in the same town, and thus when we speak about the superiority of some of them over others, we have in mind, above all, their scale — do they serve exclusively the inhabitants of a given town (on Sombart's classification these are supplementary functions, *Städtefüller*), and its nearest hinterland or do they extend over larger areas (and thus, become fundamental functions, *Städtegründer*).

For Poland in the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries one ought to consider as production-oriented, and thus with economic functions, those towns whose basis of existence was the securing of mineral or organic raw materials and their processing. Therefore, mining towns constituted one of the production-oriented groups in pre-partition Poland. "A town may be considered a mining town," writes Danuta Molenda, "when mining is its main basis of development in which the majority of inhabitants make their living from mining, either directly (production and processing of the mineral and its distribution) or indirectly (catering and services indispensable to mining)." On the other hand, the author regards the granting of mining rights to such a town, a fact which did not always take place or only after a longer period of development, as a secondary matter. Nor, does she consider it to be indispensable for the workers employed in mining to be the

absolute majority of the entire professionally active population of such a centre.² Mining towns were characterised by a more intensive development of trade and crafts than elsewhere. Poland had only a few such centres: Bochnia and Wieliczka, dependent on salt mining; Olkusz, Sławków, Bytom, Tarnowskie Góry and Miasteczko where lead, silver and zinc ores were exploited. In addition, mining played temporarily a certain role in the growth of Chrzanów, Nowa Góra, Siewierz, Chęciny and Kielce.³ None of these towns had a large population. Their influence upon the economy of the region was also not very considerable, although from the XVIth to the XVIIIth centuries there appeared in the vicinity of Olkusz, Sławków, Bochnia and Wieliczka micro-regions subject to certain specific social and economic processes; for example, Bochnia attracted the local peasants and even the gentry and burgesses from other towns.⁴

² D. MOLENDĄ, Mining Towns in Central-Eastern Europe in Feudal Times. Problem Outline, "Acta Poloniae Historica", vol. XXXIV, 1976, pp. 165-188.

³ D. MOLENDĄ, Piastowskie wolne miasto górnicze Tarnowskie Góry (The Piast Free Mining Town of Tarnowskie Góry) in: TARNOWSKIE GÓRY, *Zarys rozwoju powiatu (TARNOWSKIE GÓRY, An Outline of the Development of the County)*, Katowice 1969, pp. 93-117; idem, Górnictwo chęcińskie w XVI i XVII w. i jego związki z górnictwem śląsko-krakowskim (Mining in the Chęciny Region during the XVIth and XVII Centuries and its Connection with Mining in the Silesian-Cracow Area) in: *Dzieje i technika świętokrzyskiego górnictwa i hutnictwa bruzcowego (The History and Technology of Ore Mining and Metallurgy in the Holy Cross Region)*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 107-120; S. KOWALCZEWSKI, Kielce jako ośrodek staropolskiego górnictwa i hutnictwa (Kielce as a Centre of Old-Polish Mining and Metallurgy), *ibid.*, pp. 29-56; D. MOLENDĄ, Inwestycje produkcyjne i kulturalne w miastach górniczych Europy środkowowschodniej w XIII-XVII w. (Production and Cultural Investment in the Mining Towns of Central-Eastern Europe in the XIIIth-XVIIth Centuries), "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. XXVI, 1978, no. 1, pp. 15-26; idem, Dzieje Olkusza do 1795 roku (The History of Olkusz up to 1795) in: *Dzieje Olkusza i regionu olkuskiego (The History of Olkusz and the Olkusz Region)*, vol. I, Warszawa-Kraków 1978, pp. 147-340; F. KIRYK, Sławków, *ibid.*, pp. 371-396; J. PAZDUR, *Dzieje Kielc do 1863 roku (The History of Kielce up to the year of 1863)*, Wrocław 1967; W. DZIEWULSKI, Powstanie i rozwój Bytomia feudalnego (do 1806 roku) (The Rise and Growth of Feudal Bytom (up to 1806) in: BYTOM, *Zarys rozwoju miasta (BYTOM, An Outline of Urban Development)*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 43-126. Cf. also A. WYROBISZ, Mining in Medieval and Modern Poland, "Journal of European Economic History", vol. V, 1976, no. 3, pp. 757-762.

⁴ See: Księga przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Bochni 1531-1656 (Register of Grants

There were also small agricultural towns that belonged to the production-oriented group. This might appear to be paradoxical since land cultivation and animal husbandry were purely rural occupations. Undoubtedly, the agrarianisation of Polish towns in the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries was a factor which hampered and deformed the urbanisation processes. It remained, however, a fact, and throughout this period in all Polish towns a part of the townsmen were engaged in animal husbandry and land tillage, and in many settlements with municipal rights the number of burgher-farmers exceeded 50 per cent of the total population. Animal husbandry and land cultivation were thus a permanent and sometimes a dominating element in the urban economy. This did not mean that agricultural pursuits ousted trade and the crafts, because it was possible for the different branches of the economy to cooperate. B. Kaczmarek even argues that during the feudal period agriculture was a town-creating factor in cases where the farms of the citizen-farmers were particularly specialised and geared to commodity production intended for sale outside the town area.⁵

Research on the agrarian factors in Polish towns during the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries, although very far from presenting a complete picture, has shown that the majority of farms belonging to the townsmen were undersized, incapable of guaranteeing their owners full subsistence and also unable to provide the whole town with foodstuffs as well as animal and vegetable raw materials. In the towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (that part of the Polish Commonwealth which was considered to have been most dominated by agricultural towns) the percentage of towns-

of the Town Right in Bochnia, 1531-1656), published by F. Kiryk, Wrocław 1979; F. KIRYK, "Szlachta w Bochni. Ze studiów nad społeczeństwem miast górniczych w Małopolsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia" ("The Gentry in Bochnia. From Studies on the Communities in Mining Towns of Little Poland during the XVIth and the First Half of the XVIIth Century"), *Spoleczeństwo Staropolskie*, vol. II, 1979, pp. 71-123.

⁵ B. KACZMAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

men farmers in the middle of the XVIth century varied from 6 to 88 per cent, but only three-quarters of them owned farms large enough to provide their only source of subsistence and only a half were able to provide commodity production. The output of those farms satisfied the consumption needs of the towns only to a slight degree. As few as three of the towns studied were able to satisfy, in this way, approximately 50 per cent of their needs, one by 66 per cent,⁶ and only Lipsk-on-the-Biebrza was completely self-sufficient as regards food supplies, although this was a town planned originally as an agricultural-trade settlement.⁷ In Wieluń, which lay in another region, generally to be dominated by small agricultural towns, approximately 46 per cent of the townsmen were farmers during the second half of the XVIIIth century but as many as 89 per cent owned undersized property under 10 morgi (1 morg = 6,578 sq. yards), quite incapable of feeding one family, only 6 per cent were able to ensure subsistence for a family and a few of the largest farms with 15-35 morgi (barely 5 per cent) were involved in commodity production. All the urban farms of Wieluń were able to satisfy only 25-30 per cent of the need for food as regards grain, but completely met the demand for animal products.⁸ At this same time, in Nowe-on-the-Vistula over 40 per cent of the urban farms were insufficient for the needs of their owners, but about a half of them were commodity-oriented. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Nowe

⁶ J. OCHMAŃSKI, *W kwestii agrarnego charakteru miast Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI wieku* (Concerning the Agricultural Character of Towns in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the XVIth Century) in: *Studia historica. W 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego* (Studia historica. The 35th Anniversary of the Scholarly Activity of Professor Henryk Łowmiański), Warszawa 1958, pp. 290-292.

⁷ A. SZEREMETA, *Lipsk w XVI-XVIII w.* (Lipsk from the XVIth to the XVIIIth Century) in: *Lipsk nad Biebrza. Monografia historyczna do 1914r.* (Lipsk on-the-Biebrza. A Historical Monography up to 1914), Białystok 1980, pp. 34-35.

⁸ J. GOLDBERG, *Stosunki agrarne w miastach ziemi wieluńskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku* (Agricultural Relations in the Towns of the Wieluń Region in the Second Half of the XVIIth and in the XVIIIth Century), Łódź 1960, pp. 139-154.

were able to meet only 40 per cent of the need for foodstuffs.⁹ On the other hand, in the XVIIth century Iłza with 188 łany of arable land, 200 gardens and less than 150 families living there, was able to provide entirely for its own food supplies and even sell a large amount elsewhere.¹⁰ Research conducted by S. Alexandrowicz on 19 towns in Podlasie in 1580 shows that in 11 cases a single house had on the average less than a half of an *włóka* (1 włóka = 30 morg) under cultivation (i.e., an insufficient amount to maintain a family) while in 8 towns land grants exceeded half a *włóka* and provided opportunities for a commodity production.¹¹ In 1571, 33 per cent of the population of Tykocin were burgher-farmers. Practically 80 per cent of the burgher farms were of one *włóka*, or more; most frequent (35 per cent) were farms with half a *włóka*, most suitable for the needs of a family but also 35 per cent were farms with a large land area of 1 to 10 *włóki*, decidedly inclined towards market production. Nevertheless, only some 65 per cent of the need for foodstuffs in Tykocin were met by farms belonging to the burghers. During the XVIIIth century, the subdivision of many burgher farms caused their commodity production to fall considerably. It is estimated that agricultural production in Tykocin covered only 33 per cent of the town's needs, despite the fact that the percentage of burgher farmers did not change since the XVIth century.¹²

⁹ A. PRYLOWSKI, *Gospodarka Nowego n. Wisłą w latach 1662-1772. Problemy produkcji i wymiany* (The Economy of Nowe-on-the-Vistula, 1662-1772. Problems of Production and Exchange), Bydgoszcz 1978, pp. 48-49; cf. J. MAROSZEK, A. WYROBISZ, *Małe miasto jako ośrodek rynku lokalnego i regionalnego na Pomorzu Gdańskim w XVII-XVIII w. Przykład Nowego nad Wisłą* (The Small Town as a Centre of a Local and Regional Market in Eastern Pomerania during the XVIIth-XVIIIth Centuries. The Case of Nowe-on-the-Vistula), "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LXXXI, 1980, no. 1, pp. 139-145.

¹⁰ *Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej w Krakowie (AKKK), Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa krakowskiego 1668 r.* (An Inventory of the Estates of the Cracow Bishopric), k. 407v-410.

¹¹ S. ALEXANDROWICZ, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV w. - 1 poł. XVII w.)* (The Rise and Growth of Towns in the Podlasie Voivodeship (from the XVth to the First Half of the XVIIth Century)), "Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. I, 1964, p. 151.

¹² M. MRÓWCZYŃSKI, *Ludność i gospodarka Tykocina w XVI-XVIII w.* (The

The data presented above shows that the percentage of burghers for whom agriculture was the main, sole and sufficient source of subsistence was actually considerably smaller than that of burghers who owned farms and that, as a result, the contribution of agriculture to the economy of Polish towns should be estimated more carefully than is often the case. It was universal practice to combine the management of an agricultural-animal farm with a craft or trade. In the second half of the XVIIIth century all the merchants and 40 per cent of the artisans of Wieluń were engaged in agriculture, in other words 15 per cent of the burgher farmers had another profession.¹³ In eight of the Lithuanian towns examined by Ochmański, practically 6 per cent of the town farmers were involved in crafts.¹⁴ In Tykocin 20 per cent of the population in 1573 and 30 per cent in 1771 earned its livelihood exclusively from agriculture while in the same years 40 per cent and 6 per cent combined agriculture with some form of craft or trade.¹⁵ The example of Iłża, with fertile soil and a population dominated by farmers but which was also famous for its pottery and had a significant concentration of the crafts, would seem to indicate that more caution is needed when using the term "an agricultural town."

Attention should be drawn to one more aspect of crop and live-stock farming by the town dwellers. The burgher-farms were not only the basis for the subsistence of a part of the townspeople and provided the town with food, but they also were a source of plant and animal raw materials for the crafts. This included the breweries, bakeries and the butcher's trade and also

Population and Economy of Tykocin in the XVIth-XVIIIth Centuries), " *Spółeczeństwo Staropolskie*", vol. III (in print).

¹³ J. GOLDBERG, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴ J. OCHMAŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

¹⁵ M. MRÓWCZYŃSKI, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ A. RYNKOWSKA, *Przemysł lniany w Łodzi w donie Królestwa Kongresowego (1824-1832)* (*The Linen Industry in Łódź during the Congress Kingdom (1824-1832)*), Łódź 1939, pp. 90-91, 96.

all the leather and textile crafts (hides, wool, fibrous plants, dyes). Therefore, agriculture in Polish towns was not always a sign of agrarianisation and of a withdrawal from urban economic functions but, at times, it could have accompanied the development of the crafts by providing an indispensable raw material base. This was also the case during XIXth century industrialisation — the beginnings of the textile industry in Łódź was connected with the settlements of weavers whose task was to cultivate flax on the large plots granted to them; unable to earn a livelihood from their craft and flax production alone, they also grew vegetables.

Finally, the third group of productive towns consisted of industrial centres, or to use a description more appropriate to the period, craft centres. One would expect them to be characterised by a concentration of artisan workshops and specialisation in specific branches of production, yet such a concentration of workshops in these Polish towns is not evident. The index of concentration, calculated on the basis of the Lorentz curves for a number of voivodeships in the Crown at the turn of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries indicates the absence of a clear-cut concentration of craft workshops ($y = 0,38-0,56$). This proves that the Polish towns were oriented mainly to catering to the needs of the local markets. The only really great concentration of the crafts was Gdańsk, with over 3,000 workshops in the first half of the XVIIth century.¹⁷

The structure of the crafts does not point to the emergence of specialised production centres or even to a differentiation between the towns in this respect, depending upon the number of inhabitants or the fulfilment of other non-productive functions. *Table 1* shows that the sectoral structure of the crafts in the Cracow town area (Cracow with Kleparz and Kazimierz) did not differ significantly from the remaining 60 towns of the Cracow voivodeship at the close of the XVIth century. One can only detect a

¹⁷ M. BOGUĆKA, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV-XVII wieku (Gdańsk as a Production Centre in the XIV-XVIIth Centuries)*, Warszawa 1962, pp. 163-165.

higher percentage of specialists in the processing of hides, which confirms the well-known fact that Cracow was a tannery centre, while the percentage of food-consumption crafts was astonishingly low, considering that in such a large trade and cultural centre, one would expect an especially large number of craftsmen of this type to serve visitors and the local population not engaged in production. The branch structure is almost identical even in distant towns like those of the Kujawy and Cracow voivodeships; only in textile production did Kujawy fall considerably behind Little Poland, although the latter had a better developed clothing and linen production. This would appear to demonstrate the absence of a clear-cut territorial specialisation in craft production during the so-called early Polish period. Only the Pomeranian voivodeship was distinct in this respect, since its towns had a much larger percentage of craftsmen connected with the processing of timber and textiles. The fluctuations of percentages between particular craft branches in Cracow, Poznań, Kalisz and Warsaw were not large; in Warsaw a professional specialisation different from other towns, appeared only as late as the XVIIIth century.

On the other hand, one is able to detect definite differences between the degree of specialisation in given towns. The degree of craft specialisations in the large towns was decidedly larger than in the medium-sized and small towns; additionally, unique professions not encountered elsewhere appeared in the large towns. In the Cracow voivodeship the smallest towns with less than 20 artisans had specialists in only a few trades; in 40 towns with over 20 workshops the number of specialisations varied from 6 to 17; only in Nowy Sącz, which was one of the three towns in the voivodeship with over 100 artisans, the number of specialisations amounted to 23 and in the Cracow agglomeration there were as many as 46, including such crafts as tanners, purse-makers, bellows makers, needle makers, pewterers, knifemakers, watchmakers and makers of vellum paper not to be found in the rest of the

voivodeship. In Gdańsk the number of specialisations exceeded 60, and this is the real yard-stick of the town's productive importance. The number of specialisations was the function of the size of the market serviced by a given centre. Only in a large town, or one producing for an extensive market, could craftsmen with a very high degree of specialisation depend on the sale of their products. It is characteristic that among the Gdańsk craftsmen distant markets were dominated not by the most numerous producers of ordinary products, but predominantly by specialists in rare luxury products such as cabinet-makers, goldsmiths, pewterers, founders and Cordova (cordovan) leather-makers.¹⁸

Although the concentration of the crafts and the specialisations of particular towns in given branches of production are impossible to capture through statistical methods, the Commonwealth towns, which enjoyed the renown of craft centres and whose production found its way to markets more extensive than the local one did attain such concentration. In 1580 there were as many as 84 tanneries in Cracow, 75 in Poznań during the same period, 54 in the small town of Bielsk Podlaski and 36 in Przemysł, i.e., quite clearly there were considerable centres for those times.¹⁹ Large concentrations of clothmakers emerged at the end of the XVIth and at the beginning of the XVIIth centuries in

¹⁸ A. BOCHNAK, Eksport z miast pruskich w głąb polski w zakresie rzemiosła artystycznego (The Export of Artifacts from Prussian Towns to the Interior of Poland), "Studia Pomorskie", vol. II, 1957, pp. 7-107; M. REHOROWSKI, Meble gdańskie XVII i XVIII stulecia (Gdańsk Furniture from the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries), "Rocznik Gdański", vol. XVII-XVIII, 1960, pp. 93-124; I. REMBOWSKA, Gdański cech złotników od XIV do końca XVIII w. (The Gdańsk Goldsmiths Guild from the XIVth to the End of the XVIIIth Century), Gdańsk 1971, p. 167 (map II); J. TEODOROWICZ-CZEREPINSKA, Zasięg eksportu dzwonów z Gdańska w głąb Polski drogami wodnymi (The Range of the Export of Bells from Gdańsk to the Interior of Poland on Waterways) in: *Sztuka półwyspu Bałtyku* (Art of the Baltic Coast), Warszawa 1978, pp. 409-412.

¹⁹ I. TURNAU, Skórnictwo odzieżowe w Polsce XVI-XVIII wieku (The Production of Leather-Clothing in Poland from the XVIth to the XVIIIth Centuries), Wrocław 1975, pp. 163-164; J. MAROSZEK, Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich w XVI-XVIII w. (Crafts in Towns of Podlasie from the XVIth to the XVIIIth Century) in: M. KWAPIEN, J. MAROSZEK, A. WYROBISZ, *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce (XIV-XVIII w.)* (Studies on the Artisan Production in Poland (XIVth-XVIIIth c.)), Wrocław 1976, p. 134.

some of the towns in Great Poland: in Brzeziny there were over 300 (1564-1583), in Wschowa - 230 (1634), in Leszno - 150 (1635), in Szadek - 90 (1616), in Konin - 30 (1616). A considerable number of clothmakers (55) worked in Pomeranian Chojnice in the second half of the XVIth century.²⁰ Ilża, Łagów and Potylicz were famous for their pottery. In 1645, 23 out of the 122 inhabited houses in Ilża belonged to potters, who paid a tax levied on 44 pottery wheels. In 1668 there were 61 craftsmen out of a total of 146 households (42 per cent), including 15 potters (10 per cent of all the householders and 25 per cent of the craftsmen).²¹ Pottery production in Ilża was, thus, able to exceed the needs of the local market several times over. Indeed, it is well-known that at the end of the XVIth century the pots from Ilża were noted down in the Cracow tax registers and in the Brześć customs house, which shows that they reached Lithuania.²² During the years 1564-1565 there were 50 potters registered in Potylicz, which amounted to approximately 15 per cent of the professionally active population of a small town with less than two thousand inhabitants.²³ Jędrzej Świącicki wrote that Grójec in Mazovia

²⁰ A. MACZAK, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie XIV-XVII wiek (Cloth Production in Great Poland from the XIVth to the XVIIth Century)*, Warszawa 1955, pp. 246, 263; S. GIERSEWSKI, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe mniejszych miast województwa pomorskiego w XVI i XVII w. (The Economic Structure and the Market Functions of Smaller Towns in the Pomeranian Voivodeship during the XVIth and XVIIth Century)*, Gdańsk 1966, p. 82 and table 19 on p. 209.

²¹ AKKK, Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa krakowskiego 1645 r. (An Inventory of the Estates of the Cracow Bishopric 1645), k. 404-405; *ibid.*, Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa krakowskiego 1668 r. (An Inventory of the Estates of the Cracow Bishopric 1668), k. 407v-410.

²² *Arkheograficheskii Sbornik dokumentov otnosiashchikhsia istorii severosapadnoi Rusi*, vol. II, Wilno 1867, no. 112, pp. 309, 318, 319, 321; vol. IV, no. 74, pp. 253-257, 260. Cf. A. WAWRZYŃCZYK, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z Wielkim Księstwem Litewskim i Rosją w XVI wieku (Studies in the History of Trade between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Russia in the XVIth Century)*, Warszawa 1956, pp. 67-68; J. MAŁECKI, *Studia nad rynkiem regionalnym Krakowa w XVI wieku (Studies on the Regional Market of Cracow in the XVIth Century)*, Warszawa 1963, p. 192.

²³ *Zerela do istoriji Ukrainy-Rusyi*, published by M. Hrushevskiy, vol. III, Lwów 1898, p. 251.

was famous for the local production of strings for lutes and that practically the entire population of Goszczyn was engaged in the production of sieves, which were even sent to Hungary, while Mogilnica was known for its woven fabrics and poorer quality cloth.²⁴

These reflections lead to the conclusion that the productive character of Polish towns in the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries cannot be determined on the basis of rigid quantitative indices based upon an analysis of the professional structure of the population alone. Neither the very high nor the very low percentages of a certain professional group in the structure of the community of a given town determined its economic functions. It seems that the only acceptable criterion for including a number of early Polish towns in the group of productive centres and for establishing the dominating branch of production is the crossing of the threshold of auto-consumption. Production-oriented towns were those which in a given field produced more commodities than the local market (i.e., the town itself and its nearest rural region) was capable of absorbing. In the case of mining towns this is quite obvious; they all produced much more than they used themselves. On the other hand, one should consider as agricultural towns only those which, regardless of the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture or farm owners, satisfied completely their own needs as regards food and raw materials of animal or plant origin, and were able to sell a part of the produce outside. According to J. Ochmański and other authors, there could have only been such settlements where at least half a łan (*włóka*) of arable land belonged to one family. There were not, by any means, many such towns in the Commonwealth.

The question of categorizing craft towns and their specialisation in a given branch of production is a most complicated task.

²⁴ S. PAZYRA, *Najstarszy opis Mazowsza Jędrzeja Świącickiego* (*The Oldest Description of Mazovia by Jędrzej Świącicki*), Warszawa 1974, pp. 142, 191.

Satisfying the needs of the local market for certain products depended upon a number of factors, which are not easily distinguished. In the first place, it was determined by the absorption capacity of the local market as regards certain goods, and this, in turn, depended not only upon the number of permanent town residents but also on visitors who stayed temporarily (e.g., who attended court sessions, provincial diets, travellers of various kinds), their wealth, purchasing powers and even individual tastes and habits. In the second place, the possibility of crossing the auto-consumption threshold for the artisan workshops of a given specialisation was determined not only by the number of those workshops or their proportion in relation to all the craftsmen, but also by their productivity and this depended upon the technology employed and the organisation of labour. We know, for example, that one pottery workshop could satisfy the needs of a considerable population and that the appearance of every new potter already signified such a crossing of the auto-consumption threshold. We also know that the productivity of a potter rotating the wheel (and Polish craftsmen passed this barrier of technological progress precisely in the XVIth century) was larger than that of a potter who moulded on a disk. All this calls for detailed research into each craft in turn, into the material aspects of production and the consumption of its articles. This is the domain of a specialised branch of historical research, the history of material culture, whose contribution to the historical reconstruction of the urban economy is indispensable.²⁵ Of course, many of the early Polish towns never crossed the auto-consumption threshold in any of the branches of production, and remained centres for purely local markets, yet they could additionally fulfil many other

²⁵ A. WYROBISZ, Les sources et les méthodes archéologiques dans les recherches sur l'histoire du bas moyen-âge et des temps modernes en Pologne, "Acta Poloniae Historica", vol. XXVIII, 1973, pp. 87-106; IDEM, Storia della cultura materiale in Polonia. Metodo di ricerca, nuova problematica o disciplina scientifica autonoma?, "Studi Storici", vol. XV, 1974, no. 1, pp. 164-173.

urban functions, which were non-productive or simply non-economic.

The commercial towns constituted the most significant and most numerous group among these consumption-oriented towns which also fulfilled economic functions. In fact every Polish town in the XVIth-XVIII centuries had such functions, although they were greatly diversified. The peak of the hierarchy of the trade towns was composed of the great emporia through which was concentrated the trade turnover of the entire country, and which supervised total exports and imports, accumulated and sold agricultural products, conducted retail and wholesale trade both in luxury articles and in all basic commodities (terminal cities).²⁶ In pre-partition Poland only Gdańsk played this role. Elbląg, which for some time competed with Gdańsk, never attained such a status. About 80 per cent of entire Polish exports and approximately 90 per cent of imports passed through Gdańsk, making it the busiest port in the Baltic region and the most important Polish trading centre, where all the currents of Polish trade met.²⁷

A lower rank in the organisation of trade was represented by large and medium-sized towns which collected the agricultural products of a sizeable region, sold them and engaged in the trade in luxury and basic articles at a provincial level ("collection cities.") In Poland, one could find at least twenty or thirty such towns during the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries, and these provided

²⁶ I have used the terminology proposed by H.W. GILMORE, *Transportation and the Growth of Cities*, Glencoe, Ill., 1963, pp. 89 and 96.

²⁷ S. HOSZOWSKI, *Handel Gdańska w okresie XV-XVIII w.* (Gdańsk Trade from the XVth to the XVIIIth Century), "Zeszyty Naukowe WSE w Krakowie", no. 11, 1960, pp. 3-56; J. MAŁECKI, *Związki handlowe miast polskich z Gdańskiem w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Trade Relations between Polish Towns and Gdańsk in the XVIth and the First Half of the XVIIth Century), Wrocław 1968; M. BOGUĆKA, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (The Foreign Trade of Gdańsk in the First Half of the XVIIth Century), Wrocław 1970; IDEM, Some Aspects of Commercial Relations within the Baltic Region on the Example of Gdańsk-Stockholm Trade in 1643, "Studia Maritima", vol. II, 1980, pp. 108-120; A. MACZAK, The Balance of Polish Sea Trade with the West, 1565-1646, "Scandinavian Economic History Review", vol. XVIII, 1970, no. 2, pp. 109-125.

the centres of the economic life of a province, such as Poznań, Warsaw, Wilno, Lwów, market towns such as Lublin, Gniezno, Jarosław, Łowicz, Grodno and Brześć together with those located along the Vistula River or any other navigable river or on a frequented land route, for example, Sandomierz, Kazimierz Dolny, Stężyca, Płock, Toruń, Grudziądz, Bydgoszcz, Tykocin, Łomża, Pułtusk and on a smaller scale Solec-on-the-Vistula.²⁸

Finally, at the very bottom of this hierarchy we find the small towns which conducted local trade in agricultural products, retail trade in luxury articles and a wholesale and retail sale in all basic commodities ("farm-market towns.") In Poland this was the most numerous group, and it constituted over 90 per cent of the total number of towns, with the exception of the "*oppida non habentes fora annua et septimanalia*," a rather mysterious category of small towns without the privileges to hold markets and fairs, mentioned in the poll tax decree issued in 1520, but of which

²⁸ L. KOCZY, *Handel Poznania do połowy XVI wieku (Commerce in Poznań up to the middle of the XVIth Century)*, Poznań 1930; A. CHRUSZCZEWSKI, *Kupcy zbożowi i handel zbożem w Kazimierzu Dolnym w drugiej połowie XVI wieku (Grain Merchants and the Grain Trade in Kazimierz Dolny in the Second Half of the XVIth Century)*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. VI, 1958, no. 5, pp. 87-191; T. CHUDOBA, *Z zagadnień handlu wianłego Warszawy w XVI wieku (Some Problems of the Vistula Trade in Warsaw during the XVIth Century)*, "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. L, 1959, no. 2, pp. 297-321; J. MAŁECKI, *Studia nad rynkiem regionalnym; M. KULCZYKOWSKI, Kraców jako ośrodek towarowy Małopolski zachodniej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku (Cracow as a Commodity Centre of Western Little Poland in the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century)*, Warszawa 1963; A. WYROBISZ, *Handel w Solcu nad Wisłą do końca XVIII wieku. Przyczynki do historii rynku wewnętrznego w Polsce przedrozbiorowej (Trade in Solec-on-the-Vistula up to the end of the XVIIIth Century. Contributions to the History of the Domestic Market in Pre-partition Poland)*, "Przegląd Historyczny" vol. LVII, 1966, no. 1, pp. 15-46; H. SAMSONOWICZ, *Handel Lublina na przełomie XV i XVI w. (Trade in Lublin at the Turn of the XVth and XVIth Centuries)*, "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LX, 1968, no. 4, pp. 612-626; J. TOPOLSKI, *Rola jarmarków gnieźnieńskich w handlu europejskim od XV do XVII wieku (The Role of the Gniezno Fairs in European Trade from the XVth to the XVIIth Century)* in: *Gospodarka polska a europejska w XVI-XVIII wieku (Polish and European Economy in the XVIth-XVIIIth Centuries)*, Poznań 1977, pp. 182-258; J. OLEŚICKI, *Splaw zboża rzeką Narwią w XVI wieku (Grain Transport on the Narew River in the XVIth Century)* in: *Studia nad gospodarką i społeczeństwem Podlasia w XVI-XVIII wieku (Studies on the Economy and Society of Podlasie in the XVIth-XVIIIth Century)*, Warszawa 1981.

we have no concrete examples.²⁹ There were mainly private and Church towns and those among the royal towns which were the centres of a *starostwo* or stewardship (i.e., smaller or larger groups of estates.)³⁰

Alongside this hierarchy of XVth-XVIIIth century trade towns, one can observe two types of functions connected with the organisation of the commodity turnover. One of these functions was fulfilled by small satellite towns which acted as intermediaries in contacts between the rural hinterland and the large towns, providing them with indispensable raw materials and foodstuffs. The Poznań decree issued on October 11, 1598 which introduced new strict restrictions as regards trade in food and forbade speculation did not, however, prohibit "peddlers to come to small and local towns or villages in order to buy up such things (food) and to travel from town to town with them".³¹ Unfortunately, the decree does not mention the names of these small settlements which were to mediate in delivering food supplies to Poznań.

Another commercial function, which was very typical of the Polish towns, was services for transit trade. Many towns did not participate actively in trade, and their inhabitants were not engaged in purchases or sales, but they rendered services for the merchants in transit, were employed as waggon drivers, offered travellers accomodation and meals. Such towns were characterised by the presence of a rather large number of bakers, butchers and brewers who could count on an incoming clientele, as well as

²⁹ *Corpus iuris Polonici*, vol. III, no. 341, p. 599.

³⁰ A. WYROBISZ, Rola miast prywatnych w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku (The Role of Private Towns in Poland in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries), "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LXV, 1974, no. 1, p. 28; IDEM, Polityka Firlejów wobec miast w XVI wieku i założenie Janowca nad Wisłą (The Policy of the Firley Family towards Towns in the XVIth Century and the Foundation of Janowice-on-the-Vistula), "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LXI, 1970, no. 4, pp. 581-584, 602-603.

³¹ *Opisy i ilustracje Poznania w XVI-XVIII wieku (Descriptions and Inspections of Poznań in the XVIth-XVIIIth Centuries)*, published by M.J. Mika, Poznań 1960, no. 22, p. 45.

blacksmiths, wheelwrights and cartwrights whose help was needed by the travellers.³² In the opinion of J. Ochmański, servicing the needs of transit trade was the main task of the small towns in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and restriction to only this type of activity demonstrates the economic underdevelopment of such townships.³³

It is characteristic that in the Polish towns with such diverse and important trade functions, the number of merchants was, as a rule, rather small and frequently they were not even mentioned in the sources. This is understandable, since the majority of towns were active only in offering services to the traders or conducted trade on a local scale. Here the participation of merchants was superfluous, since the commodities passed directly from the hands of the producer to the consumer. The merchant became necessary only on the level of regional, domestic or international trade, when wholesale trade, long distance transport or large capital were involved. Therefore, one will find larger numbers of merchants only in sizeable towns, and in the small one - peddlers and individual professional traders.³⁴ The percentage of inhabitants who were professionally engaged in trade could have been completely disproportionate to the role which a given town played in this field.

It should also be remembered that especially in the second half of the XVIIth and during the XVIIIth centuries commodity exchange in Poland was conducted not only in towns but also at rural markets. We can name about 400 such market villages which

³² A. WYROBISZ, *Badania nad historią małych miast w Polsce* (Research into the History of Small Towns in Poland), "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LIX, 1968, no. 1, p. 131.

³³ J. OCHMAŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

³⁴ A. WYROBISZ, *Handel w Solcu nad Wisłą*, pp. 42-44; IDEM, *Inwentarz miasta Solca z 1787 roku* (An Inventory of the Town of Solec from 1787), "Studia z dziejów rzemiosła i przemysłu", vol. IV, 1964, p. 183; IDEM, *Small Towns in XVIth and XVIIth Century Poland*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", vol. XXXIV, 1976, pp. 158-159; J. MAROSZEK, A. WYROBISZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 sqq.

functioned on the basis of royal privileges, but without town rights. They were scattered throughout the entire country, although individual concentrations were to be found in Podlasie, Pomerania, south-western Great Poland and southern Little Poland.³⁵

Pre-partition Poland had no banking towns to compare with Florence and Bruges during the late Middle Ages in Western Europe or Geneva in modern times. Until as late as the beginning of the XVIIth century there were no banks in Poland in the full meaning of the word. To a certain degree the role of financial centres was played by Cracow, with the banking houses of the Boner and Montelupi families active in the XVIth century, and Gdańsk, where the Loytz's became operative in the XVIth century and Jerzy Hewel in the first half of the XVIIth century, with a large accumulation of capital. Beginning with 1579 there appeared many devotional banks ("montes pietatis") but these were merely credit institutions of small significance. Only in the second half of the XVIIIth century did Warsaw become a banking centre in the modern sense. As surrogates for centres for credit operation there were the so-called "contracts" (periodical assemblies held to conduct transactions concerning the sale and purchase of landed property, tenancies, cessions of life annuities in royal estates, the payment of dowries) as well as transactions of a credit nature, such as the pledging of estates, the purchase of rents and the taking of loans with real estate as deposit. The "contract" assemblies were attended mainly by magnates and the gentry, and took place from the second half of the XVIth century in Poznań, Lwów, Cracow, Przemyśl, Łuck, Bełz and Sandomierz, at the close of the XVIIIth century in Dubno and later in Kiev. As a rule they were held in January (Poznań being the exception with contracts at the end of June) and lasted for a

³⁵ J. MAROSZEK, *Targowiska wiejskie w Polsce w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku* (Rural Markets in Poland in the second Half of the XVIIth and in the XVIIIth Century) (*PhD dissertation, unpublished*).

number of weeks, often coinciding with markets or land court sessions.³⁶ Once a year contract towns became the meeting place of the gentry from a single or from several provinces. According to the estimates made by J. Bielecka, during the "contracts" the population of Lwów increased by about 15 to 20 per cent (second half of the XVIIIth century). The entire affair resembled a combination of a large fair and provincial diet, and exerted a similar influence upon the whole town. The township itself did not participate in the "contracts" actively; the burghers played a small part (e.g., in Lwów during the 1676-1686 period they amounted to only 2.5 per cent of all the contracting parties and contributed not quite 2 per cent of the capital, in the years 1717-1724 their participation increased to nearly 4 per cent but the involvement of their capital fell to 1.4 per cent.)³⁷ As a result, the town did not gain much profit from the credit operations performed in it. On the other hand, it was compelled to provide accomodation and food to the incoming gentry, which meant an enormous growth of the market for commodities and services, but even more frequently became an unbearable burden, as was demonstrated by the complaints made by burghers and the gentry, and by debates during the provincial diets.³⁸ This is evident proof of the economic weakness of the Polish towns, which were incapable of making use even of very profitable situations.

The consumption-oriented towns included also those which fulfilled various functions of a socio-political, and not economic,

³⁶ M. WĄSOWICZ, *Kontrakty lwowskie w latach 1676-1686* (Lvov Contracts in the Years 1676-1686), in a supplement; S. SIEGEL, *Kontrakty lwowskie w latach 1717-1724* (Lvov Contracts in the years 1717-1724), Lvov 1935; J. BIELECKA, *Kontrakty lwowskie w latach 1768-1775* (wptyw pierwszego rozbiory Polski, 1772 c., na kontrakty lwowskie) (Lvov Contrats, in the years 1768-1775, the Influence of the First Partition of Poland, 1772, upon Lvov Contracts), Poznań 1948; IDEM, *O zjazdach kontraktowych w Polsce* (On Contract Conventions in Poland), "*Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*", vol. XVI, 1954, pp. 152-171.

³⁷ M. WĄSOWICZ, *op. cit.*, s. 119; S. SIEGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

³⁸ M. WĄSOWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

nature, i.e., centres of administration at various levels, residential, cultural and religious centres, garrison towns and forts and, finally, health resorts and tourist centres. A specific category of towns housed offices of the central authorities, royal residences, parliamentary sessions, etc. (In Europe during the early modern period, these were the capitals of absolutist monarchies – Paris, London, Madrid, Stockholm and Copenhagen.) Their development differed from that of the remaining towns in a given state, both as regards economy and the social structure, urban planning and building construction, since they had to adapt themselves to catering to the royal court, the residences of the aristocrats who gathered at the king's side, the crowds of higher and lower officials, military regiments maintained by the royal court, people who came from all over the country to the royal court, to attend sessions of parliament, to the central offices as well as to the foreign legations. The peculiarity of the situation in the Polish Commonwealth during the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries consisted of the fact that apart from the official capital, which until the end of the XVIth century was Cracow and then Warsaw, and the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which during the entire period was Wilno, there existed a few other towns with similar features where, for example, diets or tribunals congregated. Up to 1569, Piotrków fulfilled the functions of a diet town; in the years 1493-1567, 38 *sejms* convened there out of a total number of 72.³⁹ After 1569, the *sejms* assembled as a rule in Warsaw, where from 1573 onwards elections also took place. Cracow, after the loss of its status as a capital, remained the place of the coronation *sejms*. Piotrków, on the other hand, after 1578 became the seat of the Crown Tribunal alternating with Lublin. From 1613 the Treasury Tribunal as a rule sat in Radom. The numerous gentry conventions which accompanied the tribunal

³⁹ W. KONOPCZYŃSKI, *Chronologia sejmów polskich 1493-1793* (A Chronology of Polish Sejms, 1493-1793), "Archiwum Komisji Historycznej", 2nd series, vol. IV, no. 3, Kraków 1948, pp. 132-140.

sessions gave Piotrków, and especially Lublin, the features of a capital town; Radom did not undergo such a change since the Treasury Tribunal was of a lesser significance and was constituted as a permanent institution much later (in fact as late as 1717) than the Crown Tribunal and was also liquidated earlier (1764). Up to 100,000 members of the gentry arrived in Warsaw to attend the elections,⁴⁰ while fewer gathered at the *sejms* and tribunals. This created colossal problems connected with providing lodgings and food, and the maintenance of order and cleanliness; it was also the cause of a rise in prices.⁴¹

In all the towns which played the role of capitals — Cracow, Warsaw, Wilno, Lublin and Piotrków — there appeared numerous royal, magnate and gentry residences. In Piotrków, apart from the royal castle and the separate palaces of the queen and the princes, there also existed an entire section of magnate manor houses know as *Wielka Wieś*.⁴² After the transference of the state capital and the royal residence from Cracow to Warsaw, the construction of magnate, gentry and Church residences around the new capital made speedy progress. Krzysztof Opaliński wrote in 1642 to his brother Łukasz: "If you should not want to pur-

⁴⁰ See: the report by Francis Gordon on the election of Władysław IV and by Michel David de la Bizardière from the election of Augustus II in: *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce. Relacje i opinie* (Foreigners in Poland. Reports and Opinions), published by J. Gintel, vol I, Kraków 1971, pp. 221 and 371.

⁴¹ The papal nuncio Marescotti also complained in 1681 about the high costs of living in Warsaw during a *sejm*: "one always has to provide for oneself before the *sejm* session because afterwards as a result of an unheard of influx of people, everything is extremely dear" (*Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce* (Collected Historical Memoirs about Old Poland), published by J.U. Niemcewicz, vol. IV, Warszawa 1822, p. 315). On the state of sanitary conditions see: J. GROMSKI, *Kultura sanitarna Warszawy do końca XVIII w.* (*The Sanitary Culture of Warsaw up to the End of the XVIIIth Century*), Warszawa 1977.

⁴² H. RUTKOWSKI, *Zamec w Piotrkowie* (The Castle in Piotrków), "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. III, 1958, no. 2, pp. 162-163; IDEM, *Piotrków Trybunalski w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku jako miejsce zjazdów szlacheckich* (Piotrków Trybunalski in the XVIth and in the first half of the XVIIth Century as the Place of Gentry Conventions) in: *750 lat Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego* (750 Years of Piotrków Trybunalski), Piotrków 1967.

chase the building site in Warsaw, I shall pay for it myself according to arrangements made. I shall try to put up a building so that my sons would, God willing, have somewhere to stay, considering that I am not sure whether they will be hereditary *voivodes*." Four years later he urged his brother to supply timber for the manor house and stressed that "one has to build in Warsaw".⁴³ This emphasis upon the construction of a Warsaw residence is quite understandable; for a number of years Krzysztof was already the *voivode* of Poznan, and therefore one of the leading senators and active participants in the political life of the capital. The absence of interest on the part of Łukasz is equally understandable; apart from the fact that the younger of the Opaliński brothers was more of an intellectual than a politician, in 1642-1646 he did not yet hold the office of a senator and was not obliged to stay in Warsaw. Adam Jarzebski in his "*Gosciniec albo krótkie opisanie Warszawy*" (A Gift, or a Short Description of Warsaw), published in 1643, described 65 magnate residences⁴⁴ which increased to 74 in the period preceding the wars with Sweden. All these buildings were destroyed during the 1656-1657 campaigns, but as early as 1659 there were once again 17 residences, in 1669-76, and ca. 1700 as many as 90.⁴⁵ At the turn of the XVIIth and XVIIIth century, 17.8 per cent of the Warsaw suburbs belonged to the gentry but 57.7 per cent of the area was used by them.⁴⁶ All three monarchs of the Vasa

⁴³ *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza 1641-1653* (*The Letters of Krzysztof Opaliński to His Brother Łukasz, 1641-1653*), published by R. Pollak et al., Wrocław 1957, pp. 74, 327, 329-330, 344, 348.

⁴⁴ A. JARZEBSKI, *Gosciniec albo krótkie opisanie Warszawy* (*A Gift or a Short Description of Warsaw*), published by W. Tomkiewicz, Warszawa 1974.

⁴⁵ J. PUTKOWSKA, Wpływ funkcji miasta sejmowego i rezydencjonalnego na rozwój przestrzenny zespołu miejskiego Warszawy i okolic w XVII w. (*The Influence of the Functions of a Sejm and Residential Town upon the Layout of the Urban Complex of Warsaw and the Environs in the XVIIth Century*), "*Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*", vol. XX, 1975, no. 4, pp. 281-282.

⁴⁶ See: J. PUTKOWSKA, "Rewizja i pomiarzenie na pręty ulic warszawskich przez Fylnana z Gamenen jako materiał źródłowy do badań nad rozwojem przedmieść Wars-

dynasty and later Jan III Sobieski, as well as their contemporary magnates, endeavoured to realize the directives of Giorgio Vasari's treatise about the ideal town (1598), according to which the king should have an official residence in the centre of the town, a palace with a garden in the suburbs, a suburban villa and a hunting lodge, while the rich nobleman should enjoy a private palace near the royal residence, a smaller palace with a garden for recreation and a suburban villa.⁴⁷

The Polish capitals thus received a specific architectural profile and created unique layouts, as they became surrounded by extensive suburbs with residences. One should expect the professional structure in such towns also to have been special, in connection with the need to cater to the manor houses and the crowds of visitors. Therefore, services, food, luxury and building crafts should have dominated. In fact, this was not the case and the sectoral structure of the crafts in these towns did not differ from other urban centres (*vide supra* Table 1). The presence of the royal court and magnate residences, as well as the numerous gentry, did not influence the professional structure of the population. Perhaps certain anomalies of demand for artisan products and services became camouflaged by the presence of royal and magnate servitors, or the increased numbers of apprentices and journeymen in certain guild workshops, were not recorded in the fiscal sources upon which we have based our comparison since they covered only the tax-paying guild masters. We know from other sources that in the capitals guild restrictions underwent a certain modification. The guilds were compelled to accept numerous non-guild craftsmen. Moreover, during the *sejm* sessions, elections and other large conventions, guild pri-

zawy w drugiej połowie XVII wieku (The Revision and Measurement into Rods of Warsaw Streets" by Tyłman of Gamerau as a Source for Research into the Development of Warsaw Suburbs in the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century), "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. XIX, 1974, no. 2, pp. 162, 164.

⁴⁷ G. VASARI, *La Città ideale*, a cura di V. Stefanelli, Roma 1970, pp. 106-126.

THE PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF CRAFTS (BY SECTORS) IN CERTAIN POLISH TOWNS FROM THE
XVIth-XVIIIth CENTURIES (%)

Towns and years	Textile	Foods	Leather	Woodwork	Metal	Ceramic and building	Others and undefined
60 towns of the Cracow voivodeship (without the Cracow agglomeration and Bobowa and Działoszyce)							
1581	23,1	26,4	24,9	5,8	10,8	3,7	5,3
the Cracow agglomeration (Cracow with Kazimierz and Kleparz)							
1581	20,1	16,9	32,1	8,1	13,1	5,0	4,7
Warsaw							
1640	22,3	17,7	19,3	7,9	20,0	5,3	7,5
1659	20,7	6,0	21,6	9,5	25,0	9,5	7,7
1754	20,7	9,7	24,9	12,6	10,2	10,9	11,0
Poznań 1579-1590	13,5	24,7	28,9	5,2	12,9	4,4	10,4
Kalisz							
1591	29,4	22,9	19,9	9,5	8,4	6,4	3,5
1608	22,7	18,9	25,4	7,6	15,8	6,4	3,2
1620	23,6	18,1	23,6	8,3	14,6	9,0	2,8
1629	22,4	15,3	21,7	11,2	14,0	11,9	3,5
22 towns of the Brześć-Kujawy and Inowrocław voivodeships							
1583	12,5	25,0	22,7	5,9	8,0	4,4	21,5
13 towns of the Pomeranian voivodeship (without Gdańsk and Gniew)							
1570	31,1	17,1	20,5	13,3	10,9	6,5	0,6

Sources: AGAD, ASK I, 121; J. MALBCKI, *Studia nad rynkiem regionalnym Krakowa w XVI wieku (Studies on the Cracow Regional Market in the XVIth century)*, Warszawa 1963, table 17 (according to estimates made by the author); *Źródła do dziejów Warszawy. Rejestry podatkowe i taryfy nieruchomości 1510-1770 (Sources for the History of Warsaw. Tax Registers and Real Estate Tariffs, 1510-1770)*, published by A. Berdecka, J. Rutkowska, A. Suchni-Grabowska, H. Szwankowska, Warszawa 1963, pp. 54-56, 136-154, 391-460; J. WISŁOCKI, *Organizacja prawna poznańskiego rzemiosła w XVI i XVII wieku (The Legal Organisation of Poznań Crafts during the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries)*, Poznań 1963, p. 23 (according to the estimates made by the author); A. NOWAK, *Rozwój gospodarczy Kalisza w XVI-XVIII w. (The Economic Growth of Kalisz from the XVIth to the XVIIIth Century)* in: *Dzieje Kalisza (The History of Kalisz)*, ed. by W. Rusiński, Poznań 1977, pp. 175-176; Z. GULDON, *Zaludnienie miast kujawskich w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku (The Population of the Kujawy Towns during the XVIth and the first half of the XVIIth Century)*, "Prace Komisji Historii" vol. I, 1963, pp. 70-71; S. GJERSZEWSKI, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe mniejszych miast województwa pomorskiego w XVI i XVII w. (The Economic Structure and Market Functions of Smaller Towns in the Pomeranian Voivodeship during the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries)*, Gdańsk 1966, table 14.

vileges were suspended in order to ensure services for the enormous number of travellers and to increase the number of craftsmen, either by increasing the number of local workshops or by admitting outsiders. The statutes of the tailors' guild in Old Warsaw, which normally allowed a workshop to employ only three apprentices (court tailors only two, while guild elders as many as four), made it possible to accept an additional fourth apprentice for the period of the *sejm* (according to the statute issued in 1717, a guild elder was allowed to employ "as many as needed").⁴⁸ One can also suspect that the magnate entourages and the mass of gentry, together with their servants, who arrived to attend the *sejms*, elections and tribunals, did not suddenly increase the need for food, artisan products and services since every magnate or nobleman took along supplies for his stay in the capital or had them brought in specially from his estate. When in 1647 Krzysztof Opaliński made preparations to come to the *sejm*, he planned to send on the Bug River from Kowel to Warsaw "food and supplies" necessary for the entire period of residence in the capital, and advised his brother Łukasz to do the same.⁴⁹

Inasmuch as the towns which housed the central authorities and the royal residence were distinguished from among the others if not by their economic role then at least by their physical layout and architecture, the capitals of voivodeships, lands, counties or bishoprics had no distinctive features, unless they were also trade centres in addition to their administrative functions. At the voivodeship or lower level, the status of a capital did not guarantee any prerogatives or benefits of an economic nature. It is true that Poznań, Lublin, Lwów and Cracow (after the royal residence was moved to Warsaw) remained lively centres of production and exchange, but the administrative tasks at the level of a voi-

⁴⁸ W. WOJCIECHOWSKA, *Cech krawiecki Starej Warszawy w XVIII stuleciu*, (*The Tailor Guild of Old Warsaw during the XVIIIth Century*), Warszawa 1931, pp. 56-57, 63-64, 82-83.

⁴⁹ *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego*, p. 385; cf. also p. 451.

vodeship did not influence this. In turn, Drohiczyn, Brześć Kujawski, Sieradz or Łeczyca, although also capitals of voivodeships, remained towns of at best medium size with a rather dull economic life. A magnate residence could have had more significance than the location of courts or offices, and in such a case a town began to play the role of an economic support to such a residence, be it a royal town which could have been the residence of a *starosta*, although more frequently it was the palace of a bishop in a Church town or that of a magnate in his private town. Considering that these problems have been already discussed often elsewhere, there is no need to return to them in detail.⁵⁰

The most important social functions of a town included those connected with culture, science and education. To some extent these were fulfilled by all the towns, but we shall consider only such towns as played this role not exclusively in relation to the local community but on a larger scale, acting as cultural centres for the entire country, province or at least a large region. During the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries this was the case for those Polish towns with renowned universities or secondary schools of a particularly high level of teaching, which drew young people from the entire country. At the time, only Cracow and Wilno were university towns. The Cracow Academy began to decline in the second quarter of the XVIth century, a process which continued and progressed throughout the entire XVIIth and a part of the XVIIIth centuries. The Wilno school of higher learning won the rank of a university as late as 1579, and as a new institution for a long time did not play a more significant role in scholarly life. Both academies were stimulated by the reforms introduced by Hugo Kollataj in the second half of the XVIIIth

⁵⁰ A. WYROBISZ, *Rola miast prywatnych*, pp. 35-36; IDEM, *Miasta prywatne w Polsce XVI-XVIII w. jako inwestycje kulturalne* (Private Towns in Poland from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century as Cultural Investments), "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. XXVI, 1978, no. 1, pp. 49-50.

century. In Wilno and in Cracow, large towns with diverse economic and social functions, the professional bodies and groups of students numbering a few hundred were only a small sector of a much more numerous and diversified urban community. During the XVIth century, the Lubrański Academy in Poznań was famous in its own right, and Poznań was described by Marcin Kromer as the second university town in the Realm. The Academy in Zamość was founded in 1594 and was intended by Jan Zamoyski to become a rival of the Cracow Academy. The presence of numerous secondary schools of an extremely high level of teaching and a wide range of influence was characteristic of the Polish education system during the second half of the XVIth and the first half of the XVIIth centuries. These were predominantly various non-conformist schools (Calvinist, Arian (Polish Brethren), Lutheran, Bohemian Brethren) and, after the 1560's, also Jesuit colleges. Such schools were located, as a rule, in small, frequently private towns with a population which did not exceed two thousand, whose owners were protectors of the non-conformist places of learning⁵¹ attended by young people not only from the vicinity but also from distant parts of the country. The Jesuit college in Pułtusk drew pupils from all of Mazovia, western Great Poland and Little Poland.⁵² In the years 1566-1773, over 25,000 graduates passed through the Pułtusk School, and during its peak period, at the turn of the XVIth and XVIIth century, 600 to 900 pupils pursued their studies there at the same time. In Raków the number of students of the local Arian Academy supposedly reached 1,000. This amounted to practically half

⁵¹ A. WYROBISZ, *Rola miast prywatnych* pp. 43-44; IDEM, *Miasta prywatne*, pp. 52-53.

⁵² S. KOTARSKI, *Z dziejów szkolnictwa i kultury w Pułtusku* (From the History of the Schools and Culture of Pułtusk) in: *PULTUSK, Studia i materiały z dziejów miasta i regionu* (Pułtusk. *Studies and Materials concerning the History of the Region*), vol. I, Warszawa 1969, pp. 72-79.

of the permanent inhabitants of the small township which became a college town.⁵³

In pre-partition Poland there were no tourist centres, although the publication already in the first half of the XVIIth century of such works as the "*Gotscinieć albo krotkie opisanie Warszawy*" by Adam Jarzębski (1642) or the "*Klejnoty Stolecznego Miasta Krakowa*" (The Jewels of the Capital Town of Cracow), ascribed to P. H. Pruszczy (1647; subsequent editions in 1650 and 1745) seem to prove the beginning of interest into what might be described as tourism. On the other hand, pilgrimage centres were close to the modern concept of tourism and there was no lack of them during the Counter Reformation period. One of these was Góra Kalwaria near Warsaw, which based its existence entirely upon catering for pilgrims. "Incoming and outgoing guests", wrote bishop Stefan Wierzbowski, the founder of Góra Kalwaria in the location act of 1672, "should have all comforts, and with this in mind we should attend to and try to supply oats, hay, beer and other necessaria *ad victum*".⁵⁴ Also Czestochowa to a certain degree connected its existence with pilgrims. Stefan Krakowski, the author of monographs about Old Czestochowa, considers that catering for pilgrims was one of the foundations for the development of crafts and trade during the XVIth and the first half of the XVIIth century. It is a fact, though, that in Old Czestochowa there was practically no single group of the population professionally engaged in trade (only in 1581 were four peddlers mentioned, while stall-keepers were noted in the sources on a few occasions); the number of artisans

⁵³ S. MALANOWICZ, *Ludność miasta Rakowa w XVII i XVIII wieku* (The Population of the Town of Raków in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries), in: RAKÓW, *Ogni-sko arianizmu* (RAKÓW, *An Arian Stronghold*), Kraków 1968, p. 23; S. TYNC, *Zarys dziejów wyższej szkoły Braci Polskich w Rakowie 1602-1638* (An Outline History of the Higher School of the Polish Brethren in Raków 1602-1638), *ibid.*, pp. 149 and 154.

⁵⁴ Quoted according to A. LICZBINSKI, *Góra Kalwaria - lokacja i układ przestrzenny miasta (1670-1690)* (Góra Kalwaria - Foundation and Layout of the Town (1670-1690)), "*Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*", vol. II, 1957, no. 3-4, p. 214.

was also not imposing, although S. Krakowski maintains that approximately 50 per cent of the inhabitants were connected with various crafts, frequently together with land cultivation or the production of beer and spirits. It is true that the handful of Częstochowa's artisans were dominated by butchers, bakers and shoemakers (in the years 1564-1660 they always numbered up to 65-85 per cent of all the craftsmen), that is trades which were certainly most necessary in a town which played host to a large number of visitors.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, we know practically nothing about the functioning of such pilgrimage centres as Wejherowo or Kalwaria Zbrzydowska, not to mention tens of lesser ones. One should stress that many popular pilgrimages were not at all connected with towns (Kalwaria Pałacowska, Studzianna-Poświętne).

Pilgrimages were only an exceptional case of functions characteristic for a centre of a religious cult. In reality, every town was such a centre, since there were no townships in Poland without a parish church of their own, which in the case of small settlements also served the neighbouring villages. Towns also contained numerous monasteries and convents, and practically all the Church institutions were connected with the higher levels of Church administration, i.e., cathedrals, cathedral and collegiate chapters. The concentration of the Catholic clergy was much higher here than in the villages. Also other denominations and religious faiths were active in the urban environment and some of them, e.g., the Jewish synagogues, were to be found only here. During the XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries, the concentration of the clergy and Church institutions on certain towns sometimes became abnormally large. During the XVIIth century Wieluń, a town with approximately 1,000 inhabitants, had five large monasteries apart from a collegiate church and a modest-sized church

⁵⁵ S. KRAKOWSKI, *Stara Częstochowa (Old Częstochowa)*, Częstochowa 1948, pp. 173-175.

of St. Barbara.⁵⁶ In 1580 the Church institutions owned approximately 35 per cent of all real estate in Cracow, while as early as 1667 55 per cent of the built-up area was in its hands.⁵⁷ In the first half of the XVIIth century, thirteen new churches were erected within the town walls of Cracow and in the suburbs, while a number of others were added in the second half of the same century.⁵⁸ In the latter part of the XVIIth century there were 34 churches in Cracow itself and 30 in Kazimierz, Kleparz, Stradom and the suburbs.⁵⁹ They included small churches (e.g. St. Wojciech [Adalbert]), and those of the female contemplative orders which were not accessible for all the faithful, but there were also very large churches as well as those frequented on a mass scale and belonging to orders engaged in propagating the faith (Jesuits, missionaries and all varieties of the mendicant rules). There was one church in the town's agglomeration for every group of less than 700 permanent residents of Cracow, which indicates the overwhelming concentration of churches and clergy and the XVIIth century transformation of the city into a centre with expanded religious functions. This was an unintentional result of Cracow losing its rank of capital and its significance as a trade centre; the place of shrinking economic and administrative functions was taken by religious ones.

⁵⁶ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce (Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland)*, vol. II, Warszawa 1954, pp. 380-384.

⁵⁷ M. NIWIŃSKI, Stanowy podział własności nieruchomości w Krakowie XVI i XVII stulecia (An Estate Division of Real Estates in XVIth and XVIIth Century Cracow) in: *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby (Historical Studies Dedicated to Stanisław Kutrzeba)*, vol. II, Kraków 1938, pp. 559 and 573.

⁵⁸ A. WYROBISZ, Ze studiów nad budownictwem krakowskim w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku (Studies in the History of Building in Cracow at the end of the XVIth and in the first half of the XVIIth Century), "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. XLIX, 1958, no. 4, pp. 657-661.

⁵⁹ P.H. PRUSZCZ, *Stołeczne miasto Krakowa kościoły i klejnoty...* (The Churches and Jewels of the Capital City of Cracow...), Kraków 1647 (enlarged editions in 1650 and 1745; published by K.J. Turowski in 1861); *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. IV, parts 2 and 3, Warszawa 1971 and 1978, including descriptions of extant sites and destroyed churches (in the introduction). Cf. also A. WYROBISZ, *Ze studiów, loc. cit.*

At this time garrison towns and forts began to appear in modern Europe and in the colonies. For the urban economy, the location in a threatened frontier area or other places important from a strategic point of view, their fortification and finally, the stationing of a permanent garrison led to a predominance of services and supplies for the army, while soldiers came to constitute a significant percentage of the population.

In Poland, the only fortress city with a garrison was Kamieniec Podolski which during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries was governed by a special commander.⁶⁰ Zamość, Brody, Zółkiew, Brzeżany and perhaps a few other towns belonging to the magnates and located in the eastern borderline areas, were also forts.⁶¹ The rest were either entirely unfortified or were surrounded by medieval walls (among them, Cracow), and even those where the fortifications were modernised in the XVIIth century (Gdansk, Toruń, Warsaw, Lwów), were not fortresses proper, and none housed larger military units. The Polish regular army was small and there was neither the need nor the conditions to create any urban garrisons. The private armies were also small, since the magnates preferred to call troops to arms only when the need arose rather than pay the generally high costs of their maintenance.⁶² The permanent garrison in Zamość was composed of at best little over a hundred soldiers, and was barely sufficient to supply sentries and guards to assist the administration, which was incapable of defending the fort without additional rein-

⁶⁰ A. MILOBEDZKI, *Budownictwo militarne miast polskich w okresie nowożytnym* (Military Constructions in Polish Towns during the Modern Period), "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. XXVI, 1978, no. 1, pp. 43-44.

⁶¹ M. OSINSKI, *Zamek w Zółkwi* (The Castle in Zółkiew), Lwów 1933; O. SOSNOWSKI, *Studium pierwotnego założenia (1586 r.) i obwarowania (1630-35) miasta Brodów* (A Study on the Original Foundation (1586) and Fortification (1630-35) of the Town of Brody), "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i kultury", vol. II, 1934, no. 4, pp. 247-253; S. HERBST, J. ZACHWATOWICZ, *Twierdza Zamość* (The Fort of Zamość), Warszawa 1936; A. MILOBEDZKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-43.

⁶² W. CZAPLINSKI, J. DŁUGOSZ, *Życie codzienne magnaterii polskiej w XVII wieku* (Everyday Life of the Polish Magnates in the XVIIth Century), Warszawa 1976, pp. 62-63.

forcements of armed burghers and peasants.⁶³ Although already in the XVIIth century magnate residences were accompanied by some degree of fortification (barracks, arsenals), only in the XVIIIth century did barracks appear more numerous in private towns and in Warsaw,⁶⁴ giving them a specific architectural design, although nowhere did this lead to a transformation into a garrison centre.

Let me now summarize these remarks. I have presented a number of functional types of towns which were evident in Poland between the XVIth and the XVIIIth century. Some were very numerous (e.g. centres of local markets), others provide only one or a few examples (mining towns, trade emporia, capitals), while others finally attained only embryonic form (financial centres, garrison towns), but the variety was large. The classification of the functions of early Polish towns used above, is not inflexible, and nearly every Polish town in the XVIth-XVIIIth centuries could be fitted into several of these functional types. The introduction of "multifunctional" categories, or towns of "diversified functions" would not have made the situation any clearer, since the majority of early Polish towns would then have to be classified into precisely that category. The Polish towns of this period (indeed, also earlier and later), simply fulfilled a variety of functions which were often complementary (e.g., the agricultural pursuits of the townsmen frequently accompanied trade or crafts), and all efforts aimed at the introduction

⁶³ S. HERBST, J. ZACHWATOWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁶⁴ J. MALINOWSKA, *Stanisław Zawadzki 1743-1806*, Warszawa 1953, pp. 25-28; a review by Z. Bieniecki of the book mentioned above by J. MALINOWSKA in: "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. I, 1956, no. 1, pp. 93-95; S. LORENTZ, *Architektura wieku Oświecenia w świetle przemian w życiu gospodarczym i umysłowym* (Architecture during the Enlightenment Period and Changes in Economic and Intellectual Life), "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", vol. XIII, 1951, no. 4, p. 25; Z. BIENIECKI, *Ośbarokowa Warszawy* (The Baroque Axis of Warsaw), "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. V, 1960, no. 4, pp. 475, 480, 486; K. KONARSKI, *Warszawa w pierwszym jej stołecznym okresie* (Warsaw in Its First Period as a Capital), Warszawa 1970, pp. 457-458.

of a consistently divisible classification must lead to simplifications and schematic interpretations, which are ill-suited to historical analysis. An unambiguous description of the predominant functions characteristic for a given town is also impossible since the necessary sources are absent. But again such a classification of historical and other material leads to certain simplifications and obliterates the specific features of a town, although this is unavoidable in any exercise which attempts to generalise and systematise. Perhaps it is worth recalling that the early Polish towns have been classified not only on the basis of a functional typology, but also by ownership (royal, private and Church), and urban planning, and that all these distinctions should be examined in time and space, since only then can we achieve a complete image of urbanisation in the Commonwealth. This requires many further detailed studies and attempts at generalisations, and this article is only an attempt to construct a model which may prove to be useful in further investigation into the history of the pre-industrial town.

