

Studies on family and household  
in preindustrial Poland

*edited by*  
*Piotr Guzowski, Cezary Kuklo*



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*Studies on family and household  
in preindustrial Poland*

*edited by  
Piotr Guzowski, Cezary Kukło*

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## PREFACE

It seems that family, understood as a unit consisting of parents and children, and sometimes also other close relatives living together in one household, has been so common and natural since the dawn of our civilization that our knowledge of its origins, development (size, structure) and breakdown in the more and less distant past ought to be not only profound but also comprehensive. It remains obscure why this has not been so, especially that the institution of family in popular social consciousness was, at least until the Second World War, very highly regarded. According to recently deceased French historian, Jean-Louis Flandrin, our gaps of knowledge of the family's past may be explained by the fact that writing the history of family life has been left in the hands of ethnologists, sociologists and lawyers.

The last twenty five years witnessed some progress with regard to the number as well as quality of studies into families and households of the past. However, in spite of greater intensity of historical research into the changes in family structures in Poland, our current knowledge of family demography, economy and social context is still incomplete.

The present study initiated by the Centre for the Study of Demographic and Economic Structures in Preindustrial Central and Eastern Europe (Centrum Badań Struktur Demograficznych i Gospodarczych Przednowoczesnej Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej) at the University of Białystok originated from the need to systematize existing research on the development of family structures in the Polish lands in the past. The idea was to create an interdisciplinary project in which past Polish society could be viewed from the anthropological, demographic and sociological perspectives allowing new, important questions to be asked. Prominence given to the demographic analysis stems from the fact that until the end of the preindustrial era, i.e. late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Poland, family size and structure had a considerable influence on many economic decisions and actions of people. On the other hand, family's biological potential resulted from specific economic processes.

The project has become a platform for a discussion about (if not a revision of?) the view that there was a close relationship between industrialization and modernization processes in Polish lands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and alleged changes in family forms from joint to nuclear families. A separate question addressed by the contributors to this volume concerned factors responsible for the emergence of specific family structures. Was it geographical location and cultural specificity of communities that led to the formation of particular family structures or were specific family structures the ways of adjusting to the natural environment and the methods of gaining resources? The aim of the authors was, therefore, to determine the scale of influence of such local factors as ecology, economy, customs and laws (e.g. marriage patterns, feudal matrimonial restrictions, indivisible inheritance and divisibility of land), demography (gender, age, and marital status population structures), and culture on the size, structure and character of families and households in the past.

Some scholars have already suggested that even over a relatively short periods of time or across small communities changes in family patterns did take place. Hence, we find it crucial to examine developmental cycles of family life in the past along with the stages in the lives of individual family members (life-course approach). It is also essential to emphasize the diversity and complexity of internal relations between various household members.

Our study on the family in the past is also to be a voice in the discussion about kinship and consanguinity, which, with the exception of a few works focusing on the quantitative analysis of blood relations, has been largely absent from Polish historiography. We address issues of blood relations existing beyond individual household units, with the aim of drawing a bigger picture of kinship ties between individuals and between households within the framework of local communities. It appears that in the pre- and early industrial society most household members were surrounded by relatives, who in spite of living separately, might have actively participated in their family members' everyday life or provided help in times of crisis. We think it is important to ask questions about the changing roles of relatives in urban and rural contexts, with special attention given to the problem of widowhood and the influence of industrialization and modernization on kinship ties. In our attempt to raise these research questions we refer to the opinion of Andrzej Wyczański, an authority in the field of socio-economic history, who emphasized that Polish scholars must not conduct their studies in isolation from, but in continuous communication with leading researchers abroad. Inspired by the achievements of western social history and other disciplines, we feel encouraged to ask further-reaching questions and to undertake new research.

The first article in this volume is Jan Tęgowski's study of Polish dynastic family in the Middle Ages. The decision to place this text at the beginning of the volume was dictated not only by practical considerations of chronology, but also by the fact that this study of the Piast and Jagiellonian dynasties opens broader methodological perspectives for further research into family functioning. It is important primarily because heretofore scholars have concentrated on reconstructing royal families' genealogies, tracing political careers of their members, examining naming patterns, and analyzing dynastic policies.

The questions of elite family formation, existence and breakdown in early modern Poland are discussed by Piotr Guzowski, Marzena Liedke and Iwona Kulesza-Woroniecka. In his article, Piotr Guzowski offers a revised picture of the demographic condition of gentry families in the light of recent genealogical publications. Marzena Liedke explores the archives of Lithuanian magnate families in order to reconstruct their marriage and procreation patterns and her study, it must be emphasized, is concerned with several rather than only one individual magnate family. The third author, Iwona Kulesza-Woroniecka, discusses the issue which has not been thoroughly studied in Poland so far, i.e. marriage annulments granted to Polish magnates by the Roman Catholic Church in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The third thematic group of articles consists of four texts focusing on the structure of urban families and the place of their members within and outside of their family units. The character of the texts in this group is varied. Piotr Łozowski uses late medieval legal records to determine the size of patriciate and plebeian families in Old Warsaw in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Studying a sample group of the inhabitants of *civitas Antiquae Varsoviae*, the author finds out that over 70% of families were nuclear, with no more than two children. Cezary Kuklo offers a synthetic overview of his own and other historians' works on some basic parameters of family life (e.g. fertility), and on the size and structure of households. A different approach was adopted by the remaining two authors, who narrowed down their interest to the population of a single urban centre. Konrad Wnęk and Lidia Zyblikiewicz respectively focus on the city of Cracow, one of the most populous cities in early modern Poland, though suffering at that time from demographic and economic stagnation. Konrad Wnęk examines late 18<sup>th</sup>-century census records to reconstruct the sociotopography of Cracow families. Lidia Zyblikiewicz studies the size and structure of Roman Catholic and Jewish families in Cracow in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. She suggests in her article that changes in family size between 1869 and 1880 may have been indicative of upcoming modernization processes which in turn heralded demographic transformations.

Peasant population is the central point of interest in one article in this volume. Mikołaj Szoltysek presents methodological view on typical problems connected with Polish demographic sources.

The article by Radosław Poniak is a comprehensive study of a social group which falls somewhat outside the static and highly ordered late feudal society in preindustrial Poland. The author concentrates on domestic servants, a large socio-occupational group whose role has not been the subject of much in-depth analysis in Polish historiography so far.

The ten articles in this volume written by scholars from three institutions – the University of Białystok, the Jagiellonian University and the Max Planck Institute in Halle – represent several different approaches to the study of the functioning of Polish family and households between the Middle Ages and the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Their aims were to offer a variety of viewpoints and to present the subject in a number of different contexts. May now the readers decide whether the contributors succeeded in achieving these goals.

Cezary Kuklo

*Grabówka, near Białystok, 19 September 2015*

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## **THE POLISH DYNASTIC FAMILY OF THE 10<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES**

According to Henryk Samsonowicz, “dynasty – in light of contemporary definitions – means a family which under a legally regulated succession of heirs holds the highest power in a country”.<sup>1</sup> Studies into dynastic genealogy, well advanced in Poland, have hardly acknowledged issues of the functioning of the princely family understood narrowly as parents and children. Usually, research has focused on the reconstruction of the family’s genealogy and on the political functioning of its representatives, as well as on chronology, nomenclature, dynastic policy, relationships with church institutions etc. Less attention has been paid to questions of marriages’ duration, family solidarity, or lack thereof, among male offspring of the same parents or among foster siblings, women’s role in dynastic policy, i.e. issues typical of the functioning of the family. This paper is predominantly concerned with the Piast family, although in the period investigated the Piasts were not the only representatives of princely families. A separate family reigned in Pomerania, and Silesia was ruled by representatives of the Premyslids, initially the Dypoldites – nephews of Duke Henry the Bearded,<sup>2</sup> and from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on by the Opava Premyslids who, by virtue

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<sup>1</sup> H. Samsonowicz, “Dynastia, czyli od społecznej struktury plemiennej do państwowej” in: J. Dobosz (ed.), *Przemysłidzi i Piastowie – twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 5–7 maja 2004 roku*, Poznań 2006, 15.

<sup>2</sup> See more in: K. Jasiński, “Studia nad genealogią czeskich Dypoldowiców”, *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 36, 1981, no. 1, 59 and further; Idem, “Działalność czeskich Dypoldowiców na Śląsku w pierwszej połowie XIII w.” in: S.K. Kuczyński (ed.), *Spółczesność Polski Średniowiecznej*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1990, 171 and further; A. Szczawiński, “Genealogia Dypoldowiców. Ze studiów nad rodowodem Przemysłidów w XII–XIII wieku”, *Genealogia. Studia i Materiały Historyczne* 7, 1996, 9–56.

of Nicholas II's marriage to Anna, daughter of Przemysław, duke of Ratibor, became the rulers of the Duchy of Ratibor.<sup>3</sup> For a while the Angevin dynasty entered the political stage of Poland, represented by King Luis I (1370–1382) and his daughter Jadwiga (1384–1399). These dynastic families, however, will only be given a cursory look in the present study, as will be the Jagiellons, appearing on the historical arena from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is the Piast dynasty that will constitute the core of the present work, with emphasis placed both on its historical beginnings and the extinction of its Mazovian line in 1526. With regards to the Piasts' origins, Oswald Balzer's seminal work<sup>4</sup> proves an invaluable source of information, greatly supplemented by no less brilliant studies by Kazimierz Jasinski,<sup>5</sup> and other, more modest in scope, works which all expand our knowledge, at times forcing us to reconsider our former assumptions. The author's remarks collected in this essay do not aspire to the status of a comprehensive coverage of the Polish medieval dynastic family – surely not even a multi-volume work could do that; rather, the essay is intended to illuminate several issues related to the formation of a family and its functioning in particular political conditions.

An attempt to statistically approach Polish dynastic marriages was made already in the 1960s. by Opole scholars.<sup>6</sup> Their work, however, is methodologically flawed because the authors based their analyses on genealogical tables published synthetically by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, who only transposed Oswald Balzer's earlier genealogical assumptions.<sup>7</sup> Some of the data were corrected and revised by K. Jasinski and other historians; in the case of several others new interpretive possibilities were allowed, and the correcting and revising is an unfinished and ongoing process, a promising phenomenon for the future prospects of Polish Medieval Studies.

Yet another shortcoming of the Opole scholars' work is their exclusion from the analysis of non-reigning persons, which comes as no surprise since these

<sup>3</sup> See: M. Wihoda, "Přemyslovská expanze v horním Slezsku a vznik holasické provincie", *Acta historica et museologica Universitatis Silesianae Opaviensis* 3, 1997, 34 and further.

<sup>4</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Kraków 1895; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Kraków 2005.

<sup>5</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Kraków 2007; Idem, "Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich. Potomstwo Władysława Odonica", *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 1995, no. 2, 34–66; Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa–Wrocław 1992, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Poznań 2004; Idem, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, Poznań–Wrocław 2001; Idem, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, Poznań–Wrocław 1998.

<sup>6</sup> H. Koniarski, J. Kwak, "Małżeństwa królów polskich i książąt panujących z rodu Piastów w świetle statystycznym", *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Opolu Historia VI*, 1967, 3–56.

<sup>7</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Warszawa 1959.

individuals were given either no attention whatsoever or could only count for incidental mentions in contemporary and later works. Therefore, the question that cannot be avoided is whether it makes any sense to statistically analyse persons and phenomena the data on which may contain a 50% or more error margin. It is the belief of the author that the answer should always be ‘yes,’ with the reservation that the data are of a high degree of uncertainty. Despite these shortcomings, statistical findings presented by Henryk Koniarski and Jan Kwak are comparable to those which Sigismund Peller assembled for the 16<sup>th</sup> and later centuries for representatives of dynastic families from Western Europe.<sup>8</sup> A prominent volume in studies of the Polish family, although of the modern times exclusively, is a recently published monograph by Cezary Kuklo on the demography of pre-partition Crown<sup>9</sup> which includes a meticulous presentation of possibilities of research into the Polish society. The present paper pays less attention to numbers, random and incomplete for the early Piast state owing to the scarcity of sources, concentrating instead on particular phenomena typical of the reigning dynasty such as marriages and family forming, signaling the following problems of the dynastic family:

- 1) The marriage of the dynasty head; age at first marriage; duration of marriages; marital policy; number of children in a marriage; marital fidelity
- 2) The status of the wife (also widow)
- 3) Offspring; inheritance; succession; the status of heir’s brothers until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century
- 4) The role of the monarch’s daughters and sisters and other relatives in serving political purposes.

Initially, owing to the extensiveness of the subject, I will reduce my observations to the first two issues only, working mostly on the material covering seven first generations of the offspring of the Poland’s historical ruler who lived up to the beginnings of the 13<sup>th</sup> century – approximately 88 persons, 54 male heirs and only 24 female heiresses, which automatically reveals substantial gaps in our knowledge because the disproportion of boys’ and girls’ births with complete data might amount to 8–10% to the advantage of either of the sexes. If we consider Kuklo’s table *Population structure according to gender in the parish of St. Cross in Warsaw in 1791*, the deficiency of female births in relation to male

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<sup>8</sup> S. Peller, *Births and deaths among Europe’s ruling families since 1500* in: D.V. Glass, D.E.C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography*, London 1965, 87–101.

<sup>9</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009.

births was already at the start, i.e. at the age of “0,” 2%.<sup>10</sup> Thus, we may be certain that gender balance within the population is a norm. The temporal distance between the early Piast and the early modern eras does not mean that the findings from the latter period are incomparable to the times of Mieszko and Boleslaws. Laws of nature observed in gender distribution remain the same.

With regards to the first Piasts, the data presented above do not acknowledge Mieszko I and his brothers, about whose offspring no information is included in the sources, as a starting point for discussion. Thus, if the number of marriages of male representatives of the Piasts should be considered on a span of seven generations, including Mieszko, 22 marriages were concluded by 13 male representatives of the Piasts, out of whom probably only 6 were married once only. Respectively, 14 Piast maidens married, out of whom one (Matilda, daughter of Boleslaw the Brave) did not proceed beyond the engagement phase; one (Richeza) was married three times, and Sigrid Świętosława twice. With regards to duration, their marriages were usually terminated by their own death or the death of their spouses – e.g. out of Casimir the Restorer’s two daughters who had married neighboring monarchs N., the wife of Hungarian king Bela I, lived with her husband for 21 years, and her sister Gertrude, the wife of Iziaslav Yaroslavich about 35 years. No information is available on who had the right to choose the next husband for the widowed female representative of the Piast dynasty and our knowledge is burdened with error margin resulting from lack of complete source materials. Compared to the Piasts’ birth dynamics in the first five generations, the total number of gender-identifiable individuals amounts to 79–46 males, 33 females, to which we need to add Henry the Pious’s two children and Henry III the White’s also two children who died in infancy and whose names and gender were not recorded, arriving at a final number of 83.<sup>11</sup> In all likelihood, the four children should be ascribed to the female gender. The number of five generations of the Silesian Piasts corresponds to the number of seven generations of Mieszko I’s offspring, which clearly signals that the dynasty’s birth dynamics in earlier centuries could have been more lively than what the sources say. In contrast to the Piasts, the Jagiellons may be observed in only three generations because the family’s male line died out with Sigismund August, the great-grandson of Ladislaus Jagiello. Along with Ladislaus Jagiello, the dynasty’s protoplast, the population amounted to 29 persons, out

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<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, 131.

<sup>11</sup> Data after K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Kraków 2007.

of which 16 were female.<sup>12</sup> A relatively high ratio of never-married men occurs within this family – permanently wifeless were King Ladislaus III (of Varna), Prince Casimir Casimirowic, King John Albert and Prince Frederick who chose an ecclesiastical career.<sup>13</sup>

**I. THE MARRIAGE OF A PRINCE**, from the dawn of monarchy in Poland, was an official state act. With regards to the timing of dynastic marriages, the rule of seasonality does not apply here, perhaps with the exception of Lent – the marriages were finalized when a political and state need arose. Prominent illustrations of the political significance of marriages are provided by Mieszko I's two marriages, to Dobrava and Oda, as well as Boleslaw the Brave's four marriages, out of which two or three had surely been arranged by Mieszko I, and once their political importance devalued, Boleslaw sent away his first two wives, despite the second wife's, not known by name Hungarian princess, giving birth to his son Bezprym. Also Mieszko II's marriage to Richeza, or his son's Casimir the Restorer's to Dobroniega Maria, were of a similar nature. According to Gallus Anonymus and, later on, Wincenty Kadlubek, prior to his marriage to Dobrava, Mieszko I apparently had seven pagan wives whom he sent away, thus also taking away from his potential offsprings born by them the right of succession to the throne. The chronicle note, however, appears to be a rhetoric structure designed to emphasize the role of baptism in the life of the monarch and the status of children conceived by a Christian. The marriage of Poland's first historical ruler to the Czech princess Dobrava was concluded in 965, i.e. still before Mieszko's baptism, which means that it could not have been sanctioned sacramentally because such a practice had yet been unknown in the church. Thus, it must have been Dobrava's personality, which, as in the case of Clovis, convinced Mieszko of the advantages of converting to Christianity, testifying at the same time to Dobrava's considerable influence on her husband's decisions. Two source-acknowledged children were born in this marriage: Boleslaw I the Brave and daughter Swietoslawa Sigrid who from the early 80s. of the 10<sup>th</sup> century was the wife of the Swedish king Eric the Victorious, and following his death – of the Danish king Sven the Forkbeard. Both of her marriages were fertile. Mieszko I's second marriage, to Oda, was probably concluded around 977 because this is when Dobrava died. According to Thietmar, for the purposes of the marriage, Oda – the daughter of Dietrich, margrave of the Northern

<sup>12</sup> Data after Z. Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia Jagiellonów i Domu Wazów w Polsce*, Kraków 2005.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

March – was taken away from the convent for a higher good which means that she had had no say in the matter.

Although a general rule for the times was for members of a dynasty to marry within the dynastic circle, Ladislaus Herman's marriage to Zbigniew's mother, a woman whose name remains unknown, was a notable exception to the rule. Some authors considered this liaison invalid, for instance O. Balzer or T. Grudziński;<sup>14</sup> others yet, such as G. Labuda or K. Jasiński, while acknowledging the act of marriage itself, judged the marriage weak and inadequate owing to status differences between the spouses.<sup>15</sup> Since this was not a state marriage, no attention was devoted to the legal circumstances of the potential offspring. Many historians were swayed by Gallus Anonymus and did not acknowledge the legality of the relationship. Whether Ladislaus Herman's marriage to an unknown woman was planned in advance or agreed upon by Boleslaw the Generous remains unknown, too. When the marriage took place, no one suspected that Ladislaus Herman would succeed the throne following his brother's demise. The status of Ladislaus Herman in Mazowsze up to the fall of his brother's reign is also unknown but certainly he was not a sovereign ruler out there. Debates on the character of the marriage and Zbigniew's legal status as the representative of the Piasts continue until today. Elżbieta Kowalczyk-Heyman's recent voice in the discussion appears quite convincing.<sup>16</sup>

The prince's two subsequent marriages, already as the legal ruler of Poland, were highly political and must have surely led to a radical turn in the direction of Polish policy of the time.<sup>17</sup> Judith of Bohemia, mother of Boleslaw the Wrymouth, was the daughter of Vratislav II, a staunch supporter of the emperor,

<sup>14</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 180–195; T. Grudziński, *Bolesław the Generous*, Toruń 1953, 38, footnote 59 and 61.

<sup>15</sup> G. Labuda, "Zbigniew" in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 7, Wrocław 1982, 108; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, 163.

<sup>16</sup> E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, "Zbigniew i Bolesław – czytanie Anonima zwanego Gallem" in: S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski (eds.), *Causa creandi. O pragmatyce źródła historycznego*, Wrocław 2005, 257–265.

<sup>17</sup> Here a reservation is due with regards to the character of Władysław Herman's rule in Poland until the death of Mieszko Bolesławowic, who after his return from Hungary settled in Cracow. When Boleslaw the Generous's only son returned to Poland it was hard to find a position in the country for the sons of Ladislaus Herman. It was Mieszko who was supposed to take over the rule in Poland, either still during the life of Ladislaus Herman, or immediately after his death. Ladislaus himself did not remarry directly after becoming a widower when Judyta Czeska died – he brought back his nephew from Hungary and married him off, acknowledging his greater right to the throne than his sons'. It was only with Ladislaus's third marriage in 1088 that he changed his attitude towards his sons and step-son.

whereas Judith Maria of Swabia was the sister of Henry the Fourth. These two marriages of Ladislaus Herman testify to his adopting an opposite political option than that promoted by Boleslaw the Generous. Until Ladislaus Herman's marriage to Judith of Swabia his elder son had most probably lived at the court and enjoyed the benefits of belonging to the princely family as a legal son; however, under the influence of Ladislaus Herman's last wife who hoped to give birth to a male heir, he was dismissed from his father's court.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of historical sources for the early Middle Ages means that not much can be said with certainty about the marriages and families of members of the Piast dynasty, who had not reached for power in the country or had done so for only a very short time, such as specifically the sons of Mieszko I and Oda, the sons of Boleslaw the Brave – Otto and Bezprym, and Ladislaus Herman's younger brother Mieszko, who probably died at the age of twenty. No information is available on Zbigniew, his marriage, wife and children. Except for Gallus Anonymus no other contemporary source acknowledges him, and even Gallus was not interested in the depiction of the family of his protagonist's adversary. The majority of adult male representatives of the dynasty did marry, with the exception of Henry, prince of Sandomierz, son of Boleslaw the Wrymouth; Konrad, the third son of Ladislaus the Exile, and in the 13<sup>th</sup> century – Casimir, prince of Łęczyca, brother of Ladislaus the Elbow-high. Nothing is known about potential marriages of Boleslaw the Brave's sons, Bezprym and Otto. Pursuing the Church career was not a popular practice among the first Piasts, but it is believed that Bezprym was presumably intended for the priesthood,<sup>18</sup> and later the same fate was planned for Zbigniew, who, however, was rescued from the monastery in Germany by a group hostile to Palatine Sieciech in order that he quench Sieciech's influence on Ladislaus Herman. Until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century two bishop's pontificates occurred among the Bohemian Premyslids – Strachkvas's and Jaromir's. Boleslaw the Tall's eldest son Jaroslaw was persuaded, or even, according to K. Maleczyński, forced, to embark on the Church path, and in 1198 he became the bishop of Wrocław.<sup>19</sup> The motivation behind his father's efforts to control the position of the bishopric of Wrocław was to secure his entire legacy for his son from the second marriage, Henry the

<sup>18</sup> Recently on the subject: S. Syty, "Mieszko II, czy Bezprym mnichem u św. Romualda" in: *Nihil superfluum esse. Prace z dziejów średniowiecza opiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, Poznań 2000, 101–109, where the author reached the conclusion that Mieszko was the mentioned monk.

<sup>19</sup> K. Maleczyński, "Jaroslaw (born before 1163, died 1201)" in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 11, Wrocław 1964, 1; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 77–79.

Bearded, to prevent fratricidal feuds. Among the Silesian Piasts several attempts to force particular princes to pursue an ecclesiastical career occurred in the 13<sup>th</sup> century – Boleslaw Rogatka tried to thus persuade his brothers – Konrad and Ladislaus, sons of Henry the Pious – which proved a successful effort in the case of the latter who died as the bishop of Salzburg.<sup>20</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries the number of men pursuing the church career increased, in particular among the Silesian line of Piasts who frequently held prelaties and bishoprics both in Poland, Hungary, and Prussia.<sup>21</sup> Among the Kuyavian and Mazovian Piasts Ladislaus the White entered a Benedictine monastery<sup>22</sup> following his wife's death in 1363; Siemowit, son of Casimir of Bytom, and Rupert, duke of Lubin and Chojnów, joined the order of the Joannites (Siemowit: 1372–1391; Rupert: 1422–1431), becoming high-rank officials of the Polish-Bohemian province.<sup>23</sup> Another representative of this branch of the Piasts, Konrad VIII the Young, duke of Olesnica, became a member of the Teutonic Knights in 1416 and as such performed the function of the order's provincial superior for Bohemia and Moravia. Other examples of secular clergymen among the Piasts of Mazovia include Henryk Siemowitowic, who however did not endure in religious service, Aleksander, son of Siemowit the Fourth, who even went on to become the bishop of Trent, as well as Casimir, the younger son of Boleslaw the Fourth, who in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century became the bishop of Plock.<sup>24</sup>

Another significant issue is the dynasty representatives' age at marriage. Early Middle Ages is a poorly documented period and the existing sources are too scarce to enable the present author to determine either the spouses' age or the moment of concluding the act of marriage. Presumably, at the moment of

<sup>20</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 127–130, 133–136.

<sup>21</sup> Bishops of Wrocław were Waclaw, prince of Legnica (1382–1417), and Konrad IV, prince of Olesnica (1417–1447). The former was earlier bishop of Lubusz (1375–1382); Henryk, Waclaw's brother, was appointed bishop of Włocławek in 1389; Opole Piast Jan Kropidło commenced his career with appointment to the bishopric of Poznań in 1382, and then went on to become bishop of Włocławek from where, with the support of his uncle he moved to the archbishopric of Gniezno, though eventually did not take the post and Jan had to satisfy himself first with the bishopric of Kamień, and then Chelm (in 1398). In 1402 he resumed the post of bishop of Włocławek in which he remained till his death. On careers of Piast churchmen in Hungary see: S. Sroka, *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-węgierskich w późnym średniowieczu*. Szkice, Kraków 1995.

<sup>22</sup> S. Sroka, "Książę Władysław Biały w Pannohalma", *Nasza Przeszłość* 77, 1992, 249–259; J. Śliwiński, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333–1388)*, Olsztyn 1995; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, 185–189.

<sup>23</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 618–619 and 198–199.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, 93–96, 117–120, 174–178.

his marriage to Dobrava Mieszko was about 25 years old, which means that he could have been born approximately in 940 but he might have been even ten years older when marrying Dobrava. Thus, at his second marriage Mieszko would be 38 or adequately older. With regards to his son Boleslaw, he was first married at the age of 15–16, and the last one at the age of over 50. His initial marriages were concluded while his father was still alive, which seems to indicate that Boleslaw either was in possession of his own duchy or was intended to be his father's successor to the throne. Mieszko II married Richeza when he was a little over 20; similarly, his son, Casimir Charles, married Dobroniega Maria at the age of ca. 25 years, whereas Dobroniega was some 2, 3 years his senior. Also Boleslaw the Generous at the moment of his marriage to an unknown princess was about 20 years old. Whereas a recent text by Tomasz Jurek takes up the question of the princess's name,<sup>25</sup> no point of reference has been established yet with regards to her origins. The Generous's sister, Świętosława, at the moment of her marriage to Vratislav II was not yet twenty. Beginning with the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the age-at-marriage dynamics visibly accelerated, with the new tempo set by Boleslaw the Wrymouth who married Zbysława at the age of only slightly over 15.<sup>26</sup> His numerous offsprings, especially from the second marriage, had to be skillfully managed in order to facilitate the achievement of particular political goals, and the decision to marry off one of the Wrymouth's children of either sex was dictated by external conditions. Boleslaw himself married off only a couple of his children: Ladislaus, Richeza, Boleslaw and Mieszko. Ladislaus at the time of his marriage to Agnes of Babenberg was about 20, whereas Boleslaw and Mieszko were below that age and it is not known whether both of them actually married while their father lived or only got engaged. The circumstances of the arrival of Boleslaw the Curly's first wife in Poland were recently discussed by D. Dąbrowski, who discovered that the event was described in one of the annales under the date 1140/1141.<sup>27</sup> With the date of Boleslaw's birth estimated by K. Jasiński at 1122, D. Dąbrowski concluded that the duke married his first wife around the age of 18. Similarly to later times, the Piasts' first marriages were usually the longest since they were frequently their only marriages.

A slight slowing down of marital decisions of male representatives of the Piasts occurred only in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the

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<sup>25</sup> T. Jurek, "Agnes regina. W poszukiwaniu żony Bolesława Szczodrego", *Roczniki Historyczne* 72, 2006, 95–104.

<sup>26</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, 184–194.

<sup>27</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia (do początku XIV wieku)*, Kraków 2008, 192–220 (especially 200).

15<sup>th</sup> century, as illustrated by the sons of Casimir Konradowic and Euphrosyne – Ladislaus the Elbow-high was ca. 28, his sister Euphemia ca. 23, and Siemowit ca. 35. Similarly to their Inowroclaw nephews, for a long time they remained landless.<sup>28</sup> The Elbow-high's nephews Leszek and Przemysł Siemowitowics did not decide to marry, whereas their brother Casimir, duke of Gniewko, married no one knows when and whom.<sup>29</sup> With regards to the Piasts of Mazovia, Siemowit I's two sons married at the age of over 20, but the Elbow-high's son, Casimir the Great, concluded his first marriage at the age of 15, as did his mother's cousin Przemysł II, who married Ludgarda, granddaughter of Barnim I, duke of Pomerania, at the age of nearly 15. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century only Siemowit IV married after his thirtieth birthday. Thus, the decision to marry always depended on external circumstances and the duke's, or his father's, or his next-of-kin's, political plans, with measurable political gains counted for. Actually, in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period this strategy became the share of gentry and burghers, too, which is well depicted in K. Mikulski's works.<sup>30</sup> Should these data then be averaged? Perhaps from the viewpoint of large populations such a decision would be justified, but with regards to a dynasty, especially in its initial phase, such practices do not seem well-grounded.

We only have very few descriptions of marriage ceremonies at our disposal, the most unique of which being an entry from the Great Poland Chronicle about the marriage of Ludgarda and the Duke of Greater Poland, Przemysł II:

*AD 1273 the noble Duke Przemysl, son of the late Duke Przemysl, entered Slavia, the land of Duke Barnim to see a maiden, daughter of a duke called Henry of Wyszomierz, born from Duke Barmin's daughter (which is why the duke kept the girl at his court, because she was dear to him). And when he saw her, he liked her person. And there in the country of the said Duke Barnim, in the city of Szczecin, took her as a wife. And this happened in his sixteenth year of life (sic!).*

*Anno Domini 1273, in the month of July, the noble Lord Boleslaw, with the noble Lady Helena, his wife, and with his venerable father, bishop*

<sup>28</sup> R. Kabaciński, "Rządy opiekuńcze i tzw. niedzielne na Kujawach inowrocławskich na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku", *Prace Komisji Historycznej Bydgoskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego* 4, 1967, 61–68.

<sup>29</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, 147–151.

<sup>30</sup> K. Mikulski, "Strategie rodzinne rzeźników toruńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku", *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 62, 2002, 49–84; K. Mikulski, *Pułapka niemożności. Społeczeństwo nowożytnego miasta wobec procesów modernizacyjnych (na przykładzie Torunia w XVII i XVIII wieku)*, Toruń 2004.

*Nicholas, and with his barons and the the same Master Przemysl, they went to meet the lady Ludgarda as far as Drzeń. There they received her respectfully and walked her to Poznan, and the bishops and canons of the church, in accordance with an age-old tradition, led her inside the temple in a solemn procession.*<sup>31</sup>

The chronicler's last sentence – that the greeting ceremony for the prince's new wife was one of prevailing customs – could well be extended over the majority of Great Polish Piasts' marriages, at least in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Casimir the Great thus greeted his second wife Adelajda in Poznan in September 1341, where the wedding and the crowning of the new queen took place.<sup>32</sup> It should be pointed out that it was Ludgards, though, whom the young prince took a liking to, but his personal preference was of no consequence and Ludgarda was eventually married by Przemysl the Second because the matter had been decided by the guardians of the two princes, Barmin and Boleslaw. We also know that Ann of Cilli did not appeal to Ladislaus Jagiełło and again, this personal preference had no impact on whether or not she would become his wife. The ruler's fancy had to bow before the good of the state.

A similar description of pre-marital negotiations is available for the marriage of king Casimir Jagiellonczyk and Elisabeth of Austria in 1453, in which the chronicler Jan Dlugosz writes that Casimir's representatives – bishops: Jan of Wloclawek, Andrzej of Poznan, accompanied by secular dignitaries, both Polish and Lithuanian – went to Wroclaw for an appointment with dignitaries representing Ladislaus, the king of Czechs and Hungarians, in order to negotiate the conditions on which the marriage was to be concluded. It was agreed that the king should set out to Cieszyn to receive his fiancée on the first Sunday after the holiday of Our Lady of Candlemas, February the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1454, which he indeed did.<sup>33</sup>

**II. NUMBER OF CHILDREN** in a marriage to large degree depended on the relationship's duration, although not exclusively. For instance, the marriage of Bolko the Second Swidnicki and Agnieszka, despite its longevity, remained

<sup>31</sup> *Kronika Wielkopolska*, trans. by K. Abgarowicz, Warszawa 1965, 297–298.

<sup>32</sup> J. Zdrenka, "Kasimir der Grosse, König von Polen und seine Ehe mit Adelheid Landgräfin von Hessen im Lichte der Marburger Urkunden", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 39, 1989, no. 2, 161–178.

<sup>33</sup> *Joannis Dlugossi, Annales seu cronicae incliti Ragni Poloniae, liber duodecimus 1445–1461*, Cracoviae 2003, 170 and further and 176 and further.

childless.<sup>34</sup> Also Casimir the Great's first marriage, although it lasted 14 years, it probably yielded only two children – daughters Elzbieta and Kunegunda. The information on the earliest Piast families is only fragmentary. We know of the existence of Mieszko I's four sons and one daughter, and yet more children could have been born who did not live to an age in which they would be of interest for the sources; in all likelihood, Mieszko had more female offspring from his second marriage. Boleslaw the Brave in his four marriages had three sons and at least as many daughters which gives a relatively low fertility ratio for one marriage, although once account has been taken of the transience of the first two marriages and the last one, the numerosity of offspring appears to be approximating the norm. The sources speak of only three children of Mieszko the Second, but it is quite likely that there were more. The marriage of Casimir and Dobroniega was by all means a fertile one – it yielded 5 children, 4 sons and 1 daughter. The relationship lasted 18 years, and the moment of its termination Dobroniega was 43 years old which means that in the final years of the marriage biological restraints may have excluded her from procreation. Let us also bear in mind that in these times mortality of infants was a norm and the sources do not devote any special attention to such occurrences. As far as Boleslaw The Generous is concerned, we only know of one child, son Mieszko, but it may have well been so that Mieszko had siblings not recorded in the sources who lived – or not – to adulthood. It is only when the sources begin to take serious interest in the royal family, as in the case of Boleslaw The Wrymouth's second marriage, that a fuller picture of royal fertility emerges. His first marriage – to Zbysława – was recorded in the sources, contrary to the second, although we only know of one son, Ladislaus, born in this marriage, although it supposedly lasted 12 years and other children could have been born. O. Balzer and K. Jasiński suspect that it might have been a daughter married off in 1124 to Wsiewolod, prince of Muromsk.<sup>35</sup> Boleslaw The Wrymouth's second marriage, to Salomea of Berg was for a difference very fertile – during 23 years of its duration at least 12 children were born, 7 boys and 5 girls. Information on Boleslaw the Curly's children is very scarce – out of his two marriages only two children are known, and it is not certain whether they come from both of the relationships, or only from the last one. Casimir the Just in his single marriage to Helena, princess of Znojem, had at least seven children, 5 boys and 2 daughters.<sup>36</sup> The marriage

<sup>34</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 316–319.

<sup>35</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 246–249; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, 207–208.

<sup>36</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, 13–38.

was concluded probably around 1162 and was terminated by Casimir's death on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1194. Out of his offspring only two sons and two daughters lived to adulthood, and the marriage itself lasted 30 years, and children were born at least until the mid 1180s., including two sons, Leszek and Konrad. Interestingly, Wincenty Kadlubek, chronicler contemporary to the princely couple, does not mention Casimir the Just's two daughters at all, out of whom one married prince Wsiewolod Swiatoslawowic, and the other, Adelajda, died as a maiden in 1211.<sup>37</sup> The fact testifies to a notorious practice of omitting female individuals in medieval accounts.

Remarkably fertile was the marriage of Siemowit the Fourth and Aleksandra Olgierdówna – at least 13 children were born, and it should be remembered that Siemowit at the moment of marrying Jagiello's sister was around 30, and his bride (according to the present author's own calculations) no less than 17.<sup>38</sup> The marriage lasted from 1387 to 1426 (i.e. ca. 39 years), and according to K. Jasinski's calculations, the last child, Katarzyna, was born between 1413 and 1416 which is after more than 26 years of married life.

In contrast to early medieval families and marriages royal families of later Middle ages are better documented in the sources. For instance, in the case of Casimir Jagiellonczyk, dates of his and his wife, Elizabeth of Austria's birth, as well as the births of their children, are well documented. Queen Elizabeth at marriage was about 17, and Casimir was some 10 years her senior. Out of 13 children born in their marriage, the first arrived in September 1457, which is nearly three and a half years after their wedding. Their youngest child, daughter Elizabeth, was born after nearly 30 years of marriage, in 1483, when she was already 45, and Casimir 55.<sup>39</sup> Their marriage lasted until 1492, i.e. 38 years.

With regards to the age of parents, for women the lower limit was 13, and upper – 45, but there is no precise information available on the age of Polish monarchs in the Middle Ages. The age of 13 was probably reached by Judith Maria of Swabia, wife of Ladislaus Herman, when she gave birth to her youngest child, daughter of an unknown name. The starting age limit of 13 years is based on the decision announced by pope Gregory IX in his Decretals, according to which the lowest admissible age at marriage for women was 12. In the Piast dynasty, Richeza, daughter of Boleslaw The Wrymouth who was married

<sup>37</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 451–454; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, 17–22.

<sup>38</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia Giedyminowiczów*, Poznań–Wrocław 1999, 148–150.

<sup>39</sup> See: Z. Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia*, 89–137 and K. Jasiński's review – *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 15, 1971, 239–243.

to Magnus, king of Sweden,<sup>40</sup> probably gave birth to her first child at about this age. Also Kunegunda, the oldest daughter of Ladislaus the Elbow-high, who was first married to Bernard duke of Swidnica,<sup>41</sup> gave birth to her first children at this age. As far as the age of men at birth of their first children is concerned, the lower limit is hard to capture, but usually men would become fathers around the age of 20. The upper limit to men's procreative capacities in Polish dynastic families is again difficult to determine, with a prominent example of potential in these matters set by king Ladislaus Jagiello, who became father for the last time at the age of 65.

As in all of medieval Europe, mortality rate of infants and children in Polish dynastic families was very high. For instance, out of 5 Casimir the Restorer's five children recorded in the sources three lived to adulthood, one lived to 20 (Mieszko), and one (Otton) died at the age of about 1. In Boleslaw The Wrymouth's family, out 14 recorded children from two marriages two sons – Leszek and Casimir the Older – did not live to adulthood, dying as several-year-old boys. In Ladislaus Odonic's only marriage to Jadwiga, daughter of Pomeranian Duke Mściwoj I (if we acknowledge the identification of Jadwiga as the first wife of Casimir of Kuyavia, put forth by Dariusz Karczewski), at least six children were born, out which two sons, Ziemomysl and Mieszko, did not live to adulthood.<sup>42</sup> However, the data must be approached with caution because infant deaths could also pass unrecorded in the sources.

**III. THE CHARACTER OF PIAST MARRIAGES** did not change until the extinction of the royal Piast line. Each marriage was always a legal act of a solely political nature which acknowledged neither age, appearance, nor physical characteristics, a practice typical of all dynasties, not only in the Middle ages. Owing to the elite character of dynastic marriages, the circle of potential spouses was rather narrow, and the Church preferred marriages between non-related persons who were not either in a connection of propinquity with one another. The Lateran Council of 1215 decided that the degree of kinship between individuals about to get married should be 5; the two closer degrees of kinship and propinquity constituted a canonical hindrance but were subject to papal dis-

<sup>40</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, 210–217.

<sup>41</sup> Idem, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, 151–153.

<sup>42</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 397–417 and table 5; D. Karczewski, "W sprawie pochodzenia Jadwigi, pierwszej żony księcia kujawskiego Kazimierza Konradowica" in: K. Zielińska-Melkowska (ed.), *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów*, Toruń 1997, 235–240.

penetration. Before the Lateran Council of 1215 the rules were even stricter and even the fifth degree of kinship was a canonical hindrance to marriage.<sup>43</sup> Already in the 11<sup>th</sup> century there were cases of marriages unlawful according to canonical law – the marriage of Swietoslawa, Casimir the Restorer's daughter, with the Bohemian Prince Vratislav II, and of her brother Ladislaus Herman, with Judith of Bohemia.<sup>44</sup> In the following centuries marriages were occurring between gradually closer related individuals, e.g. – between Boleslaw the Wrymouth and Zbyslava, daughter of Swiatopelek Iziaslawowic, who were related in the third degree verging on the second because their closest common ancestor was King Mieszko II. The efforts to acquire papal dispensation were not always taken, which resulted either from the lack of awareness of the existing kinship, or from a willingness to wait until the arrival of children, as was the case with Siemowit III and his first wife Euphemia, duchess of Opawa whom the Mazovian duke married in 1345 at the latest, acquiring papal dispensation only on January 4, 1347, when Pope Clement VI ordered Jaroslaw Bogoria, the archbishop of Gniezno, to issue a dispensation for this marriage. In their supplication the spouses claimed that they had had no knowledge of the existing canonical hindrance in the form of third and fourth degree kinship.<sup>45</sup>

The dynastic family should also be approached from the perspective of marriage duration. A paragon of marital stability was Mieszko I – his first marriage was terminated by the death of Dobrava, and the second – by his own passing away. The marriages of Boleslaw the Brave presented a starkly contrasting picture: his first two wives were sent away, and only his third marriage, to Emnilda, was a lasting relationship (nearly 30 years), terminated by the princess's death. Boleslaw's last wife, Oda, daughter of Eckard, margrave of Meissen, probably survived her husband, but the sources do not include information on her fate, stipulating rather that she might have been sent away following the ruler's return from a Kiev expedition with a new paramour, Predslava, sister of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kiev. There is also a case of a dissolution of Mieszko II and Richeza's marriage (ca. 1031) owing to the king's notorious infidelity.<sup>46</sup> Danuta Borawska even went so far as to claim that Mieszko, following his divorce, mar-

<sup>43</sup> See: K. Jasiński, "Dynastyczne mariaże czesko-polskie ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem okresu do końca XI wieku", *Rocznik Muzeum w Gliwicach* 10, 1994, 11–23.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>45</sup> *Nowy kodeks dyplomatyczny Mazowsza, cz. II: Dokumenty z lat 1248–1355*, Wrocław 1989, no. 278, 282–283; no. 283, 288–289.

<sup>46</sup> G. Labuda, *Mieszko II król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*, Kraków 1992, 88.

ried a Slav woman of an unknown name.<sup>47</sup> In the following centuries, along with the gradual stabilization of marriage as not only a political liaison but also a holy sacrament, the dynasts apparently abandoned the habit of sending away wives who did not meet their expectations. A notable exception was the marriage of Boleslaw II, duke of Mazovia, who as a sign of disapproval of his brother-in-law, Vaclav II's, policy sent away his wife, Vaclav's sister Kunegunda, at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but did not remarry afterwards. A similar fate became the share of Henry Probus's first wife, daughter of Ladislaus, duke of Opole, but in this case the duke did remarry, taking an Ascanian marquise as his next wife. Also Casimir the Great pondered annulling his marriage to Adelaide of Hesse owing to her infertility which precluded the ruler's prospects of conceiving a male heir.<sup>48</sup> Still, the exceptions do not undermine the general rule that Polish kings and princes treated their marriages with seriousness, even if they could not fulfill marital obligations, as was the case of Leszek the Black and Gryfina.

There was also an instance of marital fraud among Silesian Piasts, committed by Ladislaus, son of Henry V, duke of Wroclaw. Ladislaus first tried his luck in the clerical career, acquiring even the status of canon of Wroclaw and the sub-diaconate orders. However, after some time (over 10 years) he decided to marry a sister of the Mazovian duke who, according to the *Chronicle of Silesian Piasts*, was old and rather unattractive. He married her *propter aliquales pecunias* nevertheless, and, having acquired the said benefits, never appeared by his wife again.<sup>49</sup>

IV. Another issue that is of interest for the purposes of the present study is **THE STATUS OF THE WIFE, DYNAST'S WIDOW**. Essential reading on this issue is Maria Koczerska's flagship article.<sup>50</sup> Also Agnieszka Bartoszewicz wrote about the position of women in small towns in the late Middle Ages, stating that the women's actual role was "higher than that designated by the law".<sup>51</sup> Surely

<sup>47</sup> D. Borawska, "Kryzys monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej" in: T. Manteuffel (ed.), *Polska pierwszych Piastów. Państwo społeczeństwo kultura*, Warszawa 1974, 183.

<sup>48</sup> See: J. Śliwiński, *Mariaże Kazimierza Wielkiego. Studium z zakresu obyczajowości i etyki dworu królewskiego w Polsce XIV wieku*, Olsztyn 1987.

<sup>49</sup> *Kronika książąt polskich*, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, 517; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 172–173.

<sup>50</sup> M. Koczerska, "Geneza, znaczenie i program dalszych badań nad kobietą i rodziną w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych" in: Z.H. Nowak, A. Radziwiński (eds.), *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, Toruń 1998, 7–17.

<sup>51</sup> A. Bartoszewicz, "Kobieta w małym mieście późnego średniowiecza (w świetle ksiąg miejskich Sieradza, Szadka, Warty i Łodzi)", *Rocznik Łódzki* 43, 1996, 37–52.

it was the same in the case of women from dynastic circles. The question was partly addressed while discussing the durability of marriages but holding fast to one's position of a ruler's wife alone does not exhaust all aspects related to the woman's influence on her husband's policy. Many Piast wives earned themselves a reputation of strong and determined women, especially when securing their children's well-being was at stake. Surely Dobrava occupied quite a strong position, since she was able to persuade Mieszko to convert to Christianity. Her successor, marquise Oda, also knew how to exert pressure on her husband and make sure her sons would have a guaranteed share in their father's legacy;<sup>52</sup> still, her efforts eventually came to nothing because Boleslaw the Brave did not share his father's soft spot for his step-mother and step-brothers. Thus, following Mieszko I's death Oda did not manage to maintain her authority in the country, perhaps due to the fact that she continued to be perceived as a stranger. Initially, Richeza, wife of Mieszko II, enjoyed a very powerful position, possibly because of her family connections with the Salian dynasty; later on, her potential to influence her husband considerably weakened, but as his widow she was treated with great respect, owing to both her being the granddaughter of Emperor Otto II, and to her royal title.<sup>53</sup> Nothing is known about Dobroniega Maria, wife of Casimir the Restorer, as she is granted virtually no attention in the sources. Out of Ladislaus Herman's wives, the greatest influence on him had the last one, Judith of Swabia, both because of her noble origin and her own imperious ambitions. Equally influential was Salomea of Berg, Boleslaw the Wrymouth's second wife, who, just as Mieszko I's Oda, made sure that her husband provided for her sons by granting them high official status. Her public role is best visible only after her husband's death, when her sons were threatened by degradation to ordinary subjects. Her worthy rival was Agnes of Babenberg, wife of Ladislaus the Exile, who also kept a vigilant eye on her brothers-in-law, i.e. her husband's step-brothers, so as to make sure they did not threaten her sons' legacy. With the progression of feudal fragmentation, a general pattern emerged of the rulers' subsequent wives' pushing their husbands' children from previous marriages into the background. This is what happens in the case of Mieszko the Old and his son – Odon when Mieszko's second wife Eudoxia (according to D. Dąbrowski's supposition daughter of Prince Yuri Dolgorukiy) gives birth to her and Mieszko's children. It has to be remembered that at that time Odon was already

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<sup>52</sup> G. Labuda, "Znaczenie prawno-polityczne dokumentu *Dagome iudex*", *Nasza Przeszłość* 4, 1948, 33–60; Idem, "Znaczenie prawne i polityczne dokumentu *Dagome iudex*", *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza* 13, 1979, no. 1, 83–100.

<sup>53</sup> A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych X–XIII w.*, Warszawa 1964, 230–234.

married to Wyszelslawa, daughter of Yaroslav Osmiomysl, Prince of Halych.<sup>54</sup> A similar fate became the share of Yaroslav, Boleslaw the Tall's son from his first marriage, when Boleslaw decided to remarry, taking Christina as his second wife.<sup>55</sup> A prominent part was also played by Casimir the Just's widow, Helen of Znojmo, who during the nonage of her sons Leszek and Konrad made sure that Mieszko III the Old did not succeed in marginalizing them in his Cracovian fights for power. It was thanks to her mediation that Roman Mstislavich, her sons' Russian relation, supported the juniors in the battle of Mozgawa in 1194, in which Mieszko III's army suffered a crushing defeat.<sup>56</sup> On certain conditions, Helen of Znojmo knew how to compromise with her brother-in-law. Certainly also Gryfina, Helen's daughter-in-law, was a remarkable woman. Following the death of her husband she fought for her son Boleslaw the Chaste's inheritance rights by skillfully manipulating imperious ambitions of the Silesian Henrys and directing them against her brother-in-law Konrad of Mazovia.<sup>57</sup> Significant for the evaluation of Gryfina's skill is the fact that her efforts led to an alliance with King Bela IV of Hungary and to her son's marriage to Kinga.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century (1260 or 1261) Leszek the Black rebelled against his father Casimir because of the birth of Ladislaus the Elbow-high, Casimir's male heir from his third marriage to Euphrosyne, duchess of Opole.<sup>58</sup> Leszek was then already capable of independent rule – born around 1240/43, he must have been some 17 years old, but apparently, Euphrosyne knew how to influence her husband, which threatened the older sons of the Kuyavian duke with marginalization.

The position of duchesses, Piasts' wives who survived their husbands, also calls for a careful investigation. Their situation is best depicted when the woman

<sup>54</sup> K. Jasiński, "Uzupełnienia do genealogii Piastów", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* V, 1960, 89–92.

<sup>55</sup> B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Warszawa 2006, 109; Idem, *Bolesław Wysoki tulacz, repatriant, malkontent*, Kraków 2008, 62–66 (here, B. Zientara calls Boleslaw the Tall's second wife Adelajda).

<sup>56</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, 2 ser., vol. XI, Kraków 1994, 179–183; S. Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Kraków 2009, 346–347; B. Włodarski, "Śsiedztwo polsko-ruskie w czasach Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 76, 1969, no. 1, 5–18; J. Bieniak, "Roman (+ 19 VI 1205 r.)" in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 4, Wrocław 1970, 534.

<sup>57</sup> B. Włodarski, "Polityczne plany Konrada Mazowieckiego", *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 76, 1971, 5–62.

<sup>58</sup> J. Powierski, "Książęta polscy i zakon krzyżacki a problem bałtyjski w okresie od schyłku 1258 do połowy 1260 roku", *Komunikaty Warmińsko-Mazurskie* 1979, no. 4, 384–386; K. Jasiński, "Genealogia Władysława Łokietka i jego najbliższej rodziny", *Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie* 6, 1988, 14.

as the heir's mother takes care of her juvenile son. Sources do not provide information on Richeza's doing so because after her husband, Mieszko II's death, Richeza did not return to Poland. The most prominent illustration of a woman in this role is Grzymislawa who after her husband's Leszek the White's tragic death cares for her minor son, Boleslaw the Chaste, managing to push back the expansive designs of both her husband's brother Konrad and others eager to rule in Cracow, Henry Bearded and Ladislaus Spindleshanks. Her maternal instinct and imperious skills successfully protected her son from being deprived of his due patrimony.

Yet another aspect of the strong position of the woman might be observed in Boleslaw the Chaste's marriage to Kinga who, despite her occupying the position of the ruler's wife, managed to impose her will on her husband to remain in virginity.<sup>59</sup> Kinga's position was guaranteed not only by her royal origin, but also her strong character and consistency in her actions. In contrast, her niece Gryfina could not persuade her husband Leszek the Black to deflower her, which led to their separation in the years 1271–1274.<sup>60</sup>

Among Jagiellon wives, surely the greatest political power lay in the hands of Jadwiga, who was, after all, crowned king, but her importance extended beyond the strictly political realm because long after her death Jagiello remembered her with respect and affection. Out of Jagiello's remaining wives only Anna of Cilli was held in a slightly lower esteem because, as Jan Długosz put it, "virgin Anna seemed not comely enough to Jagiello";<sup>61</sup> still, she was Casimir the Great's granddaughter and gave birth to daughter Jadwiga. Sophia of Halshany, in turn, gained in importance when she gave birth to Jagiello's much-desired sons, and maintained her position later on as a widow and guardian of the juvenile princes.<sup>62</sup> Her determination was also evident at the rally of Warta in December 1430, where she concentrated all her efforts to free her husband from Švitrigaila's captivity.<sup>63</sup> Elizabeth of Austria's position remains hard to evaluate.

<sup>59</sup> B. Kowalska, *Święta Kinga rzeczywistość i legenda*, Kraków 2008, 333–336.

<sup>60</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, 102.

<sup>61</sup> *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego, księga dziesiąta 1370–1405*, Warszawa 1981, 311.

<sup>62</sup> E. Maleczyńska, *Rola polityczna królowej Zofii Holszańskiej na tle walki stronnictw w Polsce w latach 1422–1434* in: *Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie*, section 2, vol. XIX, no. 3, 1936, passim; F. Sikora, "Uroczystości koronacyjne królowej Zofii w 1424 r." in: *Kościół Kultura Społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Warszawa 2000, 161–179.

<sup>63</sup> *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae, liber undecimus 1413–1430*, Varsaviae 2000, 320; E. Maleczyńska, "Rola", 85; J. Sperka, *Szafrąccowie herbu Stary Koń*, Katowice 2001, 200–201.

Surely she was held in high regard mostly as the mother of numerous offspring, avoiding involvement in political affairs, although she did play some part in her husband's dynastic policy.

Widowhood of Piast and Jagiellon wives was usually spent on raising children and guarding their position and authority. Sometimes the Polish duchesses/queens, following the deaths of their husbands, would choose monastic life, spending their time on prayers and thus supporting their children. Cases of remarriages of Piast widows were extremely rare, and among Jagiellon widows non-existent. Not much can be said about the fate of Oda, widow of Mieszko, the first ruler of Poland. Similarly, the sources remain silent with reference to Dobroniega Maria, widow of Casimir the Restorer, who lived as a widow for 29 years, as well as to her daughters-in-law – unknown by name widow of Bolesław the Generous and Judith Maria, who, according to Gerard Labuda, died on the German territory after 1110.<sup>64</sup>

In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries widows usually lived their days in the company of their children, remarriages occurring rarely, only in several single cases: 1). Judith daughter of Konrad, Mazovian duchess, widow of Mieszko the Fat, an Opole Piast, who married Henry III, duke of Wrocław, following her first husband's death; 2). Euphrosyne, duchess of Opole, widow of Casimir Konradowic, prince of Kuyavia, who in 1275 married Mściwoj II. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the majority of Piast widows chose monastic life, visibly favouring monasteries of Poor Clares, as was the case for Jadwiga, widow of Henry the Bearded, Kinga, Jolanta, or their niece Gryfina. Also Ladislaus the Elbow-high's widow relegates herself to a convent after her husband's death. This tendency does not occur among Jagiellons' widows – neither Sonka (Sophia) of Halshany nor her daughter-in-law Elizabeth of Austria had monastic inclinations; Helena, Aleksander's widow, or her sister-in-law Bona, did not choose monastic life as widows, either.

**V. SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE AND THE POSITION OF BROTHERS** is a very frequent issue in historical and legal literature. Let us now consider whether existed any rules governing inheriting power in the state. Among the pioneering scholars who took up the issue were Henryk Łowmiański and Tadeusz Grudziński.<sup>65</sup> According to the sources, the first historical ruler of Poland,

<sup>64</sup> See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, passim; G. Labuda, "Uzupełnienia do genealogii Piastów, w szczególności śląskich", *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 18, 1963, no. 1, 4.

<sup>65</sup> See: H. Łowmiański, "Dynastia Piastów we wczesnym średniowieczu" in: *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia*, vol. I, Poznań 1962, passim; T. Grudziński, "Zagadnie-

Mieszko I, had at least two brothers; however, their official status remains unknown. Both were warlords in Mieszko's army and died in battle. Whether their function corresponded to a territorial power, remains unknown, too, because both of them made only incidental appearances in the sources. It appears that Mieszko had designs to divide the country among his sons; already before his marriage to Oda, Mieszko assigned the southern part of the country to his son from first marriage, and the remaining regions were to become Oda's sons' heritage. Boleslaw the Brave deprived his step-brothers from the possibility to control any part of the patrimony by way of a military coup, thus shattering his father's and step-mother's dynastic plans. He also excluded both his older son Bezprym from succession to the throne, possibly also preventing him from claiming his territorial dues, and younger Otto, who at the time of his brother's Mieszko II's attempted to fight back his part of the legacy along with a distant relative, Thiedric. We do not know much about Casimir the Restorer's sons' share in power, out of whom Ladislaus Herman was granted Mazovia, but whether his younger brother Otto also received any district to rule remains unknown. In this case, it was Casimir's eldest son who took over the rule. Importantly, all Casimir's children came from the same marriage. Quite a different matter was the *vivente rege* allotment of districts first to Zbigniew and then to both of his sons. Was the character of power allotted to Boleslaw the Generous's son, returning from Hungary, similar, and was this the case also for ambitious Zbigniew, and then for Ladislaus Herman's both sons, Zbigniew and Boleslaw? Also Boleslaw the Wrymouth wanted to resort to this strategy when he allotted the Silesian district to his eldest son and nominated him princeps. However, his oldest son was not related by blood to his male siblings and the experiment fell through because Ladislaus was somewhat too rash in his attempts to dominate his brothers who then, when they were holding the rule, initially peacefully took efforts to follow their father's doctrine. It appeared that seniorial rule found fertile ground among the Wrymouth's sons born in his marriage to Salomea of Berg, because Boleslaw the Curly died on January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1173, as princeps, and was succeeded by Mieszko the Old. The apparent peace and quiet were broken by against Mieszko III's rebellion and installing The Wrymouth's youngest son Casimir in Cracow in 1177.<sup>66</sup> Ever since it had been impossible to detect any logic in succession

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nie podziałów dynastycznych w Polsce do schyłku XI wieku”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 78, 1971, no. 1, 3–27; H. Łowmianski, “Podziały dynastyczne monarchii piastowskiej w końcu XI i początkach XII w.,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 36, 1971, no. 3, 9–47.

<sup>66</sup> See recently: M. Smoliński, *Caesar et duces Poloniae. Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-niemieckich w drugiej połowie XII wieku (1146–1191)*, Gdańsk 2006, 138–141.

to rule in Cracow, perhaps with the exception of Mieszko the Old, who, after Casimir's death, was allowed to take over the rule of the metropolitan district. Subsequent generations of Piasts and Pommeranian dukes in the 13<sup>th</sup> century enforced the divisions of their parents' districts.<sup>67</sup> Throughout this century, the majority of Piast marriages was rather durable and thus the offspring from these relationships did not call for preferential treatment, with the exception of the family of Casimir Konradowic, duke of Kuyavia, who had children from two marriages, or Boleslaw II, duke of Plock, who also had sons from two marriages, to the Lithuanian Gaudemante and the Bohemian Kunigunde. It is quite probable that Boleslaw II's separation from Kunigunde in 1302 was caused not by Boleslaw's political actions directed against his brother-in-law Wenceslaus II, the Bohemian king (this had already started in 1296 when Boleslaw was supporting Ladislaus the Elbow-high), but by Piasts' intra-familial conflicts, i.e. the allotment of districts to the older sons of Mazovian Piasts, which might have been connected to Trojden's plans to marry a Russian princess, Maria Yurevna.

There is also quite a considerable percentage of Piast marriages who either had no sons or no offspring at all – Boleslaw the Pious, duke of Greater Poland, had only daughters, his nephew Przemysl II had only one daughter Rzeczka Richeza, the Mazovian Prince of Czersk, Conrad II, also had only one daughter, recorded in sources, who was married to Przemyslaw, duke of Cieszyn. Also Casimir the Great had only daughters which was the reason why the Polish throne was succeeded by his nephew Luis of Hungary. The dukes Ladislaus Spindleshanks of Greater Poland, Boleslaw the Chaste and Leszek the Black of Lesser Poland, and the Silesian Mieszko the Fat and Henry Probus, though married, died childless. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century Bolko II of Swidnica married in 1338 to Agnes, daughter of the Austrian Duke Leopold I, also died childless.<sup>68</sup> His younger brother Henry from a marriage to an obscurely known Catherina, had an only daughter Anna, a natural heiress to both of the dukes, but at the moment of her marriage to Emperor Charles IV, Bolko II of Swidnica made the reservation that Anna's child could inherit the duchy only after his and his wife Agnieszka's death, which took place around February 2, 1392, when the widowed duchess died. Since then, the Duchy of Swidnica was under direct reign of Wenceslaus IV, son of Anna of Swidnica.

Since the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century female succession was becoming gradually more widespread, for example the settlements with Luis of Hungary with re-

<sup>67</sup> Regarding the dukes of Pomerelia see: J. Spors, *Podziały administracyjne Pomorza Gdańskiego i Sławieńsko-słupskiego od XII do początku XIV wieku*, Słupsk 1983, passim.

<sup>68</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 316–319.

gards to inheritance after Casimir the Great's death.<sup>69</sup> When Luis himself also failed to secure a male heir, at the Košice council in 1374 he passed forth a law establishing the possibility to inherit the Polish crown by his daughter Maria.<sup>70</sup> This step paved the way for further changes to inheritance law, propelled partially by a general reluctance to maintain the personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary, when Greater Polish gentry declined to pledge allegiance to Maria's fiancé Sigismund of Luxembourg, Jadwiga of Angevin became heiress to the Polish crown. As a consequence of her coronation in 1384, her husband Ladislaus Jagiello had to be appointed by election, which took place on February 2, 1386 in Lublin.<sup>71</sup> If the couple's daughter, born in July 1399, survived, she could have become a legitimate heiress; the girl, however, died a couple days following her birth. Jagiello's next daughter, Jadwiga, was born in 1408, and since the king's prospects of having a male heir were diminishing, Ladislaus Jagiello announced Jadwiga the heiress to the Kingdom of Poland in 1413, perhaps owing to the fact of her being the granddaughter of Casimir the Great. This, however, led to a situation in which Jagiello's sons, who were born after all, had to be appointed to the Polish throne by election, even though they were the major candidates.<sup>72</sup> Earlier, female succession was not a widespread practice, a fact undisturbed by Wenceslaus II's taking the crown and the country of Przemysł II in 1300 because the ruler had become a (Greater) Polish king before he married Richeza, the daughter of the last Greater Polish Piast. Still, the perspective of Richeza's becoming the wife of Wenceslaus II was also significant in this case. As K. Jasiński observed, Richeza was the first Piast princess who became the queen of Poland and used the title of "*Boemie et Polonie bis regina*".<sup>73</sup>

**VI. THE ROLE OF DAUGHTERS, SISTERS AND FEMALE RELATIVES OF THE MONARCH IN SERVING POLITICAL PURPOSES.** Ever since the beginnings of Polish statehood the role of female offspring in facilitating alliances with neighbouring monarchs had been highly valued. A certain obstacle was presented

<sup>69</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Elżbieta Łokietkówna 1305–1380*, Kraków 2007, 85–91.

<sup>70</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego 1370–1382*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Kraków 2009, 292–298; J.S. Matuszewski, *Przywileje i polityka podatkowa Ludwika Węgierskiego w Polsce*, 1983, 210–224.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga król Polski*, Wrocław 2009, 196–223.

<sup>72</sup> *Joannis Długossii Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae, liber undecimus et liber duodecimus 1431–1444*, Varsaviae 2001, 130–132; *liber duodecimus 1445–1461*, Cracoviae 2003, 42.

<sup>73</sup> K. Jasiński, "Ryksa Elżbieta – Boemie et Polonie bis regina" in: J. Krzyżaniakowa (ed.), *Przemysł II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, Poznań 1997, 269–280.

by too close kinship ties resultant from a limited circle of match-making possibilities. The geographical horizon of marriages was usually limited to partners sought in one's vicinity: in Ruthenia, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and Scandinavia. Marriages of Piast maidens to partners from distant regions of Europe were a rarity, and included, for instance, Richeza, daughter of Ladislaus II the Exile, married to King Alfonso VII Castille, and later on to Count Ramon Berenguer II of Provence, or Wierzchosława Ludmilla, daughter of Mieszko III the Old, married to Frederic I, duke of Lorraine. A true match-making master of the late Middle Ages was Charles IV, the Bohemian king and Roman emperor.<sup>74</sup> In the Polish context Ladislaus the Elbow-high proved himself to be a skillful match-maker, as well.<sup>75</sup> An illustration of earlier dynastic match-making policy might be provided by the marriage of Sigrid Swietosława, daughter of Mieszko I, to king of Sweden, Eric the Victorious, or daughter of Bolesław the Brave of an unknown name, who around 1007 became the wife of the Ruthenian prince, Sviatopolk, son of Vladimir. Also the marriages of Casimir the Restorer's sisters served political purposes. His older, sister of an unknown name became the wife of Bela I, prince and then king of Hungary, and Gertrude, his younger sister, was married to Izialav Yaroslavich, prince of Kiev, in the 1040s. In all likelihood, the 1063 the marriage of Swietosława (Svatava) Casimirowna to Vratislav II of Bohemia was of a similar character.<sup>76</sup> It is hard to say who was responsible for marrying off the daughters of Ladislaus Herman and Judith of Swabia – they did not seem to be of any particular interest to Bolesław the Wrymouth. His brother Zbigniew probably also did not manage to marry them off; thus, it appears that in the first phase of his rule Bolesław engaged his step-sisters according to his own political agenda. The third sister and second by birth, Agnes was probably placed by her mother in a convent in Quedlinburg, where she soon became abbess, perhaps owing to her being the cousin of Emperor Henry V.<sup>77</sup> With regards to his daughters, Bolesław the Wrymouth followed a defined marital policy, and Richeza got married still during the life of her father. His younger daughters, however, were drawn into the orbit of their brothers' political game of power, which ignored the senior of the Piast family, Ladislaus II, and might have led to an aggravation of his conflict with the jun-

<sup>74</sup> D. Veldtrup, *Zwischen Eherecht und Familienpolitik. Studien zu den dynastischen Heiratsprojekten Karls IV*, Warendorf 1988 (= "Studien zu den Luxemburgen und ihrer Zeit" 2).

<sup>75</sup> K. Jasiński, "Polityka małżeńska Władysława Łokietka" in: A. Radziwiński, J. Wróński (eds.), *Genealogia. Rola związków rodzinnych i rodowych w życiu publicznym w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, Toruń 1996, 9–28.

<sup>76</sup> See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, 176–178.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, 197–199.

ior representatives of the family. In subsequent generations, the exploitation of daughters and sisters to achieve political goals is evident as in the example of Mieszko III's numerous daughters or Casimir the Just's daughter of an unknown name, married to Vsevolod the Red, prince of Rus, in 1178. Mieszko the Old's marital policy deserves particular attention in that it helped him strengthen his position both in Poland and abroad, allowing him to survive crises such as the rebellion of his older son Odon and the banishment from Greater Poland,<sup>78</sup> or involvements in power struggles in Cracow at favourable moments. The marriage of 14-year-old Salomea, daughter of Leszek the White, to the Hungarian Prince Coloman shows that political agenda and proper neighborly relationships with Andrew II's Kingdom of Hungary was far more important than the will and preference of the said princess herself.<sup>79</sup> Ladislaus the Elbow-high's marital chessboard has been awarded a meticulous analysis by Kazimierz Jasinski, who unearthed not only the actual marriages but also temporary engagements sealing a given political alliance, not always between the ruler's closes relatives.<sup>80</sup> The most spectacular marriages arranged by the Elbow-high include the marriage of his sister Euphemia to the Ruthenian Prince Yuri of Galicia in 1289, marrying off his niece Fenenna of Kuyavia to King Andrew III of Hungary, in 1290, his daughter Elizabeth to King Charles Robert of Hungary in 1320, and his son Casimir to Lithuanian Princess Aldona Anna in 1325.<sup>81</sup> Also Ladislaus Jagiello proved a comparable aptitude for political exploitation of his relatives already at the beginning of his rule, when through the marriages of his sisters: Alexandra, Catherina, Jadwiga, and his brother Vygantas, to, respectively, Siemowit IV, John II, duke of Mecklenburg, John III, duke of Oswiecim, and Jadwiga, duchess of Opole, surrounded the Kingdom of Poland with friendly neighbours. He also married off his distant relative, Jadwiga, daughter of Tautvilas, to Barnim V, duke of Pomerania, in 1396.<sup>82</sup> In later years it turned out that the monarch had a flair for marrying off also his nieces, Mazovian duchesses Amelia, Cymburgis, or Euphemia, to princes whom he liked to see as his allies. Especially the

<sup>78</sup> M. Łodyński, "Udział książąt śląskich w zamachu z r. 1177 (przyczynek do dziejów Bolesława Wysokiego i Mieszka Raciborskiego)", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 22, 1908, 16–45; S. Szczur, "Udział Odon w buncie przeciwko Mieszkowi Staremu w 1177 rok", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne* no. 74, 1985; M. Przybył, *Mieszko III Stary*, Poznań 2002, 70–120.

<sup>79</sup> B. Włodarski, *Polityka ruska Leszka Białego*, Lwów 1925, 52.

<sup>80</sup> K. Jasiński, *Polityka małżeńska*, 9–28.

<sup>81</sup> See: S. Zajączkowski, "Przymierze polsko-litewskie 1325 r.", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 40, 1926, 567–617.

<sup>82</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 216–217.

marriage of Cymburgis, daughter of Siemowit, to Ernest Habsburg proved to be a masterpiece of match-making because through this liaison the Polish king managed to forestall the plans of Sigismund of Luxemburg who at that time was at war with Poland<sup>83</sup> – Luxemburg was forced to make concessions on the way to a truce with Poland and Lithuania so as not to allow Jagiello to develop too close relationships with the Habsburgs. No less excellent from the point of view of diplomatic game was the process of marrying off Ladislaus Jagiello's daughter Jadwiga, who had first been engaged to the Pomeranian Duke Boguslaw IX, but when Boguslaw's protector, the Danish King Eric of Pomerania withdrew his interest in the alliance was betrothed to Frederic Hohenzollern, the younger son of Frrederic, margrave of Brandenburg. This move naturally forced Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary and Germany, to take steps to block the realization of these plans. At the moment of the birth of Jagiello's sons, the question of his daughter's engagement and marriage became a convenient tool in political game of power.<sup>84</sup>

Casimir Jagiellonczyk, too, would marry off his daughters with a view to achieving political aims resultant from potential family ties. The most prominent example of his marital policy was the so-called 'Landshut Wedding,' i.e. the marriage of Jadwiga Jagiellon and the Bavarian Duke George in 1475. Prior to that, however, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary was contesting for Jadwiga's hand but was shunned by the royal couple who believed him a usurper.<sup>85</sup> Also Bogdan, son of Moldavian Prince Stephen the Great, received a similar treatment while contesting for the hand of Princess Elizabeth Jagiellon, turned down by the princess's mother in 1504.<sup>86</sup> The reason for the rejection was the vassal status of the Principality of Moldavia, as well as religious dissimilarity between the prospective bride and the groom. Thus, it was decided that the marriage, should it be concluded, would bring no profits for either the Jagiellons, or the state.

<sup>83</sup> K. Jasiński, "Przymierze polsko-austriackie w 1412 r. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem małżeństwa Cymbarki księżniczki mazowieckiej z Ernestem Żelaznym księciem austriackim" in: A. Czacharowski (ed.), *Prace z dziejów państwa i zakonu krzyżackiego*, Toruń 1984, 127–145.

<sup>84</sup> S. Gawęda, "Próba osadzenia Fryderyka Hohenzollerna na tronie polskim a sprawa pomorska" in: *Mediaevalia. W 50 rocznicę pracy naukowej Jana Dąbrowskiego*, Warszawa 1960, 177–206; Z.H. Nowak, "Sprawa przyłączenia Pomorza Słupskiego do Polski (projekty małżeństwa Bogusława IX z Jadwigą Jagiellonką)", *Zapiski Historyczne* 39, 1974, no. 3, 99–124.

<sup>85</sup> Z. Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia*, p98 –100; M. Biskup, "Wokół 'Landshuckiego wesela' 1475 roku" in: M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, Warszawa 1987, 285–300.

<sup>86</sup> Z. Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia*, 132–137.

The dawn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century brought new models of spirituality, particularly attractive for women from the dynastic circle. The Franciscan or Dominican model of religiosity exerted significant influence on Piast maidens and wives, as well as on Piasts' more distant female relatives, resulting in numerous monastic vocations. The new spiritual climate corresponded also to a revival in vocations for the Cistercian or Norbertine orders, which for many princesses meant the only escape from an unwanted marriage and a life of full intellectual and spiritual development.<sup>87</sup>

To conclude the present study it is vital to observe that the problems of medieval Polish dynastic family in general did not diverge too substantially from the afflictions of knightly, burgher or peasant families. Among the most significant issues that the Polish dynastic family had to struggle with were questions of lifespan, mortality of infants and children, or the patriarchal organization of family forms. The only element that truly distinguished the dynastic family was the practice of arranging marriages to serve the political goals of the state. In the earlier Middle Ages morganatic marriages were an absolute rarity, and only later did they occur more frequently among impoverished and politically marginalized Piasts, with the most prominent example provided perhaps by the marriage of King Ladislaus Jagiello to Elizabeth Granowska, heavily criticized by members of the royal council. Maintaining this relationship was a true test of the king's power against his counselors.

<sup>87</sup> S. Szostok, *Kobieta w poszukiwaniu duchowości – próba nakreślenia portretu świętych księżniczek XIII wieku, żyjących na terenie Polski, Śląska i Czech* in: *Święci i świętość u korzeni tworzenia się kultury narodów słowiańskich*, Kraków 2000, 105–115.



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**DEMOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION  
OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL NOBLE FAMILY  
IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATEST  
GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH**

**THE STATE OF RESEARCH**

Demographic reflection on the history of the noble family appeared relatively early, although it referred rather to the early modern era. Attempts at estimation of the size of the family were already taken by the publishers of historical sources, Adolf Pawiński and Aleksander Jabłonowski, but they served to calculate the population of particular provinces of Poland.<sup>1</sup> It was realized that all fundamental genres of sources enabling investigating into issues connected with family demography: registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths, *status animarum* books, head tax registers, population censuses etc. appeared as late as the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> c. and therefore nobody saw a chance to analyse statistically an earlier family. Just before World War II two researchers attempted to circumvent source shortages in this matter using genealogical data from armorials as a basis.<sup>2</sup> First Tadeusz Furtak analysed information from Teodor Żychliński's "Złota księga szlachty polskiej" ("The Golden Book of Polish No-

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<sup>1</sup> A. Pawiński, "Wstęp" in: *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 12: *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, part. 1: *Wielkopolska*, Warszawa 1883, 104–107; A. Jabłonowski, "Wstęp" in: *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 17: *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 6: *Podlasie*, part 3, Warszawa 1910, 76–77.

<sup>2</sup> Polish armorials are not only present the coats of arms but also contain detailed genealogies of noble families.

bility”) for such issues as: an average age of the dead, an age of the first marriage, the number of children in the relationships with children.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Egon Vielrose published a polemical article, in which he used genealogical information from Kasper Niesiecki’s “Herby i familie rycerskie” (“Knightly Coats of Arms and Families”) and Stanisław Kazimierz Kossakowski’s “Monografie historyczno-genealogiczne” (“Historical and Genealogical Monographs”).<sup>4</sup> Both authors juxtaposed, however, a minimal amount of late medieval data, inapplicable to statistical analysis, and the sources of their information not always met the scientific criteria.<sup>5</sup>

After many years, the issues of demography of the medieval family, in this case not only noble, was taken by Jan Tyszkiewicz. The starting point of his reflections was Irena Gieysztorowa and Włodzimierz Dworzaczek’s opinion that among the written sources only land (*ziemskie*) and castle (*grodzkie*) court registers can be used as sources of demographic data.<sup>6</sup> In Tyszkiewicz’s opinion they are not perfect or sufficient to conduct research since they “give a genealogic orientation only in the scope of kinship and affinity; a particular family appears in a distorting mirror of accidental legal acts. The data on births, marriages, life duration, the number of children are completely random”.<sup>7</sup> Therefore the only source of demographic information referring to medieval population may be excavation paleoanthropological material analyzed with paleodemographic methods, which are employed by physical anthropology and genetics. On the basis of the results of studies of cemeteries, this author asserted that in the medieval society the domination of males among the newborns (secondary proportion) was maintained also in the subsequent stages of life and such a situation “would have positive demographic effects and consequently also cultural, productive and political ones; it would give a developmental dynamism to society”.<sup>8</sup> It a further

<sup>3</sup> T. Furtak, “Kilka zagadnień z demografii historycznej szlachty polskiej”, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 4, 1937, 31–58.

<sup>4</sup> Egon Vielrose, “Przyczynek do demografii szlachty polskiej”, *Przegląd Statystyczny*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1938, 328–342.

<sup>5</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, “Niebezpieczeństwa metodyczne polskich badań metrykalnych XVII–XVIII wieku”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 19, 1971, no. 563–565.

<sup>6</sup> W. Dworzaczek, “O badaniach genealogicznych nad dawną rodziną” in: Idem, *Studia nad dziejami społeczeństwa, polityki i kultury dawnej Polski w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Warszawa 2010, 35.

<sup>7</sup> J. Tyszkiewicz, *Człowiek i przyroda w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Warszawa 1983, 165; It is an extended but popular version of the chapter in the book *Człowiek w środowisku geograficznym Polski średniowiecznej. Związki i uwarunkowania przyrodniczo-kulturowe*, Warszawa 1981, 185–191.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, 169.

part of his text, referring to the results of research on modern towns and dynastic genealogy, he formulated a certain demographic assumption of the model medieval family of the feudal elite:

- girls matured after the 14<sup>th</sup> year of age, they had been married since the age of 16;
- a woman could give births from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 45<sup>th</sup> year of age; intervals between deliveries ranged between 18 and 36 months (on average: 2.5 years);
- maintaining sexual intercourses throughout the whole period of woman's fertility (16–45), the so-called complete married couple could produce 15 live children, half of whom, and usually a third hardly lived to maturity (5);
- women lived on average 35 years, so married couples, at 20 years of procreation, had probably on average 9 live births and then they may have managed to bring up four children up to the age of 16–18;
- “however, taking into consideration plagues, wars, high mortality of women in the procreation period, infertility and the fact that marriages lasting 20 years were not majority, these assumptions should be recognized as only close to the truth”.
- percentage of married couples with no or few children amounted 25%;<sup>9</sup>

Most of Jan Tyszkiewicz's theoretical assumptions were adopted by Alicja Szymczakowa in her article “Stan badań nad rodziną szlachecką późnego średniowiecza” (The state of research on the noble family in the late Middle Ages), who supported them with examples from genealogical monographs of families, which have emerged in a considerable number over the last 20 years, which is a special phenomenon in Polish medieval studies.<sup>10</sup> Alicja Szymczakowa attempted to set in order and synthesize demographically the information from those works. In the question of the gender structure she agreed to Tyszkiewicz's opinion, observing “an disturbing phenomenon” of “an enormous shortage of women”.<sup>11</sup> She also noted the size of the noble family concluding that “on average in a generation in magnate families are 6.82 persons; in official's families 7.41 persons and in non-official's families 5.4 persons”.<sup>12</sup> However, she made reservation to her calculations: “Of course, these juxtapositions illustrate effects of the historians' inquisitiveness rather than the real composition of the noble family”.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, 178.

<sup>10</sup> A. Szymczakowa, “Stan badań nad rodziną szlachecką późnego średniowiecza” in: J. Pakulski, J. Wroniszewski (eds.), *Genealogia – stan i perspektywy badań nad społeczeństwem Polski średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, Toruń 2003, 75–93.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, 81.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

The interesting summary of the research on the noble family presented by Alicja Szymczakowa shows the possibilities provided by analysis of genealogical papers. It also demonstrates differences between a historian-genealogist and historical demographer in the way they approach demographic problems. Therefore both the statistical approach and the terminology employed by the author should be modified. This article is an attempt at a fundamental demographic analysis of the Polish noble family in the late Middle Ages on the basis of the material provided by the latest genealogical studies.

### SOURCES AND THE QUALITY OF THE DATA

Perhaps no other domain of Polish medieval studies can boast with such a huge growth in publications in recent years as genealogy. Beside book monographs several monographic articles are published in such periodicals as "Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego" and "Genealogia", as well as in the framework of various post-conference publications, especially those organized by the representatives of the Toruń school of genealogy. What is not without significance in this context is the progressing works on the subsequent volumes of the splendid series of *Słownik Historyczno-Geograficzny Ziemi Polskich w Średniowieczu* (Historical and Geographic Dictionary of Polish Lands in the Middle Ages), being of priceless assistance in studies not only on property relations but also on family relations of nobility in the late Middle Ages. The source basis of all those studies are foremost land courts registers preserved from the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and a little later registers of castle courts.

Unfortunately genealogical works are characterized by a certain specificity, which gives an impression of being hermeneutical and often hinders the use of the genealogists' research results in other fields of the science of history. Whereas researchers of particular families' histories try to place their heroes in a certain political context considering their holding offices and participation in national events, genealogy proves to be a perfect auxiliary science of political history. It is a little worse with the connections between genealogy and social and economic history. It seems that the representatives of this current of historiography cannot or do not want to use the materials gathered as a result of a typically medieval, Benedictine work on court registers, usually still manuscripts, for analysis of the issues going beyond traditional genealogical, heraldic and prosographical research. In turn, medievalists of other specializations are not able to derive from the genealogists' works the knowledge they have.

Genealogical monographs give many difficulties to a historian who wants to use them in demographic studies. The problems stem foremost from the difference in perception of social history. Genealogists in their studies use the notion of house (kin) while a demographer is interested in a family. It has its consequences. Genealogical works provide mainly data on marriages and children of male representatives of the house/family, ignoring the offspring of daughters and sisters. As Marek Cetwiński aptly observed, “Popularity of genealogical research results from the faith in the power of blood connections, which are supposedly a factor determining the creation of social structures”,<sup>14</sup> which is unfortunately connected underappreciation of the significance of relations resulting from affinity, which cannot be explained by the specificity of the preserved material from the given period only. This results in enormous unconcern of genealogists in using information referring to life female partners of the representatives of the houses/families described. While men are characterized on the basis of all available source information, women are dismissed with clichés such as “in sources occurs very occasionally” or “little is possible to write about the wife... confirmed in the years...”, supported with a reference to the source or very often left without it. Such a procedure raises astonishment foremost because of the already long tradition of dealing with noble women in the legal and social aspect,<sup>15</sup> in which a special place is occupied by Maria Koczerska’s brilliant monograph on the noble family. As early as forty years ago, she proved a fundamental importance of a nuclear family composed of the spouses and their children in the life of late medieval society.<sup>16</sup> In later years she also claimed that “the weight of affinity relationships was equal to those of kinship”<sup>17</sup> and added “To the question what is a characteristic of the Polish family in the Middle Ages and at the beginning modern era I would suggest an answer that it is equali-

<sup>14</sup> M. Cetwiński, “Jak pisać rozprawy genealogiczne?” in: W. Zawistowska, A. Pobóg-Le-nartowicz (eds.), *Rody na Śląsku, Rusi Czerwonej i w Małopolsce: średniowiecze i czasy nowożytne*, Rzeszów 2010, 17.

<sup>15</sup> B. Lesiński, *Stanowisko kobiety w polskim prawie ziemskim do połowy XV w*, Wrocław 1956; S. Roman, “Stanowisko majątkowe wdowy w średniowiecznym prawie polskim”, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 11, 1959, 80–106; W. Brzeziński, *Wdowieństwo i powtórne zamążpójście kobiet wśród możniejszej szlachty polskiej późnego średniowiecza*, “Roczniki Historyczne” 75, 2009, 105–122; Idem, “Polska rodzina szlachecka w kręgu krewnych matrylateralnych i powinowatych w późnym średniowieczu. Wybrane zagadnienia” in: A. Szymczakowa (ed.), *Człowiek w średniowieczu. Między biologią a historią*, Łódź 2009, 127–148.

<sup>16</sup> M. Koczerska, *Rodzina szlachecka w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1975.

<sup>17</sup> Eadem, “Uwagi o terminologii pokrewieństwa i powinowactwa w polskich źródłach historycznych” in: Jacek Hertel (ed.), *Genealogia – problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*, Toruń 1982, 44.

ty among siblings, and more precisely equality of brothers and sisters in their midst".<sup>18</sup> Therefore in the case of the late Middle Ages, for which we have a very limited range of sources, in addition laconic ones, such as records in land and castle courts registers, it is important to use any potential information. From the point of view of historical demography (and other specializations) important are not only the data referring to men but also women, although because of social relations in the late Middle Ages dominated by men, we cannot expect a sex balance in the historical sources. After all, problems with obtaining any demographic data are numerous regardless if it is about men or women. Alicja Szymczakowa is right writing: "Difficulties in establishing fundamental genealogical facts, such as the date of birth, marriage and death reduce the possibilities of studying the family structure".<sup>19</sup> For all that, it should be assumed that land and castle courts registers enable more or less specific reconstruction of a noble individual's life cycle with the genealogic method, and thanks to that a fundamental demographic analysis will become possible. Although the information obtained from late medieval court sources cannot be ascribed with the precision of registry books, tax lists or population censuses, certain possibilities of demographic observation exist, especially in two issues: family duration and the number of children living to adulthood. The age of marriages and other issues can be studied to a definitely lesser degree.<sup>20</sup>

In the case of analysis of marriage duration in late medieval realities limited from one side with the moment of the sacrament and on the other side with the death of one of the spouses, we are bound to operate with approximate data, since extremely rarely do we have source information on a particular date. The date of marriage is usually determined approximately, *ante quem*, on the basis of the record of bride prices and dowries in court books. Genealogists usually believe that such proceedings occurred in a relatively short time, about a year after the marriage, even though there were cases where between the wedding and the record of the dowry an exceptionally long time would pass; as Jan Wroniszewski observed, one Femka was a wife of Piotr of Kosocice as early as 1397 but the her husband registered her dowry in 1414.<sup>21</sup> Also the moment of death may

<sup>18</sup> Eadem, *Geneza, znaczenie i program dalszych badań nad kobietą i rodziną w średniowieczu i nowożytności*, in: Z.H. Nowak, A. Radziwiński (eds.), *Kobieta i rodzina średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, Toruń 1998, 10.

<sup>19</sup> A. Szymczakowa, "Stan", 80.

<sup>20</sup> P. Guzowski, "W jakim wieku szlachcice zawierali pierwsze związki małżeńskie w późnym średniowieczu?" in: S. Gawlas et alii (eds.), *Ecclesia – Regnum – Fontes. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2014, 574–583.

<sup>21</sup> J. Wroniszewski, *Ród Rawiczów: Współrodowcy Warszawiców i Grotowców*, Toruń 1994, 22.

be determined not very precisely. Its determinant is calling one of the spouses a widow or a widower, defining with the adjective *olim* or a note on entering another relationship. The conclusion of the new marriage should be preceded by a period of mourning lasting, in the case of women and men in the late Middle Ages, about a year, although specific limits had not been established.<sup>22</sup> For all those reasons the relationship duration may be determined approximately only.

Bearing in mind the aforementioned reservations we decided to juxtapose the cases of noble marriages for which genealogists were able to determine the beginning and the end of the relationship. The base was to be monographs of homes/families published over the last two decades which meet the research criteria much more than the information from “Złota księga szlachty polskiej” used by Tadeusz Furtak or the data provided by Kasper Niesiecki analysed by Egon Vielrose. Unfortunately it turned out that part of genealogists, as already mentioned, deliberately omit most of the data referring to daughters and sisters and the other authors of genealogical works not always precisely inform us on the basis of what source information and concerning what, draw a conclusion that a particular woman was a wife of one of the members of the family described. Instead of a concrete assertion that this results from the record of a bride price or dowry, joint presence before the court, participation in inheritance or another legal action, confine themselves providing the archive signature of the source of information, which results in the footnote being methodologically well constructed but the information provided is useless from the point of view of demographic analysis. Therefore, despite an apparent richness in new genealogical publications, only part of them secured the data used in this article.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> M. Koczerska, *Rodzina*, 158–159.

<sup>23</sup> S. Cynarski, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich z Brzezia*, Warszawa–Kraków 1996; B. Czwojdrak, *Rogowscy herbu Działosza podskarbiowie królewscy. Studium z dziejów możnowładztwa w drugiej połowie XIV i w XV wieku*, Katowice 2002; Eadem, *Jastrzębce w ziemi krakowskiej i sandomierskiej do połowy XV wieku*, Kraków 2007; W. Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego. Wiek XIV–XV*, Warszawa 1971; T. Jurek, *Krąg rodzinny starosty wielkopolskiego Wierzbięty (1352–1369) czyli początki rodu Niesobiów*, “Genealogia” 1, 1991, 11–42; J. Karczevska, *Ród Pomianów na Kujawach w średniowieczu*, Poznań–Wrocław 2003; J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997; B. Nowak, *Ród Porajów w Małopolsce w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2009; J. Pakulski, *Ród Godziębów w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Toruń 2005; K. Przyboś, “Awans społeczny Lubomirskich herbu Drużyna od XIV do początku XVII wieku”, *Genealogia* 4, 1994, 9–38; Idem, “Balowie herbu Gozdawa”, *Rocznik Przemyski* 33, 1997, 3–19; Idem, “Fredrowie herbu Bończa domus antiqui moris virtutisque cultrix”, *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*, new series, 3, 1997, 75–107; T. Sławiński, “Człowiek istotą rodzinną – genealogia Kretkowskich w XV–XVIII w.”, *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 3, 1997, 53–73; M. Wol-

Beside the information on the relationship duration, data concerning the offspring have been gathered. However, land and castle court books did not register all born children but those participating in legal actions only, i.e. beside the cases connected with custody, which have been excluded from this statistical analysis, persons who were already grown-up.

The collected data concern noble families of different strata of this estate, foremost, though, of middle office-holding nobility and magnates, which was decisively affected by the specificity of genealogical research. They come from all provinces of the Kingdom of Poland within the boundaries of the first Jagiellonians' rule.

### MARRIAGE DURATION

On the basis of the data from the latest genealogical works it was possible to juxtapose relatively full information on 168 marriages (first and subsequent). All of them were terminated with the death of one of the spouses (table 1). In the light of these data, the noble marriage concluded at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and over the 15<sup>th</sup> c. lasted on average 18 years (median: 16). The mechanical distinction between the families started before the mid-15<sup>th</sup> c. from the later ones indicates that among the former the relationship was, on average, longer and lasted over 19 years, while at the end of the century shorter by 2.5 years. Observation of the median shows, however, that the differences were not very significant since they reached merely one year.

Among the relationships under analysis 138 were first marriages for both partners (table 2). Their average duration amounted 19.1 years and in this case a difference between marriages concluded in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (20.5) and those later (17.6) can be observed. It is confirmed by the median amounting merely 16 years for the marriages at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and 20.5 years for those concluded earlier.

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ski, *Małopolska rodzina szlachecka XIV–XVI wieku. Trzeciocy herbu Strzeźmię*, Kraków 2005; A. Sochacka, *Jan z Czyżowa, namiestnik Władysława Warneńczyka. Kariera rodziny Półkozów w średniowieczu*, Lublin 1993; J. Sperka, *Szafrancowie herbu Stary koń*, Katowice 2001; A. Szweđa, *Ród Grzymałów w Wielkopolsce*, Toruń 2001; S. Szybkowski, *Ród Cielepałów. Studium genealogiczne*, Gdańsk 1999; B. Śliwiński, *Lisowie Krzelowscy w XIV–XV wieku i ich antenaci. Studium genealogiczne*, Gdańsk 1993; A. Szymczakowa, *Szlachta sieradzka w XV wieku. Magnifici et generosi*, Łódź 1998; A. Gąsiorowski (ed.), *Wielkopolscy Ostrorogowie*, Ostroróg 1998; J. Wroniszewski, *Ród Rawiczów: Warszowice i Grotowice*, Toruń 1992; Idem, *Ród Rawiczów: współrodowcy Warszowiców i Grotowiców*, Toruń 1994.

Table 1. Number and average duration of the marriages under analysis

<b>Marriages con- cluded</b>	<b>Number of the marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Average duration of the marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Median</b>
in the first half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	91	19.2	17.0
in the first half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	77	16.6	16.0
Total	168	18.0	16.0

Table 2. Duration of first marriages

<b>Marriages con- cluded</b>	<b>Number of marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Average duration of marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Median</b>
in the first half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	74	20.5	20.5
in the second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	64	17.6	16.0
Total	138	19.1	17.5

Table 3. Duration of first marriages with children  
and without offspring recorded in the sources

<b>Marriages</b>	<b>Number of marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Average duration of marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Median</b>
with children	123	19.9	19.0
without offspring re- corded in the sources	15	12.8	13.0
Total	138	19.1	17.5

Table 4. Duration of subsequent marriages

<b>Marriages</b>	<b>Number of marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Average duration of marriages analyzed</b>	<b>Median</b>
with children	24	11.8	8.5
without offspring re- corded in the sources	6	17.3	17.0
Total	30	12.9	11.0

It is also possible to observe diversity in the relationship duration in respect of the possession of offspring surviving to adulthood (table 3). The average duration period of the marriage with children was nearly twenty years (median 19), whereas in the small sample of 17 marriages whose offspring failed to be recorded in the sources this period was confined to c. 13 years.

Due to genealogical research it was possible to juxtapose data for 30 subsequent marriages (table 4). Their average duration amounted almost 13 years (median 11). Among the relationships with children living to adulthood it was lower, reaching nearly 12 years (median 8.5). The three subsequent childless relationships, on the other hand, were characterized by long duration, on average 17 years.

### NUMBER OF CHILDREN

To all marriages under analysis 571 children who survived to adulthood were born. Among them the domination of sons (311) over daughters (260) can be observed, which results in mutual relations on the level 100:83. Similar, or even higher (100:62) disproportions were already observed by the historians analyzing dynastic marriages as well as by genealogists. There were attempts at explaining them with mainly biological reasons connected with marriages among close relatives, as it happened in princely and royal homes, as well as maternal mortality of women.<sup>24</sup> In this case, however, we have to do not only with elite but also with various strata of nobility, in addition, with offspring entering the age of the highest fertility. Women were recorded in the sources at the moment of registering a bride's price or dowry, and thus were not yet exposed to complications connected with a birth. The lack of gender balance in this age segment may be explained with foremost the lower number of records of women in historical materials, which is typical of not only the late Middle Ages but also omitting them by genealogists. This could result from, for example, the marrying women's leaving their family place and functioning in court sources in their husbands' region. Not going into an ultimate determining the sex structure among the representatives of all the noble social group at the moment, for the needs of this article two methods were employed to calculate the number of offspring. The first one, including children recorded in the sources, and the other one, in which the number of 51 women, potentially omitted in

<sup>24</sup> J. Jankowski, *Epidemiologia historyczna polskiego średniowiecza*, Wrocław 1990, 27; A. Szymczakowa, "Gentry Marriage in the Late Middle Ages. Love or Strategy?", *Questions Medii Aevii Novae* 9, 2004, 67.

genealogical research, was added. Such as upward adjustment with people unrecorded in the sources is not a new operation, even in the case of demographical research on medieval society.<sup>25</sup>

Available late medieval data concerning gender structures show considerable differences in this field between various European regions. The Florentine Catasto of 1427 reveals that the number of men in almost all age groups was noticeably larger than the number of women. In the group of young adults (18–22 years) the masculinization rate was 117.<sup>26</sup> It may be explained not only by the Catasto's imperfections with regard to women's registration, but also by the economic specificity of the city of Florence and the region. Meanwhile, in late medieval England, poll tax registers from the years 1377–1381 indicate that the masculinization rate in adult population varied from 85 to 145, depending on the region.<sup>27</sup> Early modern Polish data show that both in bigger and in smaller towns the number of women exceeded that of men.<sup>28</sup> In the countryside, the masculinization rate in the 15–34 age group also ranged from 93 to 97.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, our tentative assumption that in the group of people entering their fertile age there might have been an equal gender distribution appears to be justified.

Taking into consideration all relationships analyzed we can assert (table 5) that one married couple had, on average, 3.4 children (median 4) living to adulthood. The average is, of course, higher in the case of first marriages lasting longer and amounts 3.6 (median 3.5). An average noble married couple had 2.3 (median 2) children reaching adulthood. Upward adjustment with daughters potentially omitted in the research does not change decisively the image. Average numbers will grow in the case of all marriages up to 3.7 children living to adulthood; among first marriages up to 3.9, and in the case of subsequent relationships up to 2.9.

Out of all 168 marriages analyzed 147 (87.5%) had offspring living to adulthood, this including 123 first marriages (89%) and 24 subsequent ones (80%).

<sup>25</sup> Z. Razi, *Live, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish. Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270–1400*, Cambridge 1980.

<sup>26</sup> D. Herlihy, C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families. A Study of Florentine Catasto on 1427*, New Haven-London 1985, 139.

<sup>27</sup> P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy. Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520*, Oxford 1992, 372.

<sup>28</sup> S. Borowski, "Próba odtworzenia struktur społecznych i procesów demograficznych na Warmii u schyłku XVII w. na przykładzie Dobrego Miasta i okolicy", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 8, 1975, 132; C. Kuklo, *Kobieta samotna w społeczeństwie miejskim u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej. Studium demograficzno-społeczne*, Białystok 1998, 253.

<sup>29</sup> M. Kopczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie*, Warszawa 1998, 70.

Table 5. Number of children who lived to adulthood in all marriages

Children living to adulthood	Number of marriages	Number of children	Average number	Median	Number of children after adding daughters	Average number of children after adding daughters
From first marriages	138	501	3.6	3.5	536	3.9
From subsequent marriages	30	70	2.3	2.0	86	2.9
Total	168	571	3.4	3.0	622	3.7

Table 6. Number of children who lived to adulthood in marriages with children

Children living to adulthood	Number of marriages	Number of children	Average number	Median	Number of children after adding daughters	Average number of children after adding daughters
in first marriages	123	501	4.1	4.0	536	4.6
In subsequent marriages	24	70	2.9	3.0	86	3.6
Total	148	571	3.9	4.0	622	4.2

The average number of children of every couple whose children managed to grow up amounts 3.9 (median 4), where in first relationships it is at the level of 4.1 (median 4), while in subsequent ones 2.9 (median 3). If we recognize that it is necessary to add potentially existing daughters, then the average number of children living to adulthood in all couples with children will grow to 4.6. In the case of first and subsequent marriages, they will take the average value of, respectively, 4.6 and 3.6 children for a married couple (table 6).

An attempt at observation of the number of children living to adulthood in all marriages chronologically grouped according to the moment of marriage indicates little differences in this respect over the 15<sup>th</sup> century (table 7). In marriages started in the first half of that century 3.5 children on average were born for a couple, whereas in later ones 3.3. The median, however, in both cases amounts 3. Adding potential daughters does not change considerably the situ-

Table 7. Number of children who lived to adulthood in all marriages concluded in the first and the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Children living to adulthood in marriages concludes	Number of marriages	Number of children	Average number	Median	Number of children after adding daughters	Average number of children after adding daughters
in the first half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	91	319	3.5	3.0	352	3.9
in the second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	77	252	3.3	3.0	270	3.5

Table 8. Number of children who lived to adulthood in marriages with children concluded in the first and the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Children living to adulthood in marriages with children	Number of marriages	Number of children	Average number	Median	Number of children after adding daughters	Average number of children after adding daughters
concluded in the first half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	81	319	3.9	3.0	352	4.3
concluded in the second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	66	252	3.8	3.0	270	4.1

ation. A relationship started after 1450 had, on average, 3.5 children who lived to adulthood, while an earlier one 3.9.

If we include in our calculations the marriages with children only, the chronological distinction also indicates only little differences in respect of offspring living to adulthood between the marriages concluded before the half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and those later (table 8). The average in the particular sub-periods is on the level, respectively, 3.9 and 3.8, at the median amounting in both cases 3. Adding potential daughters raises the average to 4.3 children living to adulthood

Table 9. Replacement rate among men in the reconstructed noble families

Sons who lived to adulthood in marriages concluded	Number of fathers	Number of sons	Replacement rate
in the first part of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	87	183	2.1
in the second part of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	66	128	1.9
Total	153	311	2.0

for a couple who concluded their marriage before the half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and 4.1 children for a couple in the subsequent 50 years.

From the genealogical point of view an important research problem is the question of the possibility of extinction of houses/kins, and in connection with doubts referring to the number of records of women one can attempt to calculate the replacement rate among men (table 9). Taking into consideration that for 153 men in the relationships analyzed fell 311 sons who lived to adulthood, the replacement rate amounts 2. This result confirms a possibility of a considerable demographic growth in this social group and, at least in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a demographic tendency of homes to die out is not observed.

Both the relationship duration and the number of children were considerably affected by the age of marriage. For the Middle Ages direct information referring to this matter appear extremely rarely. Dating presented by genealogists is based on a deductive attempt at reconstruction of an individual's life cycle on the basis of the order of occurring traces of kinship and affinity as well as the course of official career. The starting point is canonical restrictions referring to the age of marriage, which for a woman was 12 and for a man 14.<sup>30</sup> The lower boundary in the case of women was noted twice by genealogists in the papers which provided data for this text. Moreover, we know certain examples of later marriages of women: 17 and 18. Occasional information on bachelors entering into marriages show higher diversification: 24–45 years of age. This complies with Maria Koczerska's observations, who estimates a woman's age of the first marriage for 12–20.<sup>31</sup> In the case of men, delaying the age of marriage was an element of a strategy of following one's career and resulted from the political position of the family. On the level of local elites the point was also a process of

<sup>30</sup> M. Koczerska, *Rodzina*, 30–31.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, 34.

deliberate selection of a partner, which was affected by the status and wealth of the future spouse of the spouse's family.<sup>32</sup>

With regard to lower social groups delaying starting a family was connected with a difficult economic situation and economic crisis.<sup>33</sup> Then, especially after the demographic crisis of Black Death, the period of service was prolonged, which had become an important element in the people's life cycle, beginning as early as the late Middle Ages, contributing to the origins of the European Marriage Pattern.<sup>34</sup> Among middle nobility and the elite of this estate being a subject of genealogical studies cases of late marriages are typical of men and it is difficult to connect them with a bad material situation. Delay in changing the marital status by mighty bachelors can be also observed in late medieval English elites. Younger noble sons married older than firstborns.<sup>35</sup> Among better documented, early modern Lithuanian magnate homes, men concluded their first marriages at the age of c. 27.<sup>36</sup> This practice also occurred in the Crown lands, which is confirmed by surveys for old Polish magnates.<sup>37</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Demographic analysis of late medieval noble families based on data provided by genealogical research demonstrates that the average noble marriage duration amounted 18 years (median 16). First relationships were longer, lasting on average 19 years (median 17.5), than those subsequent terminated, on average, after 13 years (median 11). Fifteenth-century noble marriages lasted, thus, on average,

<sup>32</sup> A. Szymczakowa, "Gentry", 71–85. W. Brzeziński, "Majątek i małżeństwo: z problematyki polityki małżeńskiej wielkopolskich rodzin możnowładczych w późnym średniowieczu" in: S.K. Kuczyński (ed.), *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 9, Warszawa 2001, 257–277; Idem, *Koligacje małżeńskie możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław 2012, 265–316; P. Guzowski, "W jakim wieku", 581.

<sup>33</sup> T. de Moor, J.L. van Zanden, "Girl power: the European marriage pattern and labour markets in the North Sea region in the late medieval and early modern period", *The Economic History Review* 63, 2010, 1–33.

<sup>34</sup> J. Hajnal, "European marriage in perspective" in: D.V. Glass, D.E.C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in history*, no place of publishing, 1965, 101–143; Idem, "Two kinds of pre-industrial household formation system" in: R. Wall, J. Robin and P. Laslett (eds.), *Family forms in historic Europe*, Cambridge 1983, 65–104.

<sup>35</sup> P. Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England*, Basingstoke 2001, 22.

<sup>36</sup> M. Liedke, "Procreative Attitudes of the Magnates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Selected Issues", this volume 75–95.

<sup>37</sup> C. Kuklo, "Rodzina staropolska na tle europejskim. Podobieństwa i różnice rytmów rozwoju", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 26, 2005, 32.

a few years longer than early modern relationships of Lithuanian magnates<sup>38</sup> as well as Poznan and Warsaw burghers.<sup>39</sup> They were also probably longer than marriages concluded by peasants at the turn of the Modern Era.<sup>40</sup>

If we recognize the high level of newborn and infant mortality causing deaths of the half of them before the age of 5,<sup>41</sup> as characteristic of all social groups of the pre-industrial era, then it is necessary to assume that noble women gave birth to, on average, at least 6–8 children, which is possible with natural fertility. Genealogical research also notes cases of even more numerous offspring of certain couples (11–12 children), who, in addition, survived to adulthood. In a noble marriage on average four, or even more, children reached adulthood, which is a much better result than in peasant families, in which, in the late Middle Ages, merely 2–3 children had a similar chance.<sup>42</sup> There may be a few reasons for this situation. Foremost it seems that the age of marriage of noble women could be lower than that in peasant families, which in combination with longer marriage duration provided women in knightly families with chances of giving birth to a higher number of children. Additionally, the standard of living affected the survival to adulthood, and it was undoubtedly higher among the representatives of the noble estate than peasantry. It is also possible to take into consideration a stronger inclination of plebeian spouses to reducing their natural fertility for economic reasons. Traces of such practices among the elites of the country, even as early as 13<sup>th</sup> century, are mentioned by J. Tyszkiewicz,<sup>43</sup> but a more extensive confirmation in statistical demographical research concerns the urban population of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup> Simultaneously, in the context of Western Europe, the phenomenon of conscious reducing fertility and the number of children by labourers as early as the turn of the modern period is discussed.<sup>45</sup> Studies point out that for low-life women, being in a worse

<sup>38</sup> M. Liedke, “Procreative”, 86–89.

<sup>39</sup> C. Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej Przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009, 284–285.

<sup>40</sup> As regards peasants it is impossible to provide the relationship duration but the time of economic activity, which probably was longer than the marriage. See: P. Guzowski, “Demographic conditions of the functioning of peasant families at the turn of the Middle Ages”, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 73, 2013, 9–28.

<sup>41</sup> C. Kukło, *Demografia*, 405.

<sup>42</sup> P. Guzowski, “Demographic conditions”, 17–18.

<sup>43</sup> J. Tyszkiewicz, *Człowiek*, 191.

<sup>44</sup> C. Kukło, “Czy społeczeństwo polskie w dobie oświecenia regulowało liczbę dzieci w rodzinach?”, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 51/52, 1990/1991, 19–55; Idem, *Demografia*, 220.

<sup>45</sup> M.S. Hartman, *The Household and the Making History. A Subversive View of the Western Past*, Cambridge 2004, 62–64.

physical shape, it was harder to get pregnant and were characterized by a higher frequency of miscarriages. Moreover, they usually breastfed the babies themselves, which influenced the increase of intergenic intervals.<sup>46</sup>

The review of the latest genealogical works on medieval noble homes demonstrates limited possibilities of demographic analysis based on the data being foremost a supplement to the information in the *Słownik Historyczno-Geograficzny Ziemi Polskich w Średniowieczu* and *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Authors of such research focusing on magnate elites or nobles holding offices, show interest in the political careers of their heroes, to a lesser degree their multiplying the family's property, leaving demographic issues beyond the scope of their reflection. Consequently, they relatively rarely provide more specific data concerning women (wives, sisters, daughters). Focusing on issues connected with one house/family or place also reduce the research perspective, and using categories of little meaning (e.g. the number of people in a generation in the family) limits their usability from the point of view of historical demography. Despite all their shortcomings, genealogical studies confirm the possibility of using land and castle registers as demographic sources. Formulating adequate research questions may result in obtaining data for the period treated so far as difficult, if not impossible, to analyze by historical demographers.

<sup>46</sup> B. Gotlieb, *The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to Industrial Age*, Oxford 1993, 122. This influence resulted from the conviction that sexual intercourse affect negatively the milk of the breastfeeding mother, which prolonged the period of refraining from sexual life by the spouses; C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 340.



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## **DEMOGRAPHY OF THE BURGHER FAMILY IN OLD WARSAW IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 15<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

Demographic issues in the historiography referring to the Middle Ages occupy a marginal position, although the family, also in the Middle Ages of course, played a role of basic and, simultaneously, the smallest economic and social cell in the structures of towns and villages.<sup>1</sup> Causes of this state of things lie on two planes. The first, and probably most important cause in the case of Polish historical literature is the nature of available sources. The lack of parochial registers, *status animarum* books and a limited number and inaccuracy of tax registers make it impossible to derive more specific demographic indicators, which are already so characteristic of the early modern period.<sup>2</sup> The other aspect is a still suspicious attitude of researchers themselves to the surviving sources, foremost in relation to unappreciated court books,<sup>3</sup> the cognitive value of which has been

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<sup>1</sup> M. Żyromski, "Rodzina jako podstawowa struktura mikrospołeczna w średniowiecznej Polsce", *Roczniki Socjologii Rodziny* 10, 1998, 145, 157; C. Kuklo, *Rodzina w osiemnastowiecznej Warszawie*, Białystok 1991, 5.

<sup>2</sup> S. Waszak, "Dzielnosc rodziny mieszczańskiej i ruch naturalny m. Poznania w końcu XVI i XVII wieku", *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 16, 1954, 317–380. See also the review of research and reflections in L. Belzyt, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku*, Kraków 1999, 73–135.

<sup>3</sup> For example M. Delimata, *Dziecko w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2004, 42, where the author at the beginning of the chapter on the number of children in Polish medieval families first asserts that court registers "fail to give a full picture of the issue of our interest", after which she quotes many times results of research of, for example, M. Koczerska on the noble family and A. Izydorczyk on peasants, which were entirely based on village court registers.

an object of a close attention over the recent years. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek<sup>4</sup> and Maria Koczerska<sup>5</sup> mentioned a possibility of their application in the demographic analysis, and in practice have been employed by Piotr Guzowski in his description of the peasant and noble families.<sup>6</sup>

A similar observation, based on town court registers, may also concern the late-medieval urban family. Source analysis may refer to such elements as: the number of surviving offspring, the size of the burgher family cell including its degree of affluence and the level of replacement of generations. The specifics of late-medieval judicial materials results in the situation where in the majority of families we are not able to determine if the source of children registered in the source were adults or minors. The briefness of the records allows us only to establish the current number of children living at the moment of registration.<sup>7</sup> Town court registers do not allow us to examine the whole population; the observation refers to better-off social groups, whose members registered the texts of property partitions in the town office. In effect the poorest population remains outside the possibilities of demographic observations. Being aware of limits caused by the source, the author of this article decided to note that town court registers may play the role of a fundamental and most important source for familiarization with the demographic condition of the medieval family. As an example served the oldest of the surviving court register of Old Warsaw for the years 1427–53.<sup>8</sup> The old-town *liber scabinalis* contains foremost economic material. The competences of town courts most frequently included civil non-dispute cases,<sup>9</sup> which means all types of credit and commercial agreements,

<sup>4</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Lelewici Tarnowscy. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego. Wiek XIV–XV*, Warszawa 1971.

<sup>5</sup> M. Koczerska, *Rodzina szlachecka w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1975, 9–14.

<sup>6</sup> P. Guzowski, “Demographic conditions of the functioning of peasant families at the turn of the Middle Ages”, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 73, 2013, 9–28; Idem, “W jakim wieku szlachcice zawierali pierwsze związki małżeńskie w późnym średniowieczu?” in: S. Gawlas et alii (eds.), *Ecclesia – Regnum – Fontes. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2014, 574–583.

<sup>7</sup> The lack of data on the children who died makes it impossible to determine even the marital fertility rate, informing about all live births observed in marriages; see: C. Kuko, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009, 332.

<sup>8</sup> *Księgi ławnicze miasta Starej Warszawy z XV w.*, vol. 1, Księga nr 525 z lat 1427–1453, ed. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Pomniki Prawa Warszawskiego Archiwum Głównego*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1916 (hereinafter as: KŁMSW).

<sup>9</sup> A. Bartoszewicz, *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa 2012, 88–98. Nevertheless, in the Warsaw assessor book are also a considerable group of cases of disputable nature, the so-called *protestacje*, in which the parties litigated failures to keep deadlines of payments of various monetary obligations.

registrations of purchase-sale *bona immobilitas*, and property departments. Among the abundance of cases, particularly valuable are the records referring to inheritance settlements.

Among the works of Polish medievalists referring to urban population, a prominent position is occupied by Henryk Samsonowicz's work written in the early 1960s on the demography of the Hanse region in the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>10</sup> The author devoted, on the margin of his reflections upon the population of particular Hanseatic towns, a few observations on the size of the burgher family. The source basis of the conclusions, however, constitute only eight preserved genealogies of Gdańsk patriciate, which narrows down the reception and precludes a statistical approach. Obviously, the problem of low statistical sample also concerns the state of research on medieval peasant and noble families, though in the case of the latter group the situation seems a little better due to a quite a great number of preserved (and reconstructed) noble genealogies.<sup>11</sup>

It was not until the quantitative research on court books that the poor source basis could be extended. First attempts at using the books of registration are connected with the research, occurring as early as the 1980s, on the peasant family at the beginning of the early modern period,<sup>12</sup> but the low number of the families reconstructed and a lack of employment of the terminology of historical demography made it impossible to begin statistical analysis. In the 1990s both Jacek Wiesiołowski<sup>13</sup> as well as Roman Czaja,<sup>14</sup> examining socio-topography of medieval Poznań and Elbląg used town books but only on the margin of their principal research. Potential high research opportunities connected with

<sup>10</sup> H. Samsonowicz, "Zagadnienia demografii historycznej regionu Hanzy w XIV–XV wieku", *Zapiski Historyczne* 28, 1963, no. 4, 523–555; Cf. Findings of Joachim Zdrenka, who, arbitrarily and without clear proves assumes the rate 5.85 determining the size of Gdańsk patrician families: J. Zdrenka, *Główne, Stare i Młode miasto Gdańsk i ich patrycjat w latach 1342–1525*, Toruń 1992, 106; see also: R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992, 33, where the author suggests average three children for patrician families.

<sup>11</sup> The most recent research on noble family demography on the basis of known genealogies was conducted by P. Guzowski, "Demographic representation of the late medieval noble family in the light of the latest genealogical research" in this volume 39–55. See also proposals of M. Koczarskiej, "Geneza, znaczenie i program dalszych badań nad kobietą i rodziną w średniowieczu i nowożytności", in: Z.H. Nowak, A. Radzimiński (eds.), *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, Toruń 1998, 7–17.

<sup>12</sup> A. Izydorczyk, "Rodzina chłopska w Małopolsce w XV–XVI wieku", in: A. Wyczański (ed.), *Społeczeństwo Staropolskie*, vol. 3, 1983, 7–27.

<sup>13</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Poznania*, Poznań 1997, 235, note 10.

<sup>14</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 32–35.

court sources was confirmed by Piotr Guzowski's work on the peasant family in the village of Trześniów. The methodology applied in that paper became the most important inspiration for conducting similar research on the medieval burgher family.<sup>15</sup>

### THE SIZE OF FAMILIES

The reconstruction of the size of the families civilian was mainly based on 155 inheritance records in town court register of Old Warsaw, where one could observe the number of the children living at the moment of one of the parents' death. Although the Kulm law (*Ius Culmense*) in force in Old Warsaw assumed sex equality in inheritance, the source shows clearly dominance of sons over daughters, which reflects well the masculinization rate amounting staggering 142. According to the research of modern era demographers, the ratio of genders become equal in the age range of 15–19,<sup>16</sup> which basically would correspond with the age of the group of inheritors under scrutiny, mostly not married yet. Taking into consideration the aforesaid establishments, in order to achieve a higher credibility of data, the female offspring should be estimated.<sup>17</sup> In the event of inheritance, no matter if it was a bequest or a short note on receiving compensation registered in the book, there is always a risk of skipping a certain part of the offspring in the succession (for various reasons). What confirms a high credibility of the data present in the Warsaw town court register is the legal practice including registration of various and multilateral forms of settlements, corroborating the advancement of legal customs and their significance in the awareness of burghers. Property partitions occurred mainly on the line living parents-children,<sup>18</sup> and at the moment of entering a subsequent relationship (which was quite a common practice) and the death of the biological parent, the burden of settling was conveyed upon the stepmother<sup>19</sup> or stepfather.<sup>20</sup> In the event of the death of both parents and incapacity of one of the offspring to take

<sup>15</sup> P. Guzowski's source of inspiration was the work by Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish. Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270–1400*, Cambridge 1980, based on the so-called *manor court rolls*.

<sup>16</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 133.

<sup>17</sup> A similar operation in demographic analyses of peasant communities was performed by P. Guzowski, "Demographic conditions", 29.

<sup>18</sup> For example KŁMSW, no. 68, 220, 865, 1022, 1054, 1306.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, no 67, 246, 972.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, no 439, 616, 637, 977.

the legacy,<sup>21</sup> the obligation of property partition and custody over the children was taken by relatives or guardians appointed beforehand.<sup>22</sup>

It is also important to remember about the custom of the Kulm law applied in the town, which, in contrast to *ius municipal magdeburgense*, on the one hand assumed the equality of sexes in inheritance, but on the other hand joint property of the spouses.<sup>23</sup> The most important effect of equal rights to inheritance of the offspring of both sexes is a relatively high registration of females in the source. At the same time, due to the application of joint property and specification of the information on the sums passed to the children after one of the parents' death in the register we are able to estimate a minimal value of the family property, which in certain cases enables to observe a correlation between the level of the family's affluence and its size. Despite the limits, which hinder a full reconstruction of families (for example, because of the problem of missing information on deceased children), the assessor book under analysis allows us to grasp certain demographic determinants of functioning of a burgher family in the socio-economic reality of late medieval Warsaw.

Little have researchers discussed the number of inhabitants of Old and New Warsaw in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and any proposals include a certain error margin. Ewa Koczorowska-Pielińska, basing on proportions of craftsmen population in relation to the other city dwellers, estimates for the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the whole population of Old Warsaw as 2,400 and New Warsaw as 500.<sup>24</sup> Henryk Samsonowicz, categorizing Polish towns and discussing Warsaw around the year 1500, estimates its population as "probably over 4 thousand inhabitants",<sup>25</sup> simultaneously counting the town to the second category, which were centres of 2 thousand people each.<sup>26</sup> It is particularly important to note the number of reconstructed families in relation to the size of the town. If we accept

<sup>21</sup> However, we have many examples showing settlements between siblings. (ibidem, no 38, 527, 712, 814, 925, 1093, 1159, 1359).

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, no 259, 680, 1247, 1383, 1420.

<sup>23</sup> M. Sędek, *Czy uprawnienia majątkowe kobiet w Starej Warszawie odpowiadały zasadom prawa chełmińskiego*, in: A. Gieysztor (ed.), *Warszawa średniowieczna*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1972, 136.

<sup>24</sup> E. Koczorowska-Pielińska, "Liczebność i specjalizacja rzemiosła w Starej i Nowej Warszawie w latach 1417–1526", *Rocznik Warszawski* 11, 1972, 8.

<sup>25</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, 119.

<sup>26</sup> Taking into consideration data from 21 provinces, the first category includes 6 towns, the second 88, the third 231 and the fourth 363 towns, which gives the total of 688 urban centres. Masovia, which is of our interest, has no urban centres which could be classified as the first category. Old Warsaw is in the second group of 6 centres. 12 towns were

E. Koczorowska-Pielińska's population estimations and the rate of 5 people in a burgher family present in the literature,<sup>27</sup> Old Warsaw in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century was inhabited by c. 480 families. On the basis of the oldest Warsaw court register it was possible to specify 155 family units, which would constitute 32% of the whole community *civitas Antiquae Varsoviae*.<sup>28</sup>

Table 1. Number of children in a burgher family of Old Warsaw in the period 1427–53

Number of families	155
Number of sons	178
Number of daughters	125
Number of offsprings	312
Average numer of offsprings	2,01
Number of daughters added to the estimation	53
Number of offsprings after adding daughters	365
Average numer of offsprings after adding daughters	2,35

Source: KLMSW

On the basis of 155 reconstructed families of Warsaw burghers we are able to state that an average married couple, at the end of the Middle Ages, had two living children, which at the moment of registration reached at least the age of a few years. Similar conclusions have been also arrived at by Jacek Wiesiołowski for Poznań<sup>29</sup> and Roman Czaja for Elbląg.<sup>30</sup> Analogous calculation results were achieved by Christine Klapisch-Zuber studying the 15<sup>th</sup> century society of Tuscany,<sup>31</sup> whereas

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counted to the third group and 33 to the fourth group. The situation described locates Masovia more or less in the half-way of the juxtaposition.

<sup>27</sup> E. Koczorowska-Pielińska, "Liczebność", 8.

<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that, for example, Stanisław Waszak reconstructed 382 families for Poznań at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with c. 18,000–20,000 inhabitants, basing on early registry sources, which made merely 10% of the town community: S. Waszak, "Dzietność", 319.

<sup>29</sup> Jacek Wiesiołowski, examining sociotography of the late medieval Poznań did a small survey in the materials included in court books and on the basis of 40 burgher families of Wrocławska (*intra muros*) and Czapników (*extra muros*) streets, obtained the result of 2.25 children per family: see: J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, 235, note 10.

<sup>30</sup> The author, on the basis of the Elbląg book of property partitions for the period 1417–27 calculated on average 1.6 children per family. He estimates a patrician family for three children: see: R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 32 and further.

<sup>31</sup> Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, "Kobieta i rodzina" in: J. Le Goff (ed.), *Człowiek średniowiecza*, trans. M. Radożycka-Paoletti, Warszawa–Gdańsk 1996, 376; Eadem, "Household and

Peter Flemming, for 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century England, in the case of marriages lasting 15 years, provides three children on average.<sup>32</sup> The difference of one child between the results achieved and the works of the English researcher seems understandable because of the marriage duration. Unfortunately we do not have precise data on marriage duration in the burgher family for the late Middle Ages.<sup>33</sup> The lack of this information is important due to the fact that it is one of the crucial elements (beside the age of marriage and the rate of offspring mortality) determining the number of children in a family. In the case of burghers the medieval data can be compared with Stanisław Waszak's demographic research on the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century Poznań, proving the existence of two children on average in the case of 10 years of marriage.<sup>34</sup> Similar results were arrived at by Maria Sierocka-Pośpiech for the 17<sup>th</sup> century Old Warsaw<sup>35</sup> and, as Andrzej Wyczański claims, it was a situation also characteristic of the remaining areas of modern era Europe.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it is possible to retrogressively assume that the medieval burgher family at longer marriage duration (15 years) would have been able to raise, on average, three adult children, as it was in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Warsaw.<sup>37</sup>

The marriage duration was foremost affected by the age of its conclusion. A man entering marriage at the age of 24–30<sup>38</sup> could expect c. 10–20 of work

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*family in Tuscany in 1427*”, in: P. Laslett, R. Wall (eds.), *Household and family in past time*, Cambridge 2008 (digitized version), 275, where the author enumerates the size of households of such towns as Florence (3.8), Arezzo (3.5), Pistoia (3.6), Prato (3.7), San Gimignano (4.0), Volterra (4.2), Pisa (4.4). See also: D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, Cambridge–Massachusetts–London 1985, 143 and further.

<sup>32</sup> P. Fleming, *Family and household in medieval England*, Basingstoke 2001, 68.

<sup>33</sup> Such observations were made by genealogists dealing mainly with nobles: P. Guzowski, “Demographic representation”, 46 and further.

<sup>34</sup> S. Waszak, “Dzietność”, 352.

<sup>35</sup> M. Sierocka-Pośpiech, “L'image démographique de la famille en Vieille Varsovie au déclin du XVIe et XVIIe siècles” in: C. Kuklo (ed.), *Les modèles familiaux en Europe aux XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, Białystok 1992, 97.

<sup>36</sup> A. Wyczański, “Rodzina w Europie XVI–XVIII wieku” in: A. Mączak (ed.), *Europa i świat w początkach epoki nowożytnej*, part 1, Warszawa 1991, 16.

<sup>37</sup> C. Kuklo, *Rodzina*, 182.

<sup>38</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 279. A similar male's age of marriage also dominated in the remaining areas of Latin Europe; see: D. Herlihy, *Medieval*, 107–111; it is specifically illustrated by the research conducted by R.J. Emigh, “Land Tenure, Household Structure, and Age at Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, 1997, no. 4, tables 2–4, where a Tuscan man in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century became a father at the age of 26–32. For similarities and differences visible in the preindustrial marriage model in Polish and European lands see: P. Guzowski, “The Origins of the European Marriage Pattern in Early Modern Period from the Perspective of Polish History”, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 108, 2013, 5–44.

and family life.<sup>39</sup> This regularity is confirmed by the data derived from observations of the durability of economic activities of peasants and craftsmen. An average duration of economic activity of peasants from the village of Trześniów in the period 1430–1603 was 23.6 years (median 21),<sup>40</sup> craftsmen of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century Warsaw: 10–20 years.<sup>41</sup> Similar results are also seen in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Cracow guilds of bakers, cobblers, weavers, blacksmiths and goldsmiths, the members of which were usually economically active for more than 20 years.<sup>42</sup> The evidence of longer life expectancy of better off social strata is not only the example of the average life expectancy of Gdańsk patricians (55 years in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and 57.4 in the 16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>43</sup>), but also the average duration of business activity of the rural elite in the village of Trześniów amounting 26 years (median 25).<sup>44</sup>

Women, being 19–25 years old,<sup>45</sup> married a few years earlier than men. However, this age in better-to-do social groups could be even lower and oscillated

<sup>39</sup> Literature on the Middle Ages assumes on average 30–40 years of life for women and 40–50 for men, while it is important to make reservation that it is a group of people who survived the period of the highest mortality falling to first 5 years of life. It is also important to remember about considerable differences consisting in different living conditions of wealthy strata and the poor, which, to a great degree, contributed to the average life expectancy. J. Tyszkiewicz, E. Widy-Tyszkiewicz, “Zdrowie i choroba w Polsce XIII–XV w.”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 24, 1976, no. 1, 71; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Ludzie i przyroda w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Warszawa 1983, 171 and further; Idem, “Środowisko życia człowieka w Polsce średniowiecznej”, in: R. Michałowski (ed.), *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, Warszawa 1997, 159–171. It is worth bearing in mind the notion of average life expectancy functioning in demography, which “expresses an average number of years which, in particular conditions of mortality, a person is expected to live at the age of x years”: see: C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 416–418. For value e(0), or infant, the average life expectancy in the preindustrial era amounts, on average, 26–27 years.

<sup>40</sup> P. Guzowski, “Starość w życiu kmieci polskich przełomu średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 58, 2010, no. 1, 104.

<sup>41</sup> E. Koczorowska-Pielińska, *Warszawskie rzemiosło artystyczne i budowlane w XV w.*, Warszawa 1959, 17 and further.

<sup>42</sup> Exact data are as follows: bakers 23.8 years (median 26), cobblers 22.4 years (22), weavers 18.3 (15.5), goldsmiths 20.1(20), blacksmiths 23.8 (23.5); for more see: P. Łozowski, *Rotacja na stanowisku starszego cechowego w XV-wiecznym Krakowie*, Białystok 2011, 47, 55, 63, 72, 81, [B.A. dissertation residing in the J. Giedroyc University Library in Białystok].

<sup>43</sup> J. Zdrenka, *Główne*, 137; cf. K. Mikulski, “Kondycja demograficzna rodziny mieszczańskiej w Toruniu w XVI–XVII wieku (na przykładzie genealogii Neisserów)” in: *Kobieta i rodzina*, 127, where the average age of death of S. Neisser’s descendants in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries who survived 18 years of age amounts 42.60 for women and 42.93 for men.

<sup>44</sup> P. Guzowski, “Starość”, 105.

<sup>45</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 279; P. Guzowski, “The Origins of the European Marriage Pattern in Early Modern Period from the Perspective of Polish History”, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 108, 2013, 5–44. The values given overlap the results of reaserch for the territories

between 15 and 20 years of age,<sup>46</sup> which was strictly connected with the economic and political nature of marriages arranged by wealthy families.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the relatively short marriage duration in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century families resulted foremost from disease factors. One of them may have been the woman's death in the perinatal period. Few investigations concerning the modern period and the 19<sup>th</sup> century confirm the supposedly larger scale of this phenomenon in Poland than in Western Europe.<sup>48</sup> These data indirectly find their reflection in the research on the moment of concluding another marriage. Among 23% of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk patricians the fact of remarriage, on average at the age of 45.5 years<sup>49</sup> was noted.

Demography places the fecundity period between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> year of life, which allows, at the nature of the data included in registers, to calculate coefficients of marital fertility in selected age cohorts as well as theoretical number of born children in a particular community.<sup>50</sup> Researchers in their observations also note the length of intergenic intervals,<sup>51</sup> the spread of which in the 18<sup>th</sup> century ranged from 2 to 3.5 years.<sup>52</sup> Bearing in mind the average 10-year marriage duration and 40–50% of mortality of children under 5,<sup>53</sup> it is possible to theoretically assume that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century 1–3 children of a selected married couple, having crossed the 5<sup>th</sup> year of life, stood a chance of reaching adulthood.<sup>54</sup> The accuracy of these theoretical assumptions is proved by research based on town court registers.

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of Western Europe; see: D. Herlihy, *Medieval*, 103–107; again these data are compatible with the findings of R.J. Emigh, *Land Tenure*, tables 2–4, for Tuscany in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where a woman became a mother for the first time at the age of 21–23.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem; Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, "Kobieta i rodzina", 369–371; K. Mikulski, "Kondycja demograficzna", tables 5 i 6.

<sup>47</sup> For determinants of the choice of a spouse see: C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 287–291 as well as R. Fossier, *Ludzie średniowiecza*, trans. A. Czupa, Kraków 2009, 97–107.

<sup>48</sup> The scale of the phenomenon depended on the environment of the particular community and the availability of sources. The research shows the mortality within the boundaries of 10–25%. See: C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 312 and further.

<sup>49</sup> Data for the 16<sup>th</sup> century: 38 years, 17<sup>th</sup>: 43.1, 18<sup>th</sup>: 43.1; see: J. Zdrenka, *Główne*, 140.

<sup>50</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 335–341.

<sup>51</sup> I.e. intervals between the dates of subsequent births.

<sup>52</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 340; A. Wyczański, *Rodzina*, 16 and Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, "Kobieta i rodzina", 373; cf. R. Fossier, *Człowiek*, 53, where is the information on the average 18-month length of intergenetic intervals, which in the light of thorough demographic research for the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> c. seem too optimistic an assumption.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, 405; For children threats and diseases see: M. Delimata, *Dziecko*, 113–121; A. Wyczański, *Rodzina*, 24.

<sup>54</sup> A similar view is shared by Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, "Kobieta i rodzina", 376. Cf. R. Fossier, *Człowiek*, 53, 113, who gives the value of 4.5–6.5 children per family.

Table 2. Number of the burgher family's offspring  
in Old Warsaw, Elbląg and Poznań in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries

Number of children in a family	Old Warsaw (1427-1453)		Old Town Elbląg (1417-1427)		Poznań (1590)	
	Number of families	%	Number of families	%	Number of families	%
1	57	36.8	84	54.3	150	39.3
2	57	36.8	40	25.8	95	24.9
3	29	18.7	21	13.5	63	16.5
4	8	5.2	5	3.2	39	10.2
5	2	1.3	5	3.2	23	6
6	2	1.3	-	-	9	2.4
7	-	-	-	-	9	0.8
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
Total	155	100.0	155	100.0	382	100.0

Sources: KŁMSW; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992, 33; S. Waszak, "Dzietność rodziny mieszczańskiej i ruch naturalny m. Poznania w końcu XVI i XVII wieku", *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 16, 1954, 357.

Over 73% of the whole examined group of families in Old Warsaw are units possessing maximum two children (table 2). Very close values could be observed in the early modern Poznań (64%) and late medieval Elbląg (80%). Similarly, small discrepancies are seen among families with three children, which make c. 1/5–1/6 of the whole of the group under scrutiny in all three centres. On the other hand, it is possible to notice considerable differences comparing Old Warsaw and Poznań as for the presence of families of the highest number of offspring, mainly patrician, which constituted some to over a dozen per cent of the community.<sup>55</sup> The explanation should be found in the number of populations of both cities, as well as in their level of socio-economic development. Old Warsaw with its few thousands of inhabitants in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century had definitely fewer representatives of patricians than Poznań with its more than a dozen thousands of people at the decline of the heyday of most Crown towns. Another factor impeding upbringing of a higher number of children could be

<sup>55</sup> Researchers' opinions are split on the size of the patrician group in medieval towns. This results foremost from a discrepancy in defining this social stratum, and recognition different criteria classifying a selected family thereto. For a review of research on the subject see: J. Zdrenka, *Główne*, 104–108.

a diversified sanitary state of the centres compared. Patricians in more economically (diet richer in nutrients), urbanistic (better sanitary conditions) and social (wider access to medical surgeries) developed Poznań stood a better chance of maintaining and preserving lives of a higher number of children than it was in Old Warsaw.<sup>56</sup> Both in Old Warsaw and Elbląg of the late medieval period, as well as the 16<sup>th</sup> century Poznań, dominated small nuclear families possessing on average one–two surviving children. It turns out that it was not only a characteristic feature of medieval urban life on the territories of Central<sup>57</sup> and Western Europe,<sup>58</sup> but it occurred on a similar scale practically until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>59</sup>

Little variability of the size of burgher families demonstrates that European urban centres of the preindustrial era constituted an environment which, to a certain degree, demographically limited its inhabitants. Among social groups residing in towns only patricians were able to keep more children alive. This situation was similar both in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, throughout centuries groups of plebs (poorest townsmen) and “multitude” (middle townsmen) dominating in town were not able to exceed the number of 4, being in this case its upper limit, in the family cell. This may be the evidence of a special nature of urban environment, whose demographic condition in general remained on a constant level through a few centuries. Due to the fact that the oldest preserved town registers come from the late Middle

<sup>56</sup> It is worth adding that in Elbląg of 1360–1415 a family with eight children was found but it is an exceptional case; see: R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 33.

<sup>57</sup> The size of families in selected medieval towns: Poznań 4.25 persons (J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, 235, note 10); Gdańsk, Toruń 4 persons (H. Samsonowicz, “Zagadnienia”, 532; M. Łysiak, “Miejsce dziecka w strukturach prawnych średniowiecznego Torunia”, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 49, 1997, no. 1/2, 235); Elbląg 3.6 (R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 33).

<sup>58</sup> Domination of a nuclear family has been discussed by: M.C. Howell, *The marriage exchange. Property, social place, and gender in cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550*, Chicago–London 1998, 12, 99; in late medieval Florence and Arezzo nuclear families constituted, respectively, 92.95% and 90.8%: for more see: Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, *Household and family*, 279; a similar state was also maintained in the modern era; see: M. Bogucka, “Rodzina w polskim mieście XVI–XVII wieku: wprowadzenie w problematykę”, *Przełom Historyczny* 74, 1983, no. 3, 496. As thorough research of modern demographers demonstrate, nuclear families, though to a lesser degree, dominated among peasantry and nobility. However, the fundamental difference between the preindustrial town and its agricultural supply base was the share of single people’s households. C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 356–359; The size of families in late medieval Tuscan towns: see note 33.

<sup>59</sup> M. Bogucka, “Rodzina”, 498; C. Kuklo, *Rodzina*, 188; Idem, *Kobieta samotna w społeczeństwie miejskim u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, Białystok 1998, 108 and further; S. Waszak, “Dzietność”, 357; L. Belzyt, *Kraków*, 135.

Ages,<sup>60</sup> the initial period of the urbanization of Polish lands in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries stay beyond the reach of our analysis.

### SOCIAL APPROACH

Researchers examining various aspects of urban life emphasized the fact of a considerable size of patrician families.<sup>61</sup> Using numerous records in the court registers under analysis which are property commitments of parents to children, it becomes possible to correlate the level of affluence with the number of children in a part of the families in the group under examination. The Kulm Law, in force in Old Warsaw, which assumed equality of sexes of the offspring at the moment of inheritance, enables to receive a better image of the family than in the centres ruled by the Magdeburg Law, which favoured males. Due to source limits resulting from the lack of a universal custom of recording the amount passed to the children, the group under analysis shrinks to 57 families. Table 3 illustrates the average number of children depending on the estimated value of the legacy. The sections concerning the value of the play just a tentative role and are not permanent; their layout was based on the establishment of borders of wealth groups of the inhabitants of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Poznań prepared by Jacek Wiesiołowski.<sup>62</sup>

Table 3 confirms aforementioned information on a larger size of patrician families. Along with the growing value of property, a simultaneous growth in the average number of children can be observed. As many as two thirds of the cases noted concern a group transferring property worth up to 3,000 groschen. Following Jacek Wiesiołowski's findings referring to the social stratification of

<sup>60</sup> H. Samsonowicz, "Średniowieczne księgi sądowe małych miast w Polsce" in: T. Jasiński et alii (eds.), *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Poznań 1997, 477–484.

<sup>61</sup> H. Samsonowicz, "Zagadnienia", 531 and further. The author estimates the composition of an average Gdańsk patrician family for 7.2 persons. However, it is important to make certain reservations in regard of the limited source base: just 8 selected patrician genealogies, as well as the lack of a presentation of the precise composition of the families analysed. Cf. K. Mikulski, "Kondycja demograficzna", Graph 7. Also see: R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 33, who acquiesces to the findings of H. Samsonowicz ("Zagadnienia"), and simultaneously proposes three children in an average patrician family: A. Bartoszewicz, "Kobieta w mieście polskim późnego średniowiecza" in: A. Karpiński et alii (eds.), *Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, kultura w dziejach nowożytnych studia ofiarowane Pani Profesor Marii Boguckiej*, Warszawa 2010, 179; M. Bogucka, "Rodzina", 498 and further. A. Wyrobisz, "Rodzina w mieście doby przedprzemysłowej a życie gospodarcze. Przegląd badań i problemów", *Przegląd Historyczny* 77, 1986, no. 2, 311; G. Clark, G. Hamilton, "Survival of the Richest: The Malthusian Mechanism in Pre-Industrial England", *Journal of Economic History* 66, 2006, no. 3, 707–736.

<sup>62</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, 45, note 36.

Table 3. Number of children according to the family's wealth, Old Warsaw 1427–1453

Value of property (in groschen)	Number of families	Average number of children
0–600	6	1.5
601–3000	33	2
3001+	18	2.5
Total	57	2

Source: KŁMSW.

the 15<sup>th</sup> century Poznań, we can, with some caution, apply a similar division in the case of families in Old Warsaw. The author, following W. Lloyd Warner, divides the Poznań community into 3 strata (upper, middle and lower), each of which is divided into 2 groups (upper and lower).<sup>63</sup> Jacek Wiesiołowski, determining the boundaries of wealth groups (depending on a period<sup>64</sup>), places the plebs in the section from 1 mark to 7.5–12.5 marks (48–600 groschen). The multitude embraces the section from 7.5–12.6 marks (360–604 groschen) to 35–62.5 marks (1,800–3,000 groschen). Patrician families fit the section beginning with 37.6–62.6 marks (1,804–3,004 groschen) and reaching above 75–125 marks (3,600–6,000 groschen).<sup>65</sup> Applying the division outlined to Old Warsaw families, the following proportions can be derived: the plebs (LL and UL) constituted merely 1/10 of the group observed, the multitude 1/2 (LM and UM), whereas the patricians 1/3 (LU and UU). Despite the small size of the research sample, which requires foremost verification through extending the source base and observation chronology, the results obtained may be, with certain caution, referred to the whole plebeian and patrician groups. Gregory Clark and Gillian Hammilton, processing data from English last wills written in the period

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, 13. Literature usually employs English terms to define particular groups, which sound as follows: the lower group of the lower stratum (lower lower, hereinafter as LL), the upper group of the lower stratum (upper lower, hereinafter as UL), the lower group of the middle stratum (lower middle, hereinafter as LM), the upper group of the middle stratum (upper middle, hereinafter as UM), the lower group of the upper stratum (lower upper, hereinafter as LU) and the upper group of the upper stratum (upper upper, hereinafter as UU); a critical opinion on such divisions is formulated by S. Gawlas, *Badania nad społeczeństwem polskim późnego średniowiecza* in: S. Gawlas (ed.), *Historia społeczna późnego średniowiecza. Nowe badania*, Warszawa 2011, 71 (note 46).

<sup>64</sup> Chronological framework embraces 3 periods: 1430–39, 1440–79 and 1480–99.

<sup>65</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, 45, note 36.

1585–1638, achieved a similar juxtaposition, simultaneously reaching analogous results.<sup>66</sup> The phenomenon of the influence of affluence of the family on its size is also reflected in Christine Klapish-Zuber's research on the late medieval society of Tuscany.<sup>67</sup> In the light of the results obtained, representatives of the plebs were able to bring up one–two children; the most numerous in the assessor book multitude would possess, on average, two children, whereas the patricians, on average, three.<sup>68</sup> These findings are presented in table 4, which represents an inverse relationship, i.e. in this case the average value of the property transferred in relation to the number of children in the family.

Table 4. Average value of the property transferred depending on the number of children

Number of children	Number of families	Average value of property (groschen)
1	17	2,061
2	24	3,171
3	14	5,444
4	1	2,070
5	-	-
6	1	13,200
Total	57	average: 4,324

Source: KLMSW.

The difference in the average value of the property between the families with one and two children oscillates within the range of 1,100 groschen, whereas it increases considerably in the group with three children, where in relation to the families with two children it amounts already c. 2,200 groschen and those with one over 3,300 groschen. Here wealth boundaries between the plebs, the multitude and the patricians can be clearly seen. Analysing the example of the size of the property inherited among families in the first category, it can be observed that possessing one child was not a distinctive quality of plebeian families only, but also multitude families fall under this group. Moreover, it can be noticed that not many family units possessed more than three children, even among the patricians.

<sup>66</sup> G. Clark, G. Hamilton, "Survival", 722.

<sup>67</sup> Ch. Klapish-Zuber, *Household*, 274, 277.

<sup>68</sup> A similar position is held by R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 33.

## GENERATION REPLACEMENT

At this moment it is worth applying the generation replacement rate, widely known among modern demographers. For the needs of these calculations we assume that it is a rate based on the quotient of the number of sons to the number of fathers occurring in the population under examination.<sup>69</sup> It informs about an average number of sons for one father, which is foremost treated as a determiner of demographic condition of the selected community manifesting in the determination of chances of family size growth in the male line.

The generation replacement rate in the male line for 155 families in Old Warsaw of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was 1.15. This result confirms the common belief of a weak demographic shape of medieval towns,<sup>70</sup> which, in order to develop or simply maintain themselves, were dependent on newcomers. On the basis of the preserved sources it is impossible to assess the real level of migration to towns. It is possible for the group of people adopting the town law, through which signaling their presence in *ius civile* books.<sup>71</sup> However, burghers

<sup>69</sup> Demographers of later periods with their access to sources much more abundant in specific information on biological facts in the life of the community under investigation, specify two coefficients of population reproduction: gross reproduction rate (GRR) and net reproduction rate (NRR). The former observes “the number of girls born in the future by a female infant born in the year *t*, if she multiplies with the frequency observed in the calendar year *t*”; see: M. Kędelski, J. Paradysz, *Demografia*, Poznań 2006, 259, whereas the former includes “the number of girls who will live up to the average age of the generation lasting and replace their mother born in the year *t*”; *ibidem*, 260. Such observations are also possible in reference to men but in research prevails a tendency to take into consideration foremost females; for more see *ibidem*, 258 and further. Beside Zvi Razi and Piotr Guzowski, the rate based on the quotient of the number of sons to the number of fathers was also applied by G. Clark, G. Hamilton, “Survival”, 715, 733.

<sup>70</sup> See: J. Zdrenka, *Główne*, 83–86.

<sup>71</sup> For Warsaw alone *Libri iuris civilis* were repeatedly and in many ways used by: M. Dygo, “Pochodzenie mieszczaństwa m. Starej Warszawy w latach 1508–1528”, *Rocznik Warszawski* 16, 1981, 59–80; E. Koczorowska-Pielińska, “Liczebność”, 5–22; Eadem, “Przyjęcia do prawa miejskiego miasta Nowej Warszawy w latach 1477–1525”, *Rocznik Warszawski* 9, 1969, 261–295; Eadem, “Pańnicy i szewcy w Starej i Nowej Warszawie w latach 1416–1526”, *Rocznik Warszawski* 14, 1976, 83–113; W. Szaniawska, “Mieszkańcy Warszawy w latach 1525–1665”, *Rocznik Warszawski* 7, 1966, 118–142; J. Lorenc, K. Mrozowski, “Imigracja do Starej Warszawy u schyłku średniowiecza – tylko mobilność, czy już przedsiębiorczość?” in: K. Wagner, Z. Chmiel (eds.), *Z dziejów Warszawy. Przedsiębiorczość*, Warszawa 2013, 25–51; K. Mrozowski, “Mieszkańcy przedmieść Starej Warszawy u schyłku średniowiecza (1500–1526)” in: A. Bartoszewicz (ed.), *Coram iudicio. Studia z dziejów kultury prawnej w miastach późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, Warszawa 2013, 87–108.

possessing a town law, as we know, did not make majority in their centres.<sup>72</sup> This means that researchers have no access to various groups of poorer immigrants. The generation replacement rate obtained for Old Warsaw and amounting 1.15 illustrates the situation in which on average one son fell to one father. At the moment of the death of the only male descendant quite considerable consequences could follow in the question of inheritance of, for example, a craftsman's workshop and merchant's stall. However, the situation in this case was facilitated the Kulm law, which recognized the equality of sexes in inheritance, and usually the property of this type was transferred through daughters to sons-in-law, which enabled family forms of business to keep operating.

The examined data relating to burghers are possible to juxtapose with calculations for the remaining social groups of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Poland, i.e. the most numerous peasants and noblemen. Table 5 illustrates the generation replacement rate in the three demographically most important groups in late medieval society.

Table 5. Generation replacement in medieval families  
in selected social groups in the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Social group	Replacement rate
Burghers	1.15
Peasantry	1.35
Nobility	2.0

Source: KŁMSW; P. Guzowski, "Demographic condition", 24; P. Guzowski, "Demographic representation", table 7.

Burghers were characterized by the weakest demographic shape. The generation replacement rate, amounting 1.15, meant, on the one hand, maintaining on the similar steady demographic level enabling to continue the family, but, on the other hand, no development thereof. The younger generation hardly replaced the older generation. It was enough that the town experienced famine or plague and the family succumbed to decomposition or sometimes even disappeared. Peasants were in a little more favourable situation; they noted a slight development, although in the general scale the differences from burghers were inconsiderable. The best demographic shape was a quality of nobles. The double generation replacement meant both the continuity of the family and its consid-

<sup>72</sup> Research on towns demonstrate that 20–40% inhabitants of the selected centre possessed *ius civile* which is extensively discussed by: H. Samsonowicz, "Zagadnienia", 540; S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 1973, 31 and further; L. Belzyt, *Kraków*, 147–153.

erable growth.<sup>73</sup> The results obtained are worth comparing with the research of G. Clark and G. Hamilton for England of 1585–1638, where the generation replacement rate for burghers and peasants amounted, respectively, 1.22 and 1.51.<sup>74</sup> This comparison demonstrates that similarly weak demographic shape characterized not only the burghers and peasants of Central Europe but also its north-western part.

An extremely significant element in determining a demographic shape of the late medieval burgher family is, carried out against a broader social background, a comparison of the sizes of nuclear families of burghers, peasants and nobles (see: table 6). This will enable to develop a special estate hierarchy in the light of the size of an average family unit.

Table 6. Size of medieval nuclear families in selected social groups

Social group	Size of nuclear families
Burghers	4
Peasantry	4.7
Nobility	6.2

Source: KŁMSW; J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, 235, note 10; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia*, 33; H. Samsonowicz, “Zagadnienia”, 532; M. Łysiak, M. Łysiak, “Miejsce dziecka w strukturach prawnych średniowiecznego Torunia”, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 49, 1997, no 1/2, 235; P. Guzowski, “Demographic conditions”, 22; P. Guzowski, “Demographic representation”, table 5.

On the basis of the aforesaid juxtaposition it is possible to assert that between burghers and peasantry occurred a difference of one child.<sup>75</sup> Again middle and rich nobility was in the best demographic situation with twice as many descend-

<sup>73</sup> A similar value of the generation replacement rate was represented by the elite of the village of Trześniów. In the period 1501–1609 it amounted 2.02, and in 1419–1609 1.91. This convergence is very interesting in comparing socio-economic situations of nobility and well-off peasantry; see: P. Guzowski, “Demographic representation”, table 7.

<sup>74</sup> G. Clark, G. Hamilton, *Survival*, 715, and 733, where is an interesting juxtaposition made for the period 1250–1650, which demonstrates that in a general social scale generation replacement in England oscilated within the boundaries of 1 male descendant for centuries.

<sup>75</sup> G. Clark, G. Hamilton, *Survival*, 715; a similar situation took place in England of the period 1585–1638. On the basis of wills it was calculated that a burgher family included 4.4 persons, while a peasant family 4.9; wills were similarly used for demographic research by P. Jirková, “Jihlavské testamenty na přelomu 16.–17. století: prameny pro dějiny rodinných struktur, historickou demografií a sociotopografií”, *Sborník Archivních Prací* 60, 2010, no. 1, 3–239, in particular pages 64–67, where the author gives an average number of children noted in the wills of Iglava of 1580–89 (3.14), 1590–99 (2.99), 1600–09 (2.53), 1610–19 (2.71).

ants than the two other estates. *Nobiles* living in better material and environmental conditions, often in a certain isolation from large human aggregates (which facilitated to avoid plagues), were able to raise a higher number of children.

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Out of the oldest preserved assessor books of Old Warsaw analyzed for the needs of this research emerges an image of a demographic situation of multitude and patrician families. The segment of the community *civitas Antiquae Varsoviae* under examination was composed in more than 70% of small families with maximum two children. From among the social groups occurring in the court book under analysis the most reconstructed families may be classified as “multitude” (middle townsmen), the family unit of which comprised on average two children. However, richer patrician (upper townsmen) strata were able to raise on average three children. The application of the generation replacement rate showed fully the problem of which the literature has been aware so far but nobody was able to determine its scale. The demographic situation of burghers was the worst among the three most numerous social groups of the Middle Ages. One son fell to one father (in peasantry one–two, in nobility usually two), which meant that the older generation was hardly replaced by the younger generation, and any biological or elemental disasters could easily put an end to the existence of the family. Following the not very good demographic situation, burghers, in comparison to other social groups, also possessed the smallest family units (on average 4 people) but, as demonstrated examples from works of modern demographers, such a situation persisted as late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The research results presented above referring to the size of the nuclear family of Old Warsaw in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in a way fit the decades of tradition of demographic research, simultaneously being an attempt at pushing its initial boundary back from the early modern era do the late Middle Ages. In spite of the differences occurring on the grounds of source base and, in part, methodology, the concurrence of the results obtained with works concerning mostly modern periods confirm the value and legitimacy of the use of court books, so far almost never employed in demographic research. It is important to underscore that they enable not only to build an analysis against a broader social background but also offer a researcher a considerably higher number of demographic facts. In the light of a small source base available for the Polish lands, similar work on town court registers of other centres seems very desirable and right postulate, particularly bearing in mind the universality of the method presented.

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**PROCREATIVE ATTITUDES  
OF THE MAGNATES OF THE GRAND  
DUCHY OF LITHUANIA IN THE 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>  
CENTURIES: SELECTED ISSUES**

The potentates and the magnates played a leading role in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the Early-Modern period, and especially in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It is this role specifically that decides about an unceasing attractiveness of this group for ranks of scholars who, however, have tended to focus on its internal and external policy, or the social, religious, military and genealogic aspects related thereto, such as the client system, or finally, on the magnates's cultural and economic activity. Hardly ever, though, have scholars taken up the problems of the functioning of the family, and not exclusively with regards to this particular social group.<sup>1</sup> Thus, no systematic investigation has

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<sup>1</sup> The field related to the demography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania remains relatively poorly investigated, although attempts at counting the entire country's population, as well as its particular ethnical elements, have a long history (F. Papee, *Polska i Litwa na przełomie wieków średnich*, vol. 1, Kraków 1904; J. Jakubowski, *Studia nad stosunkami narodowościowymi na Litwie przed unią lubelską*, Warszawa 1912; H. Łowmiański, *Zaludnienie państwa litewskiego w wieku XVI. Zaludnienie w roku 1528*, Poznań 1998; J. Morzy, *Kryzys demograficzny na Litwie i Białorusi w II połowie XVII wieku*, Poznań 1965; J. Ochmański, *Historia Litwy*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1990; J. Ochmański, *Litewska granica etniczna na wschodzie od epoki plemiennnej do XVI wieku*, Poznań 1981; G. Błaszczuk, *Litwa na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności 1492–1569*, Poznań 2002). Also substantial is the body of recent studies into the character of the peasant family on lands including also the territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (M. Szoltysek, "Rethinking Eastern Europe: household – formation patterns In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and European family systems", *Continuity and Change* 23, 2008, 386–427;

been dedicated to issues such as the composition, character, duration, procreative potential and the functioning of the magnate family in such a strongly diversified region in terms of ethnicity, culture and religion. Jan Tęgowski, who conducted an analysis of the descendants of Gedymin, is a prominent example of a scholar writing about their marriages.<sup>2</sup> Then, S. Lazutka, I. Valikonite, and J. Sarcevičiene spared some thought for the situation of the women.<sup>3</sup> A. Lesiak, continuing their research, concentrated especially on the Radziwiłł women, providing also some demographic data relating to them and K. Sulej worked on magnates' marriages using marriage contracts.<sup>4</sup> Working from a gender premise, N. Sliż took up the issues of the nobleman's function within the family and the society and problem of nobility's marital and extramarital relations in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>5</sup> whereas J. Bardach dealt with

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Idem, "Three kinds of preindustrial household formations system In historical Eastern Europe: a challenge to spatial patterns of the European family", *The History of the Family* 13, 2008, 223–257; Idem, "Family systems and welfare provisions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 42, 2015, 25–57; Idem, *Rethinking East-Central Europe: family systems and co-residence in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, vol. 1–2, Bern 2015). However, a recently published History of Lithuania by Lithuanian historians did not allot a separate section to the questions of the demography of the family (Z. Kiaupa, J. Kiaupiene, A. Kuncevičius, *Historia Litwy do 1795 roku*, trans. by P. Grablunas, J. Niewulis-Grablunas, J. Prusinowska, R. Witkowski, Warszawa 2007); the gap is partially filled by a recently published History of Poland by U. Augustyniak (U. Augustyniak, *Historia Polski 1572–1795*, Warszawa 2008) and a coursebook of Old Polish demography (C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009), as well as by earlier attempts to present the Old Polish families in a broader European context (C. Kuklo, "Rodzina staropolska na tle europejskim. Podobieństwa i różnice rytmów rozwoju", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 26, 2005, 27–45).

<sup>2</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenie Giedyminowiczów*, Poznań–Wrocław 1999; J. Tęgowski, "Małżeństwa Lubarta Giedyminowicza. Przyczynek do genealogii dynastów halicko-włodzimierskich w XIV w.", *Genealogia* 6, 1995, 17–26; Idem, "Polityczne aspekty małżeństwa księżniczki mazowieckiej Katarzyny Siemowitówny z Michałuszką, synem Zygmunta Kiejstutowicza", *Genealogia* 13, 2001, 39–48.

<sup>3</sup> S. Lazutka, I. Valikonite, "Imušestvennoe položenie ženščiny (materī, ženy, dočeri, sestry) privilehiovannoho soslovija po I Litovskomu Statutu", *Lietuvos TSR aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai. Istorija* 16, 1976, no. 2, 74–103; J. Sarcevičiene, "Kobieta" in: *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Analizy i obrazy*, Kraków 2006.

<sup>4</sup> A. Lesiak, "Kobiety z rodu Radziwiłłów w świetle inwentarzy i testamentów (XVI–XVIII w.)" in: U. Augustyniak (ed.), *Administarcja i życie codzienne w dobrach Radziwiłłów XVI–XVIII wieku* ("Fasciculi Historici Novi", vol. IX), Warszawa 2009, 113–193; K. Sulej, *Mariaże maganckie w XVI–XVII wieku na podstawie interczyk przedślubnych w: Społeczeństwo staropolskie. Seria Nowa*, vol. 3, Warszawa 2011, 63–96.

<sup>5</sup> N. Sliż, "Genderna – rolevaja funkcija šljachcica u sjam'i i gramadstve Vjalikaha Knjastva Litoŭskaha", *Socium. Al'manach social'noy istorii* 5, 2005, 165–184; N. Sliż, *Ślubnya*

the marriage law of the Ruthenian population,<sup>6</sup> and P. Dąbkowski studied ancestral estates and property according to the Lithuanian law.<sup>7</sup> I. Kulesza-Woroneicka<sup>8</sup> and K. Yerusalimskiy<sup>9</sup> turned their attention to the occurrence of divorces among magnate families, including Lithuanian ones. From the denotative perspective, the secular senatorial elites were explored by H. Lulewicz,<sup>10</sup> the religious factor was mentioned by E. Dubas-Urwanowicz and M. Liedke<sup>11</sup> in their analysis of the functioning of mixed marriages, and M. Liedke was also engaged in the problems of the marital strategies of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian magnates.<sup>12</sup> Some fragmentary material on the magnate family appears in monographs dedicated to particular ancestries or representatives thereof,<sup>13</sup> but no complex research into the magnate family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been conducted so far<sup>14</sup> resulting in a poor state of knowledge of this family form, certainly weaker and less documented than information on families in other social groups of the Old Polish period.<sup>15</sup>

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*i pazaślubna stasunki šlachty Vjalikaha Knjastva Litoŭskaha u XVI–XVII stst.*, Smalensk 2015.

- <sup>6</sup> J. Bardach, “Zwyczajowe prawo ludności ruskiej Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (XV–XVII w.)” in: Idem, *Studia z ustroju i prawa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVII w.*, Warszawa 1970.
- <sup>7</sup> P. Dąbkowski, *Dobra rodowe i nabyte w prawie litewskim od XIV do XVI w.*, Lwów 1916 (= *Studia nad prawem polskim*, vol. VI, part. 3).
- <sup>8</sup> I. Kulesza-Woroneicka, *Rozwody w rodzinach magnackich w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Poznań–Wrocław 2002.
- <sup>9</sup> K. Yerusalimskiy, “Istorija odnogo razvoda: Kurbskiy i Gol’shanskaja”, *Socium. Al’manach social’noy istorii* 3, 2003, 149–176.
- <sup>10</sup> H. Lulewicz, “Skład wyznaniowy senatorów świeckich Wielkiego księstwa Litewskiego za panowania Wazów”, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 68, 1977, 425–445.
- <sup>11</sup> H. Lulewicz, “Skład wyznaniowy”; M. Liedke, “Mieszane związki małżeńskie a polonizacja możnych Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI wieku”, *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 7, 1997, 126–132; E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, “Magnackie małżeństwa mieszane w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII w.” in: J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski (eds.), *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII w.*, Białystok 2003, 561–586.
- <sup>12</sup> M. Liedke, “Strategie małżeńskie magnaterii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w dobie wczesnonowożytnej. Problemy badawcze” in: C. Kuklo (ed.), *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX w.*, Warszawa 2007, 59–74.
- <sup>13</sup> I.a. T. Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608), wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*, Toruń 1997; Idem, *Dzieje rodu Ostrogskich*, Warszawa 2002; Idem, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka 1549–1616. Wojewoda wileński*, Warszawa 2000; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł „Rudy” (ok. 1515–1584). Działalność polityczna i wojskowa*, Kraków 2008; I. Czamańska, *Wiśniowieccy. Monografia rodu*, Poznań 2007.
- <sup>14</sup> J. Sarcevičienė, “Kobieta”, 255.
- <sup>15</sup> C. Kuklo, “Rodzina”, 32.

The present paper proposes to approach the issue of the procreative attitudes of the magnates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the perspective of the married couples' preferences or reproductive tendencies.<sup>16</sup> In this light, it is an attempt to at least partially fill in the research gap, constituting at the same time a fragment of a larger research project devoted to the magnate family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Relying on data concerning several ancestries, the paper will present preliminary results of studies into the duration of marriages (both first and next), number of children in marriages, and age at marriage of male representatives of the selected houses, as well as of the women that they married.

### SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Genealogical facts such as filiation, dates of births, marriages and deaths, required for preparing the database, have been obtained from several sources – already published materials (mostly diaries, letters and testaments),<sup>17</sup> genealogical studies, monographs dedicated to select ancestries, or biographies of members of these families – parts of which constitute new perspectives, including most recent research.<sup>18</sup> The sources are predominantly concerned with the Radziwiłł and Chodkiewicz houses, in the case of the Sanguszko house no similar publications are available, despite relatively extensive biographies of their representatives in the *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (*Polish Dictionary of Biogra-*

<sup>16</sup> C. Kukło, *Demografia*, 333.

<sup>17</sup> I.a. A.S. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, ed. by A. Przyboś and R. Żelewski, vol. 1–3, Warszawa 1980; B. Radziwiłł, *Autobiografia*, ed. by T. Wasilewski, Warszawa 1979; *Archiwum Domu Radziwiłłów: listy ks. Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła "Sierotki" – Jana Zamoyskiego – Lwa Sapiehy*, Kraków 1885 (= *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 8); U. Augustyniak, *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Warszawa 1992.

<sup>18</sup> L. Podhorodecki has composed a popular monograph on the Chodkiewicz, from the moment of the family's initiation to the political scene of the Grand Duchy Lithuania, up until almost the present times (*Dzieje rodu Chodkiewiczów*, Warszawa 1997); the history of this family in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries has also been described G. Kirkiene (*LDK politikos slito galingieji: Chodkevičiai XV–XVI aminuje*, Vilnius 2008); on the Radziwiłłs – biographies by H. Wisner (*Janusz Radziwiłł 1612–1655*, Warszawa 2000), T. Kempa (*Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "Sierotka"*) and M. Ferenc (*Mikołaj Radziwiłł Rudy*), as well as family monographs, e.g. by K. Bartoszewicz (*Radziwiłłowie*, Warszawa–Kraków 1928), T. Nowakowski (*Die Radziwillis. Die Geschichte einer grossen europäischen Familie*, München 1975), or the popular perspective afforded by S. Mackiewicz (*Dom Radziwiłłów*, Warszawa 1990).

phy)<sup>19</sup> and a well-preserved collection of essays on the origins of this ancestry, their cultural activity and archival heritage.<sup>20</sup> Crucial among genealogical studies is a set of genealogical tables of Polish and Lithuanian ancestries prepared by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, although these too contain several inconsistencies.<sup>21</sup> Also the earlier work by Józef Wolff *Kniazowie litewsko-ruscy od końca XIV w. (Lithuanian-Ruthenian Knyazes from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)* calls for thorough revisions, although the undeniable strength of this particular volume lies in its resting on sources which today are no longer available to scholars due to ensuing political turbulences.<sup>22</sup> The necessary corrections and supplements were largely facilitated by biographical notes included in the *Polish Dictionary of Biography*, a recently substantially extended volume, based on a rich database presenting the latest research results.<sup>23</sup>

Genealogical information was verified through a query conducted in the Radziwiłł Family Archive. Most significant manuscripts regarding this issue are collected in the 11<sup>th</sup> Department of the Radziwiłł Archive in the Central Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw (these include “Family documents,” entailing i.a. prenuptial agreements, mutual records of the spouses, property divisions, testaments, i.e. materials rich in genealogical data); quite useful is also the mail collection from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Departments (letters by and to the Radziwiłł, respectively) which holds mentions of deaths, births or planned or concluded marriages.<sup>24</sup> In the case of the Sanguszko family, materials from their family archive in Sławuta, edited and published by Bronisław Gorczak in cooperation with Duke Roman Lubartowicz Sanguszko<sup>25</sup> proved a valuable source of information, constituting, in the words of the publisher, “a prominent and invaluable

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Biographies by M. Machynia, E. Orman, I. Kaniewska, R. Marcinek, M. Czeppe, Z. Fras, M. Nagielski, E. Aleksandrowska, J. Długosz collected in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 34, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1992.

<sup>20</sup> *Wokół Sanguszków. Dzieje – sztuka – kultura. Materiały I Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Naukowej 29–30 czerwca 2006, Ratusz, Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie*, ed. by J. Skrabski, B. Bułdys, Tarnów 2007.

<sup>21</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, vol. II, Warszawa 1959.

<sup>22</sup> J. Wolff, *Kniazowie litewsko-ruscy od końca XIV wieku*, Warszawa 1895.

<sup>23</sup> Especially in the case of the families of Radziwiłł and Sanguszko, included here, by, for example, H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, T. Wasilewski, H. Dymnicka-Wołoszyńskiej, H. Wisner, W. Szczygielski, Z. Anusik, M. Machynia, R. Marcinek, M. Czeppe, M. Nagielski and others (biograms of the Chodkiewicz published before the II World War are not very extensive and fail to contain many important genealogical facts).

<sup>24</sup> Central Archives of Historical Documents in Warsaw (*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, further referred to as AGAD).

<sup>25</sup> *Archiwum XX. Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, ed. by B. Gorczak, vol. 1–7, Lwów 1887–1910.

historical material”.<sup>26</sup> It should also be noted that the character of the documents and mails held in the family collections decides about their genealogical value.

### CHARACTERISTIC OF THE HOUSES

Seeing that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was a region significantly diversified ethnically, culturally, and religiously, in which a specific social structure had formed (with the upper echelon of the privileged group constituted by lords and knyazes<sup>27</sup>), the present paper focuses on three houses differing from one another in terms of ethnic, social or religious background. The title issues have been traced on a span of three hundred years which is why only those houses were considered which functioned throughout the entire period under investigation.<sup>28</sup> At this stage of research only marriages of men from these families were taken into account.

The Radziwiłłs represented a group of Catholic lords whose importance continued to grow in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1515 and 1547 Emperors Maximilian and Ferdinand I granted them the title of duke.<sup>29</sup> The house divided into three lines: the Goniądz–Medele line, the Nieśwież–Kleck–Ołyka line, and the Birże–Dubinki line. The first extinguished already in 1542, and the third one at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with Ludwika Karolina, the daughter of Bogusław Radziwiłł, whereas the heirs of the Nieśwież–Kleck–Ołyka line live until today. Around mid-16<sup>th</sup> century the Radziwiłłs accepted Reformation but the Nieśwież–Kleck–Ołyka line, commenced by Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny, parted with Protestantism already in the second generation. The Birże–Dubinki line, though, remained permanently faithful to Calvinism. In the case of this family, relatively complete data was obtained for 70 marriages, including 48 first ones and 22 subsequent.

The second house, the Sanguszkos, represented the group of knyazes. They were descended from Duke Sanguszko, son of Fedor, brother of Jagiełło, grand-

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, vol. 1, VI.

<sup>27</sup> W. Kamieniecki, *Spółeczeństwo litewskie w XV w.*, Warszawa 1947, 50, 75 and further. Only after the Union of Lublin the knyazs were levelled with the rest of the noble society – J. Wolff, *Kniazowie*, XXI.

<sup>28</sup> The question of under what circumstances some other families became extinct, equally worth being investigated, will be considered further on.

<sup>29</sup> Mikołaj Mikołajowicz, Voivode of Vilnius and Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania acquired duke title for the Goniadz-Medele line in 1515; later on, in 1547 Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny and Mikołaj Radziwiłł Rudy acquired the right to duke title after the extinct Radziwiłł line – M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł Rudy*, 11 and 65; J. Wolff, *Kniazowie*, 675.

son of Grand Duke Olgierd, and great-grandson of Grand Duke Gedymin. Originally, the house's greatest estates and properties were located in Wolhynia, later in Podolye and Lesser Poland (i.a. Lubartów and Tarnów). At the turn of 16<sup>th</sup> century the house divided into two main lines: the Sanguszko-Koszyrski line (senior line), originated with Michał and extinct in 1653, and the Sanguszko-Kowelski line (junior line), of Aleksander, existing until today. Up to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the representatives of the Sanguszko house, earlier strongly Ruthenized, confessed Orthodoxy, although later on conversions to Catholicism were becoming gradually more numerous. In this case a sample of 26 marriages (19 first, 7 subsequent) was obtained.

The third house investigated, the Chodkiewiczzs, represented the group of lords. Initially, the Chodkiewiczzs, too, professed Orthodoxy; later on some representatives of the family became shortly involved with Reformation,<sup>30</sup> and with time converted to Catholicism.<sup>31</sup> In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the significance of the Chodkiewiczzs house was such that they became the major rivals of the Radziwiłłs. Also this house divided into several lines: the Brzostowicka line, started by Aleksander's son Hrehor – Grand Hetman of Lithuania, extinct with his sons Andrzej and Aleksander in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1576, 1578); the Bychow line, descended from Hieronim Aleksandrowicz – Castellan of Troki, extinct in 1626 with Aleksander, Voivode of Troki (representatives of this line assumed the titles of Count of Bychow and Mysz); and the Supraśl line, of Jurij Aleksandrowicz whose heirs live until today. In the case of this house a substantially smaller samples was obtained: 18 marriages (13 first, 5 subsequent).

Total, the summary sample obtained for the three families was composed of 114 marriages, including 80 first and 34 subsequent ones.

## THE AGE OF NEWLYWEDS

While preparing data, one of the more serious obstacles was determining the dates of births of both prospective spouses in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, by extension, a more accurate determining of age at marriage in this century (in the case of women a notorious issue well into the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Age at marriage was a vital component of the family policy, affecting also demographic observations in that

<sup>30</sup> M. Liedke, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu. Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec reformacji*, Białystok 2004, 106 and further.

<sup>31</sup> Inclinations towards a church union could have been manifested by them already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – see: W. Sokólski, “Kilka uwag o początkach fundacji klasztoru supraskiego”, *Białostoczczyzna* 1994, 2 (34), 15 and further.; G. Kirkiene, *LDK politikos, passim*.

it conditioned one of the basic elements of this policy, i.e. procreative opportunities. An average age at first and subsequent marriage among men from the three houses of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was over 30 years of age: 33.3 for 84 recorded cases (median 30). The age range at first marriage varied from 16<sup>32</sup> to 45<sup>33</sup> (for 61 recorded cases, with the median 25), but the first marriage was usually concluded at the age of 27, which is confirmed in earlier surveys for the Old Polish magnate family, suggesting the age range of 25 to 30<sup>34</sup> years of age for men. However, according to the findings of the present study subsequent marriages (23 cases of men taking subsequent wives) were averagely concluded around the age of 39, with the median value of 39 as well. Enlarging the sample will allow for a more accurate determining of an average age at marriage of women for whom an average age (for 43 female prospective spouses) was 20, with the median value of 20, too. Women chosen as first wives were usually over 19 (an average for 34 cases amounts to 19.5, and the median 19) which does not deviate too much from earlier observations according to which until the 17<sup>th</sup> century which women from magnate families of the Commonwealth entered their first marriage around the age of 18, and in the Enlightenment era around 19.<sup>35</sup> In turn, those women who happened to be subsequent spouses at the moment of entering into marriage were usually 23 years old (median 22). As can be inferred, women, both in the case of first and subsequent marriages, chosen as wives were very young, for first marriages even slightly younger than for subsequent relationships. The age of the woman, eligible bachelorette, certainly played an important part in the family policy in that it determined, at least initially, the women's procreative potential. Considering the high mortality rates among new-borns and young children, a woman needed a substantial amount of biological time to provide her family with offspring living to adulthood. It should be stressed, though, that resorting to the woman's lowest legally allowable age limit, both church (12 years) and state (according to the Third Lithuanian Statute: 13<sup>36</sup>), was hardly ever practiced in Early Modern era. The women's lowest age at marriage with representatives of the three selected houses of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was 15, and such cases were relatively most numerous in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and least widespread in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>32</sup> Hieronim Wincenty Radziwiłł born in 1759; got married in 1775.

<sup>33</sup> It was Bogusław Radziwiłł, born in 1620 r., married in 1665 r. To 25-year-old Anna Maria, daughter of Janusz Radziwiłł.

<sup>34</sup> C. Kuklo, "Rodzina", 32.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>36</sup> J. Sarcevičiene, "Kobieta", 255.

Perhaps such choices were motivated by knowledge from experience that too young a wife, perhaps not yet fully developed physically, could not bear healthy and strong children, or survive the childbirth. The highest age at subsequent marriage of a woman in the group of the three analysed families was 37, the bride being Katarzyna nee Tęczyńska, primo voto Słucka, then the wife of Krzysztof Mikołaj Radziwiłł called “Thunder”. The Voivode of Wilno already had an heir from his previous marriage to Katarzyna nee Ostrogska, but his son Janusz was only about two years old at the time of his father’s subsequent marriage. What is interesting is that Katarzyna, the mother of Janusz Juriewicz Słucki’s three sons, gave birth to two more children, daughter Elżbieta and son Krzysztof. In this light, it might seem that Krzysztof Radziwiłł, aware of Janusz’s nonage and of the risk of his son’s not surviving to adulthood, decided to marry Katarzyna for her high fertility. Indeed, it was her son, and not Janusz, who deceased in 1620, who continued the Birże line of the Radziwiłłs. With regards to Radziwiłł women, their youngest age at marriage was 14 according to pre-nuptial agreements, but in the 16<sup>th</sup> century it increased to 16 and 18 years, and further grew in the following centuries.<sup>37</sup>

Juxtaposing these findings to the so-called European marriage model proposed by John Hajnal, according to which marriage in Western and Northern Europe was concluded later (and where the percentage of permanently unmarried women was also high, amounting even to 20%<sup>38</sup>), it has to be confirmed that, in terms of women’s age at marriage, the magnate marriage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania strayed from this pattern, especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, whereas men’s age at marriage from the same families followed Hajnal’s findings. The characteristics of Hajnal’s model were supposed to have been caused by establishing one’s own family only after the prospective spouses’ earning economic independence, for example, after coming into land or starting their own farmstead.<sup>39</sup> The model, more typical of peasantry, placed special emphasis on economic self-sufficiency which did not play such a significant role in the case of magnates because even if the pre-nuptial agreement was signed by the prospective spouses’ parents<sup>40</sup> (and most frequently – the bride’s parents), it precisely

<sup>37</sup> Data after A. Lesiak, who, however, did not determine whether the age in the table refers to a person getting married for the first time or for subsequent time – A. Lesiak, “Kobiety”, 127.

<sup>38</sup> J. Hajnal, “European Marriage Patterns In Perspective” in: D.V. Glass, D.E.C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History*, London 1965, 101.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, 132 and further.

<sup>40</sup> Analysis of pre-nuptial agreements found in the 11<sup>th</sup> Department of the Radziwiłłs’ The archive indicates that in the majority of cases the prospective husbands themselves drew

laid down the financial conditions of the marriage and assumed their future fulfilment, for instance in the form of paying the bride's dowry by her parents or guardians until a determined deadline.<sup>41</sup> After all, the bride did not have to work for her dowry herself which also resulted from her specific circumstances of a magnate woman in Early Modern society, although usually her wider legal and economic privileges were more pronounced in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania than in the Polish Crown.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the significance of the magnate marriage as an instrument of the family policy frequently was more important for both of the involved sides than the son-in-law's recent independence.

The age of the woman chosen as wife facilitates a reconstruction of the expectations towards a particular marriage, whether it was offspring or just, usually in the case of subsequent marriages when the first marriages had children who lived to adulthood, a profitable political and economic liaison. Sometimes, when the widower was advanced in age and the family's continuation secured, the man might not have taken another wife, as for example Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, father of three sons and two daughters, who, following his wife Zofia nee Tarnowska's death, did not remarry.<sup>43</sup> The reason might have been an unwillingness to further dispersal of the estate and property.

## DURATION OF MARRIAGES

Age at marriage had a direct impact on its duration. Following a summary of genealogical data for the three selected families, an average duration of all investigated relationships amounted to 14.2 years, with particular values: 14.3 for the Radziwiłłs, 15.4 for the Sanguszkos, and 12.5 for the Chodkiewicz (table 1). The median of the duration of all marriages amounts to 11.5 years. However, the

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them, although sometimes inspired by their fathers who conducted negotiations, for instance in the case of Rzewuski's efforts in courting Katarzyna Karolina Radziwiłł – AGAD, AR, dz. XI, sygn. 159; in the case of the Crown nobility the groom, even if he did not have his own wealth and estate, attempted to act as an independent party, and his parents as the third party in the pre-nup agreement – M. Lubczyński, "Zawieranie małżeństw przez szlachtę w świetle intercyz przedślubnych oblatowantych w krakowskich księgach grodzkich w latach 1680–1730" in: H. Suchojad (ed.), *Wesela, chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI–XVII wieku. Kultura życia i śmierci*, Warszawa 2001, 139.

<sup>41</sup> It is known that it was not that simple with its payment; sometimes the delay on the part of the parents or the guardians resulted in problems in the marriage, and even separation of the spouses, as in the case of Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł and his wife Henrietta Dorota Przebendowska – cf. AGAD, AR, dz. XI, sygn. 218.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. S. Lazutka, I. Valikonite, "Imušetvennoe", *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> M. Liedke, "Strategie", 72.

Table 1. Number and average duration of all marriages under investigation

House	Number of marriages under investigation	Average duration of all marriages
Radziwiłłs	70	14.3
Sanguszkos	26	15.4
Chodkiewicz	18	12.5
Total	114	14.2

results are hard to verify as no similar studies have been conducted for either the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or the Polish Crown. Attempt to compare an average duration of a Lithuanian magnate marriage throughout three centuries with a similar average across all social layers would also be difficult to attain as no adequate studies for this area exist.<sup>44</sup>

The preliminary studies presented indicate that an average duration of a Lithuanian magnate marriage was shorter in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, amounting to ca. 12 years, whereas in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the marriage lasted on average 18 years, despite an intensification of the phenomenon of divorces.<sup>45</sup> The increase in the duration might have been related to a general improvement in health conditions but perhaps, at least to a degree, it could have stemmed from a lower share of representatives of the magnates in armed conflicts, anyhow less numerous in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than in the previous one. Of course, the high-born also in earlier times were less exposed to the risk of dying in battle but still, they were obliged to appear with their entourages at the demand of the overlord,<sup>46</sup> and especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century many of them were taken hostage in case of defeat. Some managed to return or escape (e.g. Konstanty Ostrogski, later on castellan of Vilnius and voivode of Troki, who escaped from Moscow captivity), but there were also those who died in the hands of the enemy (e.g. Wasyl

<sup>44</sup> By using data for the Polish Crown it may be observed that an average duration of a Lithuanian magnate marriage was somewhat shorter than in the case of peasants, among whom until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century marriage lasted on average 15 years. Still, magnate marriages lasted longer than burgher ones (ca. 10 years in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century already 15); see: C. Kukło, *Demografia*, 285.

<sup>45</sup> List of divorces in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries shows that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century on Polish-Lithuanian lands there were only 5 such cases, in the 17<sup>th</sup> 12, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> already 60. See: I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Rozwody*, 34–36.

<sup>46</sup> For example. on June 9, 1541, Sigismund I issued a proclamation to all Sanguszko dukes to appear before Fedor Sanguszko and under his command went into battle against the Tatars moving along the Zwinogrodzki trail: *Archiwum XX. Lubartowiczów*, vol. V, 292.

Table 2. Duration of first marriages

House	First marriages		First marriages with children	
	Number	Average duration	Number	Average duration
Radziwiłłs	48	15.7	36	17.7
Sanguszkos	19	16.4	14	14.6
Chodkiewiczzs	13	13.4	10	15.4
Total	80	15.5	60	16.6

Table 3. Duration of subsequent marriages

House	Subsequent marriages		Subsequent marriages with children	
	Number	Average duration	Number	Average duration
Radziwiłłs	22	11	13	13.3
Sanguszkos	7	12	4	14.7
Chodkiewiczzs	5	10	1	11.0
Total	34	11	18	13.4

Zahorowski, Castellan of Braclaw who ended his life as the prisoner of Horde because his family failed to buy him off<sup>47</sup>).

It is important to remember that the number of first marriages amounted to 80, and their average duration was calculated as 15.5 years (median 12 years). The Radziwiłłs' 48 first marriages lasted on average 15.7 years (median also 12 years), The Sanguszkos' 19 first matrimonies 16.4 (median 9 years), and the Chodkiewiczzs' 13–13.4 (median 7 years) (table 2). Subsequent marriages (34 couples) lasted on average 11 years, with the median of 8 years. The Radziwiłłs' 22 subsequent marriages lasted averagely 11 years (median 7.5 years), The Sanguszkos' 7 subsequent matrimonies 12 years (median 11 years), and the Chodkiewiczzs' mere 5 such relationships 10 years (median 11 years) (table 3). Thus, it appears that an average duration of first marriages was longer than that of subsequent relationships.<sup>48</sup>

The vast majority of marriages ended with the death of one of the spouses, although, as mentioned earlier, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century divorces were becoming

<sup>47</sup> His moving testament composed in 1577 in the Horde survived: *ibidem*, vol. IV, 71–84.

<sup>48</sup> I.e. similarly as among peasants, though of a shorter duration (among the Crown's peasants in the 18<sup>th</sup> century they lasted ca. 18–20 years) – C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 285.

gradually more popular. Within the group of families selected here the problem affected mostly the Radziwiłłs (6 divorces throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries) and the Sanguszkos (5 divorces).<sup>49</sup>

Among the 114 marriages under investigation, 78 couples had children (60 first marriages and 18 subsequent ones). Average duration of the first marriage with children amounted to shorter than 17 years (16.6), with the median 13. The Radziwiłłs' 36 first marriages with children lasted on average nearly 18 years (median 15), the Sanguszkos' 14 such relationships 14.6 years (median 8.5 years), and the Chodkiewicz's 10 first marriages with children nearly 15 years (median 15) (table 2). Subsequent marriages with children lasted shorter: on average over 13 years (median 10 years), including the Radziwiłłs' 13 subsequent marriages with children: over 13 years (median 8 years), the Sanguszkos' 4 14.5 (median 12.5), and the Chodkiewicz's only one such marriage: 11 years (table 3).

### NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Duration of marriages affected also yet another fundamental issue with regards to the investigation of procreative attitudes: the number of children in a marriage. An attempt was made to count the number of children born and those who lived to adulthood, bearing in mind that the first value might be substantially less accurate than the other because we do not have birth certificates for children who were born but died early. The problem touches also the magnate families, especially at the beginning of the period under investigation. According to the calculations conducted, in all houses investigated in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries 321 children were born, i.e. 2.8 children for a couple (median 2). For the Radziwiłłs, it was 217 children with average 3.1 children (median 2), for the Sanguszkos 65 children with average 2.5 children (median also 2), and for the Chodkiewicz's 39 children with average 2.2 (median 1.5) (table 4). The number of children living to adulthood in all investigated relationships amounted to 227 which yielded an average number of nearly 2 children for a couple (1.99 children with median 2). For the Radziwiłłs an average was nearly 2 children for a couple (1.97 children) with 139 children living to adulthood (median 2), for the Sanguszkos 2.15 children (55 children, median 1.5), and for the Chodkiewicz's 1.8 children (33 children, median 1.5) (table 5).

An average number of children from first marriages amounted to 3.2 children for a couple (median 2); number of children from first marriages who lived

<sup>49</sup> In the Chodkiewicz's family, throughout the three investigated centuries, only one divorce was noted, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century – Cf. I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Rozwody*, 34.

Table 4. Number of children born in all marriages under investigation

House	Children born in all marriages		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłły	217	3.1	2.0
Sanguszkos	65	2.5	2.0
Chodkiewiczzs	39	2.2	1.5
Total	321	2.8	2.0

Table 5. Number of children who lived to adulthood in all marriages under investigation

House	Children living to adulthood in all marriages under investigation		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłły	139	1.97	2.0
Sanguszkos	55	2.15	1.5
Chodkiewiczzs	33	1.8	1.5
Total	227	1.99	2.0

Table 6. Children born in first marriages

House	Children born in first marriages		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłły	175	3.6	3.0
Sanguszkos	46	2.4	2.0
Chodkiewiczzs	35	2.7	2.0
Total	256	3.2	2.0

Table 7. Children from first marriages living to adulthood

Family	Number of children from first marriages living to adulthood	Average number of children from first marriages living to adulthood	Median
Radziwiłły	108	2.3	2
Sanguszkos	43	2.3	2
Chodkiewiczzs	30	2.3	2
Total	181	2.3	2

Table 8. Children born in subsequent marriages

House	Children born in subsequent marriages		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	42	1.9	1.5
Sanguszkos	19	2.7	1.0
Chodkiewiczzs	4	0.8	0
Total	65	1.9	1.0

Table 9. Children from subsequent marriages living to adulthood

House	Children from subsequent marriages living to adulthood		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	31	1.4	1.5
Sanguszkos	12	1.8	1.0
Chodkiewiczzs	3	0.6	0
Total	46	1.4	1.0

Table 10. Children born in first marriages already having children

House	Children born in first marriages already having children		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	175	4.9	3.5
Sanguszkos	46	3.3	2.5
Chodkiewiczzs	35	3.4	3.0
Total	256	4.1	3.0

Table 11. Children living to adulthood born in first marriages already having children

House	Children living to adulthood born in first marriages already having children		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	108	3.4	3
Sanguszkos	43	3.3	3
Chodkiewiczzs	30	3	2
Total	181	2.98	2

Table 12. Children born in subsequent marriages already having children

House	Children born in subsequent marriages already having children		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłły	42	3.2	4.0
Sanguszkos	19	4.7	3.5
Chodkiewicz	4	2.0	2.0
Total	65	3.4	3.0

Table 13. Children living to adulthood born in subsequent marriages already having children

House	Children living to adulthood born in subsequent marriages already having children		
	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłły	31	2.4	2.0
Sanguszkos	12	3.2	2.5
Chodkiewicz	3	1.5	1.5
Total	46	2.6	2.5

to adulthood was 181, with an average number of children for a couple 2.3 with median 2 (tables 6 and 7). For subsequent marriages, average number of children for a couple 1.9, with the median 1. An average number of children from subsequent marriages who lived to adulthood was 46, with an average number of children for a couple 1.4 (median 1) (tables 8 and 9).

The number of children born in first marriages already having children is of course also 256, with an average 4.1 for 60 such couples (median 3). An average number of children from such relationships who lived to adulthood, with the total number of such children 181, amounted to nearly 3 children (2.98. median 2) (tables 10 and 11). An average number of children born in subsequent marriages already having children is 3.42 (65 children in total, median 3), and an average number of children from such relationships living to adulthood amounted to 2.6 children (46 children in total, median 2.5) (tables 12 and 13).

In first marriages already having children on average ca. 4 children were born and nearly 3 of them lived to adulthood. In men's subsequent marriages which bred offspring women gave birth on average to over three children and ca. 2.6 lived to adulthood; thus an average number of children of living to adulthood

for a couple amounted to over 2.<sup>50</sup> Children's survival into adulthood was higher among magnates than among other social groups. It is estimated that in Polish peasant or burgher family on average only one out of three children made it into adulthood.<sup>51</sup> For magnate marriages investigated here ca. 70% of offspring lived to adulthood (71% if it is assumed that all children who were born but who did not make it to adulthood had been noted). Over 75% of children living to adulthood was born in first marriages.

### **GENDER OF THE CHILDREN**

As regards the gender structure, due to source inconsistencies mentioned earlier<sup>52</sup> it was only determined for children living to adulthood. In the selected three families the gender structure in all investigated relationships, first and subsequent, having and not having children, is distributed as follows: 118 sons lived to adulthood which gives an average of 1.02 male heir for a couple (median 1) and 109 daughters with an average of 0.96 girl for a family (median 1). Advantage of sons living to adulthood occurred among the Radziwiłłs: 76 sons with an average of 1.08 male heir for a couple (median 1) and 63 daughters with an average of 0.9 girls for a couple (median 1); also among the Chodkiewiczzs more sons reached the adult age: 18 sons with an average of 1.0 boy (median 1), and 15 daughters with an average of 0.9 girl (median 1), whereas among the Sanguszkos more daughters living to adulthood were noted: 31 girls with an average of 1.2 daughters for a couple (median 1) and only 24 sons with an average of 0.9 boy (median 1) (table 14). What became more strongly accentuated was the lack of generational substitution which could have been the cause of the extinction of particular house lines (in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century two lines of the Radziwiłłs and the Chodkiewiczzs died out, as well as one line of the Sanguszkos in the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

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<sup>50</sup> Thus, it appears that in a magnate family with children a little less children were born than e.g. in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in a peasant family in Lower Silesia (5.2 children) or in a burgher family in Warsaw (5 or even 7 or 9 children) – C. Kuklo, “Rodzina”, 39. Nevertheless, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century the tendency to decrease the number of offspring in this environment was prevalent (even down to 4 children during the Enlightenment) – *ibidem*, 346.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, 41.

<sup>52</sup> Genealogical sources or biographies of given individuals frequently include enigmatic mentions of a child who died in infancy or later childhood, without giving the child's sex, especially with regards to infants.

Table 14. Number of sons and daughters living to adulthood born in all marriages under investigation

House	Children living to adulthood born in all marriages					
	Sons			Daughters		
	Number	Average	Median	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	76	1	1	63	0.9	1
Sanguszkos	24	0.9	1	31	1.2	1
Chodkiewiczzs	18	1	1	15	0.9	1
Total	118	1	1	109	0.96	1

Table 15. Number of sons and daughters living to adulthood born in first marriages

House	Children living to adulthood born in first marriages					
	Sons			Daughters		
	Number	Average	Median	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	60	1.3	1.0	48	1.0	1.0
Sanguszkos	18	0.9	1.0	25	1.3	1.0
Chodkiewiczzs	15	1.1	1.0	15	1.1	1.0
Total	93	1.2	1.0	88	1.1	1.0

Table 16. Number of sons and daughters living to adulthood born in first marriages already having children

House	Children living to adulthood born in first marriages already having children					
	Sons			Daughters		
	Number	Average	Median	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	60	1.9	2.0	48	1.5	1.0
Sanguszkos	18	1.4	1.0	25	1.9	1.0
Chodkiewiczzs	15	1.5	1.5	15	1.5	1.5
Total	93	1.5	1.0	88	1.4	1.0

In the case of first marriages, 93 sons (average of 1.2 boys for a couple, median 1) and 88 daughters (average of 1.1 girls for a couple, median 1) lived to adulthood. With regards to first marriages already having children also 93 sons and 88 daughters altogether lived to adulthood but an average for boys was 1.5 male

Table 17. Sons and daughters living to adulthood born in subsequent marriages

House	Children living to adulthood born in subsequent marriages					
	Sons			Daughters		
	Number	Average	Median	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	16	0.7	0.5	15	0.7	0.5
Sanguszkos	6	0.8	1.0	6	1.0	1.0
Chodkiewiczzs	3	0.4	0	0	0	0
Total	25	0.7	0	21	0.6	0

Table 18. Sons and daughters living to adulthood born in subsequent marriages already having children

House	Children living to adulthood born in subsequent marriages already having children					
	Sons			Daughters		
	Number	Average	Median	Number	Average	Median
Radziwiłłs	16	1.1	1.0	15	1.1	1.0
Sanguszkos	6	1.5	1.0	6	1.7	1.5
Chodkiewiczzs	3	3.0	3.0	0	0	0
Total	25	1.3	1.0	21	1.1	1.0

heirs for a marriage, with the median 1 and for girls 1.4 daughters for a couple, with the median 1 (table 16). 25 sons from subsequent marriages lived to adulthood (average 0.7, median 0) and 21 daughters (average 0.6, median 0) (table 17). In subsequent marriages already having children 1.3 sons for a couple lived to adulthood (median 1) and 1.1 daughters (median 1) (table 18).

In two houses, the number of women living to adulthood was lower than the respective number of men, which however might have been a result of an inaccurate registration of female children. Nonetheless, with relation to the lack of generational substitution it has to be stressed that not all male heirs living to adulthood got married. Considering various social groups, C. Kuklo made a tentative observation that ca. 5–7% of men in the Early Modern Polish society remained celibate.<sup>53</sup> Some chose (or it was chosen for them) to pursue religious career, others died before getting married, yet others did not consider marrying in the first place. However, the group reluctant to marry was not at

<sup>53</sup> C. Kuklo, “Rodzina”, 32.

all entirely composed of homosexuals who actually sometimes did marry heterosexually because of family matters or in order to conceal their orientation, but frequently these relationships ended miserably, as was the case with Janusz Aleksander Sanguszko, son of Paweł Karol, married to Konstancja Denhoff in 1731. The last Ostrogski entailer, forced into the marriage by his father, shortly left his wife and hardly saw her until his death, because, despite repeated efforts, the marriage was not annulled.<sup>54</sup>

## CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH POSTULATES

Summing up the results of the present study into the duration of first and subsequent marriages, the number of children from first and subsequent marriages, and the age at marriage of male representatives of the selected magnate families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as of women whom they married, it has to be noted that:

1. An average duration of a magnate marriage throughout the three centuries amounted to 14.2 years – lower in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: ca. 12 years; in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: ca. 18 years; the average duration of first marriages (15.5 years) was higher than of subsequent marriages (11 years);
2. The age at first marriage for men was about 27 years, for women 19–20, and thus their age at first marriage was lower than among other social groups in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, approximating the age at marriage of peasant women in the east of the country; therefore, women's age at first marriage deviated from the so-called European model of marriage.
3. Among children born in all marriages under investigation 71% lived to adulthood; nearly ¾ of children living to adulthood were born in first marriages; the average number of children living to adulthood for a family during the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries was less than 2 children (1.99) in all marriages, 2.3 children in first marriages, nearly 3 children in first marriages already having children, 1.4 in subsequent marriages and 2.6 in subsequent marriages already having children. Considering the male heirs of the selected families, lack of generational substitution is observed.
4. Nearly half of subsequent marriages were childless.

<sup>54</sup> R. Marcinek, "Janusz Aleksander Pawłowicz Sanguszko" in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 34, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1992, 491; M. Czeppe, R. Marcinek, "Sanguszkowa z Denhoffów 2.v. Rogalińska Konstancja", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 34, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1992, 523.

The above-presented results of a study into procreative attitudes of the magnates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania constitute but a prolegomena to a continuing exploration of the issue which calls for further research postulates. Most significant include: a substantial extension of the database by inclusion of more families, enriching it with marriages of women from each of the families; conducting all calculations separately for each of the three centuries; determining the status of widowhood and the frequency of reaching out to maidens or widows in subsequent marriages. It will also be necessary to investigate the children-potential ratio, the durations of intervals between subsequent births and to determine the exact time of giving birth to the first child. In further explorations of the problems, also social questions should be considered, for instance, marital strategies or the potential impact of one's professed faith on their procreative attitudes.



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## **DISINTEGRATION OF THE NOBLE FAMILY ELITE IN THE 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES**

Disintegration as a term denotes a dissolution or destruction of a given structure which usually refers to social, political or psychological structures, but is just as often applied in descriptions of the decay of family ties.

The question of the disintegration of families belonging to social elites has always stirred, and continues to do so, interest of both the so-called public opinion, usually made up of a given family's social circles or neighbours, and also of scholars dealing with the functioning of the family, including researchers in social history and history of the family. Already Lawrence Stone in his fundamental study into the European aristocratic family took up the issue of the functioning and disintegration of family structures which he discussed in more detail in his *Road to Divorce*, referring to the question of marriage dissolution.<sup>1</sup>

The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought forth a considerable increase in the interest in the family issues.<sup>2</sup> Questions addressed included the creation of a family and its functions,<sup>3</sup> its procreative potential,<sup>4</sup> as well as its protective and educational<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530–1987*, Oxford 1990.

<sup>2</sup> C. Kukło, "Współczesne badania nad rodziną w Europie XVI–XVIII wieku" in: *Rodzina – jej funkcje przystosowawcze i ochronne*, Warszawa 1995, 141–152.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Historia rodziny*, Warszawa 1998; A. Wyczański, "Rodzina w Europie w XVI–XVIII wieku" in: A. Mączak (ed.), *Europa i świat w początkach doby nowożytnej*, part 1, Warszawa 1991, 10–38.

<sup>4</sup> S. Borowski, "Funkcje prokreacyjne rodziny polskiej" in: A. Józefowicz (ed.), *Demografia społeczna*, Warszawa 1974, 85–155.

<sup>5</sup> Ph. Aries, *Historia dzieciństwa. Dziecko i rodzina w dawnych czasach*, Gdańsk 1995; J. Tazbir, "Stosunek do dziecka w okresie staropolskim" in: *Rodzina – jej funkcje przystosowawcze i ochronne*, Warszawa 1995, 153–166.

and economic properties.<sup>6</sup> Historians conducted research into motivations, circumstances, and the form in which a marriage had been concluded,<sup>7</sup> its economic<sup>8</sup> and emotional basis and its overall functioning both in the legal-economic and moral-ethical sphere.

Historical research into the family, both in the socio-historical and demographic dimension, encompass a broad range of issues related to marriage, although the problem of the dissolution of marriages has usually been ignored. According to a widespread opinion, marriages in the modern period generally ceased functioning with the moment of the death of one of the spouses. This conviction, however, has significantly narrowed down the scope of research into the family. In this light, studies into divorces facilitate an analysis into the sphere of dysfunction of the Old Polish family, with particular emphasis placed on the elites of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Such endeavors remain an integral part of the trend in socio-historical research devoted to the broadly understood family issues.

The title of the present thesis, *Disintegration of the noble family elite in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries* might give rise to objections and cause several inconsistencies and understatements. Therefore, let it be firmly stated at this point that the term *disintegration of the family* is here taken to mean an absolute and irreversible dissolution of a marriage, officially confirmed by the court in the form of a document confirming the annulment of a previously concluded marriage. The present study does not, however, take into account the question of the disintegration of those families in which, owing to the dying out of emotional bonds between spouses actual married life has been terminated, but the spouses, from a formal viewpoint, have remained in a marital relationship. Also the problem of separation has been excluded from the present analysis as separation, though physically ceasing the spouses' sharing marital bed and family table, thus leading to a practical disintegration of the family, from the perspective of canonical law separation did not terminate the marriage and according to the law a separated couple still constituted a family unit. Along these lines, cases analyzed here are only those in which a formal announcement of the annulment of the marriage has taken effect in the form of a document duly stating it, issued by a proper church court.

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<sup>6</sup> A. Wyczański, A. Wyrobisz, "La famille et la vie économique", *Studia Historiae-Oeconomicae* 18, 1983, 56–68.

<sup>7</sup> M. Koczerska, "Zawarcie małżeństwa wśród szlachty w Polsce późnego średniowiecza", *Przegląd Historyczny* 66, 1975, no. 1, 1–24. J. Bardach, "Zwyczajowe prawo małżeńskie ludności ruskiej Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (XV–XVII w.)" in: Idem, *Studia z ustroju i prawa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVII w.*, Warszawa 1970, 261–315.

<sup>8</sup> T. Zielińska, "Rozważania nad kwestią wyposażenia szlachcianek w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVIII stuleciu", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 96, 1989, t. 96, no. 1/2, 93–108.

The canonical law of the Roman-Catholic Church does not provide for the possibility of granting a divorce. The Church remains an upholder of the durability of the marital knot and perceived marriage as indissoluble. However the canon law allows for the annulment of a marriage but only under strictly defined circumstances. Subsequently, wishing to remain in agreement with legal terminology the term “annulment” should be applied in the present study. Per contra, the character of legal cases, the procedures governing them, as well as the nomenclature used by the involved sides speak for using the term “divorce.”

Without engaging into disputes on the definition of this social group, the description ‘noble elites’ came to be associated with all magnate families included in Włodzimierz Dworzaczek’s *Genealogia* and by the author thus treated.<sup>9</sup> In this light, noble elites were families deemed the most powerful and playing the most significant role in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Naturally, the definition has rather fuzzy boundaries and frequently proves impossible to determine whether a given family belongs to the class of magnates or the wealthiest nobility. In several cases, the range of names was extended to encompass families whose ‘magnate’ character did not give rise to disputes, which is the reason why the divorces of Anna Stanisławska and Jan Kazimierz Warszycki, and Honorata Stempowska and Teofil Wojciech Żaluski have been discussed. At any rate, both cases deserve particular attention owing it to the wealth of the records which survived till today.

The aim of the present study is twofold: first, to depict the phenomenon of the disintegration of noble elite families, along with the divorce practices, throughout the span of two centuries and in the context of the occurring socio-moral and legal changes, and second, to reveal the formal and practical reasons behind the dissolution of these marriages. In this vein, the questions which needs to be posed is, what was most frequently stated as the grounds for annulling the marriage, and what in reality caused the dissolution of the relationship? Further issues to be addressed include the estimation of the degree to which both spouses decided to file for a divorce, and to what extent it was a family decision intended to protect the family interests. The study intends also to present the course of a divorce case through a discussion of the legal procedure, its duration, and formalities essential for the attainment of an annulment.

The chronological framework of the thesis is limited by normative acts regulating marital issues. The greatest influence on modern canonical law has been exerted by the statements agreed upon at the Council of Trent, collected

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<sup>9</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Warszawa 1959.

in the *Tametsi* decree. In the Commonwealth, the decrees of the Council of Trent were approved of at the Synod of Piotrkow in 1577, the date which should be acknowledged as the original caesura for the present study, with the final caesura being the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 and the noble elite's passing under the control of the occupant countries and their different legal systems.

Hitherto, the question of the disintegration of the noble elite families has not been properly addressed by scholars, though information included in Dworzaczek's *Genealogia* prove quite a prevalence of divorces among magnate families. The importance of the phenomenon is accentuated by the fact that in the magnate Poland marriage was very frequently also a political alliance, a form of a two-family contract. Thus, divorce meant inconvenient separation of the two families' interests, and as such was closely related to a dissolution of a complicated family alliance, which to some extent explains why the spouses did not make the decision to divorce on their own. In many cases, it was the family indeed who made the decision to annul a misfortunate marriage as it happened with Stanislaw Szczesny Potocki and Gertruda nee Komorowski.<sup>10</sup>

The study relies on quite diversified sources, including documents of secular and Church institutions and offices, as well as personal files of the divorcees themselves. The most comprehensive and most versatile source material is a collection of personal documents found in the archives of magnate families. Thus, well documented divorce cases are recorded in the Radziwill Family Archive, the Sanguszko Family Archive, the Mlynowski Archive of the Chodkiewicz, the Dzikowski Archive of the Tarnowskis, and the Siedliszowski Archive of the Zaluskis.

Usually, a record of a divorce case included the following documents:

- 1) Pre-nuptial agreement;
- 2) Divorce suit;
- 3) Witness testimonies, copies or excerpts from the verdicts of the consistory council and the magnates' court;
- 4) Letters from relatives, friends, and representatives of Church and secular courts;
- 5) Various manifestos and re-manifestos regarding the divorce and the division of the assets;
- 6) Property settlements.

<sup>10</sup> The Czartoryski Library in Cracow (Polish: Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie, further referred to as B. Cz. w Krakowie), manuscript no. 2622.

A valuable source of information is also provided by diaries of the divorcees, for instance the diaries of Anna Stanisławska and Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł.<sup>11</sup>

Other important sources include files of the Cracow, Poznan, Plock, Wrocław and Gniezno consistories. *Acta episcopalia*, *officialia* and *administralia*, in turn, record verdicts on the annulment and/or separation of marriages. Usually these are verdict sentences stating a canonical reason for the pronouncement of marriage annulment, sometimes supplemented by witness testimonies. Consistory files are used only partially in the present study as it would be particularly difficult to conduct a comprehensive source query.

Until recently, historians largely ignored the phenomenon of divorces, according to the commonly held belief that the problem only occurred with the Napoleon's Codex's entry into force, which is however a wrong assumption. The necessity to investigate the question of divorces in pre-partition Poland was noted by Przemysław Dąbkowski in his invaluable work devoted to Polish private law.<sup>12</sup> Dąbkowski's study became a direct stimulus for his student Kazimierz Sochaniewicz, who subsequently wrote a short dissertation on divorces in Red Ruthenia in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>13</sup> The work remains extremely important as Sochaniewicz was the first scholar who took up the problem, focusing on divorces granted to followers of the Orthodox Church on the basis of the Byzantine Church laws, which, in marital matters at least, was much more liberal than the canonical law of the Roman-Catholic Church and allowed quite a wide spectrum of grounds for divorce. Getting a divorce in the Eastern Church was thus appears easier than in the Catholic Church, and so Sochaniewicz's work might prove very useful for comparative purposes. A similar part might be played by Juliusz Bardach's study on the law of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>14</sup> as Lithuania was under the sway of mainly Byzantine law, but the rules of getting divorces in the Duchy of Lithuania did not apply to the Polish lands. Recently, the issues of the dissolution of marriages in Ruthenia in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries have been taken up by Dariusz Dąbrowski.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> B. Cz. w Krakowie, manuscript no. 2277II; Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, further referred to as AGAD), Archiwum Radziwiłłów, 4<sup>th</sup> Department, no. III-81.

<sup>12</sup> P. Dąbkowski, *Prawo prywatne polskie*, vol. I–II, Lwów 1910–1911.

<sup>13</sup> K. Sochaniewicz, "Rozwody na Rusi Halickiej w XV–XVI w", *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Prawny* 7, 1929, no. 3.

<sup>14</sup> J. Bardach, *Studia z ustroju i prawa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Warszawa 1970.

<sup>15</sup> D. Dąbrowski, "Przyczyny i okoliczności rozpadu książęcych małżeństw na Rusi w XII i XIII w.", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 58, 2010, no. 3–4, 349–366.

Research into the territories of the Polish Crown has only been conducted at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The question of the disintegration of families has been addressed by two scholars affiliated to the University of Białystok: Edyta Bezzubik and Iwona Kulesza-Woroniecka.

Edyta Bezzubik's research interests included *Marital conflicts in Modern Poland on the basis of separation and marriage annulment cases from the Cracow, Poznan and Włocławek Oficjalat in 1597–1697*,<sup>16</sup> as well as the question of abductions of noble-born maidens. In her research on marital conflicts, she analysed all classes and social groups of the seventeenth-century Poland. Bezzubik discussed 63 separations and 60 cases of marriage annulments which occurred among magnate, noble, burgher and peasant marriages. Among the 60 analysed cases of marriage annulment, 33 referred to burgher marriages, 18 to noble, 6 to peasant, and only 3 to magnate marriages. Thus, it appears that the question of the disintegration of noble elite marriages remains a marginal issue in the orbit of social history, whereas data relating directly to the present issues analysed by the author reveal a starkly different picture.

My research concentrated on divorces among magnate families granted by the Catholic Church in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>17</sup> as well as on individual attitudes towards the issues of marriage dissolution,<sup>18</sup> and women's approaches to marital problems<sup>19</sup> as well as separations granted by Church councils.

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries among magnate families of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth occurred 79 divorce cases. Among those 79 divorces 11 cases were conducted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the remaining 68 in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The cases discussed involved 146 individuals.

<sup>16</sup> E. Bezzubik, "Konflikty małżeńskie w Polsce nowożytnej – na podstawie akt separacji i rozwiązań małżeństw z oficjalatów krakowskiego, poznańskiego i wrocławskiego z lat 1597–1697", *Genealogia* 17, 2005, 7–74.

<sup>17</sup> I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Rozwody w rodzinach magnackich w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa 2002.

<sup>18</sup> I. Kulesza, "Rozwód ks. Karola Stanisława Radziwiłła "Panie Kochanku" z Teresą Karoliną Rzewuską" in: W. Fedorowicz, J. Snopko (eds.), *Wojsko – społeczeństwo – historia. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Mieczysławowi Wrzoskowi w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę Jego urodzin*, Białystok 1995, 129–134.

<sup>19</sup> I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, "La femme au divorce en Pologne aux XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles" in: P. Mane et alii (eds.), *La femme dans la société médiévale et moderne*, Varsovie 2005, 167–175; I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, "Kobieta wobec problemów małżeńskich w epoce nowożytnej – propagowane wzorce i postawy" in: K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak (eds.), *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim*, vol. I.: *Kultura – Instytucje – Gospodarka w XVI–XVIII stuleciu*, Białystok 2007, 145–156.

Among magnate families included in Dworzaczek's *Genealogia*, 37 had direct divorce experiences. The most divorces occurred among the Potocki family: 14. The factor which could be held responsible for such a high divorce ratio was undoubtedly the exceptionally great size of the family, represented by two enormous branches. The second family in which the phenomenon of divorces was quite frequent was the Sapieha family, with 11 divorce cases. Other families recorded fewer such cases: 7 among the Radziwills and the Lubomirskis, 6 among the Sanguszkos. Further, 5 divorces occurred among the Ossolinskis, 4 among the Denhoffs and Szembeks, 3 among the Rzewuskis, Czartoryskis, Tyszkiewicz and Bielinskis, and 2 or 1 among the remaining families. Several people divorced more than once – Marcin Jerzy Lubomirski divorced his three subsequent wives, i.e. Anna Wylezyska, Anna Maria Hadick and Magdalena Czapska, Karol Stanislaw Radziwill divorced his two wives, i.e. Maria Lubomirska and Teresa Karolina Rzewuska, Stanislaw Potocki Gertruda Komorowska and Jozefa Amalia Mniszkowna, Aleksander Potocki Anna Tyszkiewicz and Izabella Mostowska; Teresa Dzialynska divorced her two husbands: Franciszek Szembek and Jan Sikorski, Barbara Szembek Seweryn Jozef Rzewuski and Jan Klemens Branicki, Marianna Katarzyna Sapieha Jan Solohub and Ignacy Puzyna, Anna Cetner Kazimierz Nestor Sapieha and Kajetan Potocki, Honorata Stempkowska Marcin Lubomirski and Teofil Wojciech Zaluski, as well as Karolina Walewska Aleksander Chodkiewicz and Aleksander Golicyn.

Significantly, among some families a high precedent of divorces occurred within one generation, for instance among the Bielinskis, the Sapiehas, and the Sanguszkos. Out of Kazimierz Ludwik Bielinski's six children three divorced: Michal married Aurora Maria Rutowska, king August the Strong's illegitimate daughter, whom he subsequently divorced in order to marry Tekla Peplowska. His sister Urszula divorced Antoni Czerminski, and his other sister Marianna divorced Boguslaw Ernest Denhoff and subsequently married Jerzy Lubomirski. A similar situation occurred among the Sapiehas. Out of Aleksander Sapieha and Magdalena Agnieszka's (nee Lubomirski) five children, three daughters, Anna, Karolina and Marianna divorced their husbands virtually at the same time. Anna Teofilia, after three years of marriage divorced Hieronim Sanguszko and married Seweryn Potocki, Karolina divorced her first husband Teodor Potocki and married Stanislaw Soltyk, and Marianna Katarzyna divorced both her husbands, Jan Solohub and Ignacy Puzyna. It is worth mentioning that their mother's brother, Marcin Jerzy Lubomirski, also divorced three times. Again, a similar situation occurred among the Sanguszkos. Out of Pawel Karol Sanguszko's four sons only one never took any divorce steps, whereas the

other three did make divorce attempts, two of which ended in success. Janusz Modest divorced his first wife Karolina Goźdzka, Hieronim Janusz his second wife Anna Teofila Sapieha, and their elder brother Janusz Aleksander attempted to divorce Konstancja Denhoff. Also Jozef Paulin Sanguszko's widow divorced her two husbands, Kazimierz Nestor Sapieha and Kajetan Potocki. Out of Janusz Modest Sanguszko's and his second wife's Aniela Ledóchowska's three children also divorced their spouses. Klementyna divorced Władysław Ostrowski and further married Napoleon Malachowski, whereas Karol, married to Dorota Sanguszko, daughter of his cousin, divorced her quite soon and spent the rest of his life wifeless.

Whether the frequent occurrence of divorces in some families was but a coincidence or rather a conscious action remains difficult to investigate, although it does seem that one successful divorce case paved the way for further cases. The family members supported one another and when one of the siblings got divorced, it was easier for the others to follow because they were more familiar with the procedures and the possibilities of law manipulation. It also had a peculiar psychological significance because a successful divorce case was a sort of an overcoming of a taboo. It is also worth to recall Konstancja Radziwill's efforts to get a divorce from Jan Fryderyk Sapieha who initially did not want to agree to initiate the divorce steps claiming that such events did not take place in his family and he had no intentions whatsoever of compromising his family honour.

Also attention-worthy are accounts of correspondence between families whose representatives were married and later on divorced. Did divorce influence families' mutual relations, did it change them, and was the further political cooperation possible between the families who had previously arranged a political marriage which for some reasons failed? The most spectacular example is provided by relationships between the Sapiehas and the Flemmings. Franciszka Izabella's uncles, Kazimierz Jan and Benedykt Paweł Sapieha, arranged her marriage to Jakub Henryk Flemming in order to gain support of an influential Saxon minister. The marriage already in its early stages brought practical political favours – Jakub Henryk Flemming supported the interests of his wife's relatives and despite opinion discrepancies always tried to help and assist them. The relationship was, however, never particularly lucky and with time dissolved entirely but Flemming did not forget about his ex-wife's relatives and still, despite a significant change in life plans, cooperated with the Sapiehas. Also the Sapiehas did not in any way manifest an aversion towards their ex-brother-in-law, treating the marriage issue as a private matter which did not affect their mutual relations on political grounds.

A similar situation occurred in the case of Karol Stanislaw Radziwill's two marriages. The uncle of his first wife Marianna Lubomirska, Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki, despite their divorce maintained positive relations with Karol Stanislaw and his entire family. Also Radziwill himself got on well with his first wife. Both involved in the actions of the Bar Confederation, they supported each other politically, maintaining social relations and none of them ever spoke a foul word about the other. In the case of Karol Stanislaw's second marriage, to Teresa Karolina Rzewuska, his father-in-law Wacław and his brother-in-law Seweryn Rzewuski actively participated in the Bar Confederation and supported each other's political actions and intentions. Despite a very unsuccessful marriage the former Mr. and Mrs. Rzewuski were always loyal to Radziwill, to the point that Wacław Rzewuski on his deathbed longed for nothing else but to see his son-in-law despite the fact that Radziwill had been already for several years involved in a divorce process with his daughter.

Marriage duration has been established for 31 relationships, 12 out of which did not last longer than 5 years, 10–6 to 10 years, and the remaining 9 no longer than 21 years. Average marriage duration amounted to 8 years but one has to bear in mind that the duration presented here embraces the period between the date of marriage and the date of the issue of the divorce decree, whereas in fact the actual dissolution of marriage usually occurred two years earlier, as this was the standard duration of divorce proceedings at the consistory council. Out of 146 divorcees, 77 remarried. Out of the divorced men 47 remarried, out of 42 women 30 remarried. Out of 77 individuals who remarried the duration of the second marriage has been established for 16 persons, out of whom as many as 10 remarried in the same year in which they divorced, which allows us to assume that these individuals divorced in order to be able to immediately remarry.

With regard to the grounds on which divorce pleas were founded, the church strictly followed canonical law in these matters, allowing for the following reasons legitimizing the annulment of a marriage:

1. Immature age (boys 14, girls 12);
2. Inability to take any legal action (concealed mental disorder, intellectual deficiency);
3. Sexual impotence, with regard to which the Church distinguished 8 different types. In general, sexual impotence (*impotentia coeundi*) was divided into:
  - a. *Naturalis et intrinseca*, i.e. impotence existing ever since the moment of birth and caused by an inborn organic deficiency,
  - b. *Accidentalis et extrinseca*, i.e. impotence caused by a mechanical injury (e.g. by castration) or by disease,

- c. *Temporalis*, i.e. temporary impotence which could be cured through treatment and medical proceedings,
  - d. *Perpetua*, i.e. impotence which could not be eliminated in any natural way without the risk of causing a serious injury or death,
  - e. *Absoluta*, i.e. impotence experienced towards all individuals of the opposite sex which could affect both men and women making it impossible for them to conduct sexual intercourse,
  - f. *Relativa*, i.e. impotence (or rather physical repulsion) experienced only to some individuals,
  - g. *Antecedens*, i.e. impotence existing prior to marriage,
  - h. *Subsequens*; i.e. impotence which came into being after the act of marriage;<sup>20</sup>
4. Another marriage (bigamy)
    - Bona fidae,
    - Mala fidae;
  5. Higher priestly ordinations;
  6. Monastic vows;
  7. Natural kinship (fourth generation inclusive);
  8. Propinquity (fourth degree);
  9. Spiritual affinity:
    - a. Between the baptizing individual and the baptized and his/her biological parents,
    - b. Between godparents and the godchild and his/her parents,
    - c. Between the individual dispensing the sacrament of confirmation and the individual obtaining the sacrament and his/her parents,
    - d. Between the witness of the sacrament of confirmation and the individual obtaining the sacrament and his/her parents;<sup>21</sup>
  10. Legal kinship (i.e. civil):
    - a. Legal fatherhood (*paternitas legalis*). The obstacle does not allow for a marriage between the adopting and the adopted and lineal descendants of the adopted who at the time of the adoption remained under his fatherly care. The obstacle remains also after the dissolution of the adoption,
    - b. Legal affinity (*affinitas legalis*). The obstacle annuls a marriage of the adopting individual and the adopted individual's wife, and between the

<sup>20</sup> J. Pelczar, *Prawo małżeńskie katolickie z uwzględnieniem prawa cywilnego obowiązującego w Austrii, Prusach i w Królestwie Polskim*, Kraków 1882, 126–140.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, 226.

- adopted and the adopting individual's wife. The obstacle remains also after the cession of the adoption,
- c. Legal brotherhood (*fraternitas legalis*). The law prohibits marriages between the adopted individual and the adopting individual's natural children but the obstacle dissolves with the cession of the adoption.<sup>22</sup>
11. Public decency (engagement);
  12. Religious differences (non-baptized individual, non-Catholic);
  13. Offence – occurring in the following cases:
    - a. When adulterers promised to marry one another in the future, in which case their marriage would be invalid,
    - b. When an adulterer following an act of adultery during the life of his/her spouse marries the person with whom he/she committed the act, even if it were only a civil marriage,
    - c. Murder of one of the spouses of adulterers in order that the adulterers could marry,
    - d. Murder of a spouse in order to marry another person;<sup>23</sup>

Dispensation was possible and could be granted by the pope; only in the case of the murder of a spouse was dispensation denied;
  14. Abduction;
  15. Mistake (with regard to the person to be married, both in psychological and physical terms);
  16. Mock approval;
  17. Coercion (physical and moral);
  18. Unrealizable condition;
  19. Secrecy of the relationship.

Analysis of source materials has revealed that the most frequent grounds for annulment were the following reasons:

1. Parental coercion (divorces of: Karol Stanislaw Radziwill “Monsieur Amant” and Maria Karolina Lubomirska; Magdalena Czapska and Hieronim Florian Radziwill; Anna Stanislawska and Jan Kazimierz Warszycki);
2. “Practical” coercion (Karol Stanislaw Radziwill “Monsieur Amant” stated that he had to marry Karolina Rzewuska because he was desperate for an heir; Cecylia Zofia Sapieha married Antoni Tyzenhauz after only 2 weeks of acquaintance because she had many matters to attend to in the Tribunal in which Tyzenhauz's friends sat);

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, 236.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, 255–259.

3. Kinship and propinquity (wrongly calculated dispensation): Anna Cetner and Kazimierz Nestor Sapieha, Anna Teofila Sapieha and Hieronim Janusz Sanguszko, Katarzyna Eugenia Tyszkiewicz and Aleksander Ludwik Radziwill;
4. Unconsummated marriage (Teresa Sapieha and Hieronim Florian Radziwill).

Usually two or more reasons were presented. Divorcing Maria Lubomirska, Karol Stanislaw Radziwill, despite coercion, put forth the argument of the lack of pre-nuptial examination. Cecylia Zofia Sapieha in divorce proceedings accused her husband Michal Tyzenhauz of violence, property stealing, and infidelity. However, the arguments presented at the consistory council were not always the actual reasons for the disintegration of the marriage. Karol Stanislaw Radziwill claimed that he had been coerced into marriage to Maria Karolina Lubomirska by his father, whereas the truth was that his intelligent, well educated and sophisticated wife did not wish for a life with a rake who had little to offer her, both in emotional and intellectual terms. Anna Stanislawska presented 12 witnesses demanded by the consistory council who testified that she had been coerced into marriage but she failed to mention that she had been detained by her father-in-law, castellan of Cracow Stanislaw Warszycki, neither did she reveal that her husband had been mentally retarded (who claimed, for example, that he could not go to war because if he died in battle his father would give him a severe beating following his return home). She also silenced the fact that their relationship had remained unconsummated because her husband was incapable of performing marital duties.

Another interesting issue is the question of divorce procedures. According to canonical law, in marital matters only the directly involved individuals, i.e. the spouses, or the public prosecutor known as the instigator could file complaints.<sup>24</sup> The right to lodge a complaint was always granted to the victimized individual, and could not be performed either by the parents or the spouse. With regard to deciding whether or not to annul a marriage, court procedure had to be meticulously observed. Annulment cases were usually filed by women, although the law treated both men and women equally. However, marriage annulment case could not be lodged by the perpetrator, i.e. if the woman had been coerced into the marriage by her parents, neither her husband, who after all knew of the coercion, or the parents, who exerted the coercion, could not lodge a complaint to deem the marriage invalid because only the injured party could do so.

The absolute rule was that a plea for the annulment of the marriage could be lodged by only one of the spouses, i.e. the victim and not the perpetrator.

<sup>24</sup> S. Biskupski, *Prawo małżeńskie kościoła rzymskokatolickiego*, vol. 2, Olsztyn 1960, 39.

Once the consistory council received the plea, the officials checked its legitimacy and if they found it groundless, they rejected it. In the case of the existence of reasons allowing for filing an annulment plea, the notary public took down the plaintiff's complaint and set the date of the hearing. The other party was informed of the date through a so-called citation, i.e. a written announcement of the initiation of the trial at the church court. The obligation to prove the invalidity of the marriage fell on the plaintiff. Among magnates, it sometimes happened that the spouses acted on mutual agreement having previously decided to take necessary efforts to get a divorce, as was the case with the divorce of Honorata Stempkowska and Teofil Wojciech Zaluski. Prior to filing their divorce case at the consistory council, the spouses signed an agreement stating that they would take great pains to get a divorce and would give such reasons which would facilitate the realization of their plans.<sup>25</sup>

Following the filing of the case, regardless of who filed it and for what grounds, hearing of evidence had to take place. The obligation to prove the invalidity of the marriage rested on the person on whose suit the trial had been initiated. The court always demanded evidence to support the plaintiff's arguments. Admissible proofs included witness testimonies, experts' opinions, and all sorts of documents. In cases whose course had been successfully reconstructed witnesses were always summoned. The plaintiff's party was obliged to prepare the so-called *interrogatoria*, i.e. a set of written questions which had to be delivered to court and were then used in the hearings. The questions usually started with the words: "*Did the witness see or hear...*",<sup>26</sup> which were followed by information designed to prove the invalidity of the marriage. The witness's role was to confirm that he/she knew, heard or saw something. Witnesses were most frequently proposed by the involved parties but the court could also summon witnesses as it wished. In hearings of magnate marriage annulment cases there were two groups of witnesses: the servants, who were well familiar with the spouses and the condition of their relationship and could thus say a lot on their married life, and family and friends. The latter usually knew much less than the servants, but owing to their social status and noble titles their presence was desired at court as individuals of authority and impeccable reputation.

It is also worth to recall at this point the so-called *septima manus*, i.e. 'seven witnesses,' who were summoned when difficulties to corroborate the testimo-

<sup>25</sup> National Archive in Cracow (Polish: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie – further referred to as AN in Cracow), Archiwum Siedliszowieckie Załuskich, manuscript no. 202.

<sup>26</sup> AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Department XI, manuscript 178; AN in Cracow, Archiwum Młynowskie Chodkiewiczów, manuscript 525.

nies of either side occurred. Their task was to prove that the party is saying the truth and is trustworthy. The *septima manus* witnesses were always individuals of unimpeachable honesty and their testimony was supposed to confirm the veracity of the party who wished to prove their case. The number of witnesses in a process varied; sometimes two, three people were enough but there were also cases in which the court demanded to hear more witnesses, as it happened at the divorce trial of Anna Stanisławska and Jan Kazimierz Warszycki; the court demanded that Stanisławska present twelve witnesses confirming that she had been coerced into marriage.<sup>27</sup>

Yet another category of evidence was made up of documents. They were most frequently used in marriage annulment cases on the grounds of kinship or propinquity. To this end, the wrongly issued dispensations were presented at court, along with various genealogical excerpts documenting the existence of blood ties. Also correspondence was included in the category of documents presented at the consistory council.

The third group of evidence was composed of opinions and statements of experts appointed by the court. These were usually doctors and midwives called on to make a statement in cases of unconsummated relationship, and in arguments referring to mentally ill individuals. When a case of unconsummated relationship was tried, the woman was examined by experienced midwives (two or more) in the presence of a dignitary woman appointed by the court. The midwives were usually instructed how to conduct their examination. If their expertise was not enough to clarify doubts, the court appointed a reputable doctor to conduct more advanced examinations who could only do so in the presence of respectable, matronly women. Examinations of men were always conducted by a doctor.

Having collected the evidence, the court passed the sentence. If the collected evidence was insufficient, the plaintiff was obliged to take a solemn oath, which was of a conclusive importance. After the oath-taking and hearing the *septima manus* witnesses, the judge passed the verdict. In the cases of marriage annulments and separations the verdicts were always the so-called *sentential definitiva*, i.e. final sentence.<sup>28</sup> The court set the date for passing the verdict, informed the parties of the date, and the verdict was passed in writing. In marriage annulment cases the parties were also informed whether they could remarry

<sup>27</sup> A. Stanisławska, *Transakcja albo spisanie życia jednej sieroty*, ed. by I. Kotowa, Kraków 1935, 69.

<sup>28</sup> The Archive of the Metropolitan Curia in Cracow (Polish: Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie), Acta Episcopalia no. 78–196.

because even if the court pronounced marriage annulment it could still forbid one or both of the spouses to remarry, especially in cases of *matrimonio rato non consumato*. If the court deemed the person responsible for the non-consummation of the marriage unable (in the present and in the future) to conduct sexual intercourse, he/she was not allowed to remarry. After the validation of the verdict the spouses whose marriage by verdict of the court had been annulled were free to remarry.

The above presented depiction of 79 divorce cases undermines the hitherto held conviction of the ancient family as a durable and stable social unit. The description of the divorce procedures, hearing of the parties, witness testimonies and formal grounds for the judgments proves that divorce verdict was most frequently pre-conditioned by an earlier agreement between the involved parties deciding the reasons for the trial and the conditions of property division. Divorce hearings provide a rare glimpse into the deeply hidden and even intimate aspects of life in that period, especially the relations between the spouses, which, though of primary importance, were by large ignored by historians. A divorce case usually reveals conflicts, arguments, relationships between parents and children, frequently, too, brutality and revolt within the marriage itself. As such, a divorce case reveals social and moral attitudes of the epoch. In short, the entire social pathology of the ancient family, usually well concealed from external was unveiled during the divorce process.

Although the number of 79 divorce cases under examination is relatively small, and their temporal distribution disproportional (with 18<sup>th</sup>-century cases prevailing), still, the analysis illuminates a broad range of contemporary attitudes and values, and also paints a dynamic picture of the culture of the Enlightenment era, with a growing significance of rationalism but also a certain religious and moral indifference.

Table 1. Marriages divorced in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries

No.	Men	Women	Date of marriage	Date of divorce	Information source
1	Bieliński Michał	Rutowska Aurora	1728	1735	Dworzaczek
2	Branicki Jan Klemens	Szembekówna Barbara	1732	1748	Dw.
3	Chodkiewicz Aleksander	Walewska Karolina Teresa	1799	1814	Dw., PSB, AMCh
4	Czartoryski Józef Klemens	Jablonowska Dorota Barbara	1778	no data	Dw.
5	Czerwiński Antoni	Bielińska Urszula	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
6	Daniłowicz Mikołaj	Grabianczanka Zofia	before 1667	no data	Dw.
7	Denhoff Bogusław Ernest	Bielińska Marianna	1703	1719	Dw., PSB.
8	Fleming Jakub Henryk	Sapieżanka Franciszka	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Ziel.
9	Gembicki Andrzej	Czarnkowska Katarzyna	1663	1676	Dw.
10	Grudziński Antoni	Dorowska Maria	1791	No data	Dw.
11	Hylzen Józef	Potocka Teresa	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
12	Kiszka Stanisław	Zenowiczówna Zofia Konstancja	1604	1606	Dw., PSB
13	Konieczpolski Stanisław	Bokop de Maria	17 <sup>th</sup> century.	17 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
14	Kuropatnicki Józef	Tarlówna Anna	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
15	Lanckoroński Stanisław	Bidzińska Franciszka	no data	1733	Dw.

No.	Men	Women	Date of marriage	Date of divorce	Information source
16	Lubomirski Franciszek	Rzewuska Teofila	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
17	Lubomirski Jerzy Dominik	Bokumówna Urszula	1695	no data 18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
18	Lubomirski Marcin	Hadickówna Anna Maria	before 1775	before 1784	Dw., PSB
19	Lubomirski Marcin	Stempkowska Honorata	Ca. 1784	no data	Dw., PSB
20	Ogiński Michał Kleofas	Lasocka Izabella	1789	no data	Dw.
21	Ogiński Szymon	Stacckman Tycja	Ca. 1643	no data	Dw.
22	Ossoliński Józef Kajetan	Zalewska Maria Barbara	1781	1802	Dw.
23	Ossoliński Józef Maks.	Jablonowska Teresa	1785	Before 1795	Dw., PSB
24	Ossoliński Józef Salezy	Ossolińska Anna	1774	no data	Dw., PSB
25	Ostroróg Mikołaj	Turn i Taxis Zofia Dorota	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
26	Ostrowski Władysław	Sanguszkówna Klementyna	no data	no data	Dw.
27	Pac Michał	Tyzynhauzówna Ludwika	1775	ca. 1785	Dw.
28	Pac Mikołaj Stefan	Tryznianka Teodora	before 1651	1669	Dw.
29	Poniatowski Stanisław	Jaieniecka Woynianka Teresa	after 1701	ca. 1710	Dw.
30	Potocki Aleksander	Tyszkiewiczówna Anna	1805	1821	Dw., PSB
31	Potocki Aleksander	Mostowska Izabella	1823	1829	Dw., PSB
32	Potocki Antoni	Potocka Róża	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
33	Potocki Ignacy	Karolina Świeżawska	before 1770	no data	Dw.

No.	Men	Women	Date of marriage	Date of divorce	Information source
34	Potocki Jerzy Michał	Brzostowska Teresa Barbara	1773	after 1780	Dw.
35	Potocki Kajetan	Cetnerówna Anna	ca.1791	ca.1796	Dw., Arch. Sang.
36	Potocki Piotr	Ostrorogówna Katarzyna	17 <sup>th</sup> century	17 <sup>th</sup> century	PSB
37	Potocki Protazy	Lubomirska Marianna	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	PSB
38	Potocki Stanisław	Sofohubówna Józefa	18 <sup>th</sup> century	before 1815	Dw.
39	Potocki Stanisław Szczęśny	Komorowska Gertruda	1770	1771	Dw.
40	Potocki Stanisław Szczęśny	Mniszchówna Józefa Amalia	1774	no data	Dw.
41	Potocki Stefan	Denhoffówna Konstancja	1769	no data	Dw.
42	Potocki Teodor	Sapieżanka Karolina	1775	1788	Dw.
43	Potocki Wincenty	Zamoyska Urszula	no data	1781	Dw.
44	Potulicki Hilary Aleksander	Działyńska Teofila	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
45	Puzyna Ignacy	Sapieżanka Maria Katarzyna	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
46	Radziwiłł Aleksander	Tyszkiewiczówna Katarzyna	1639	1642	Dw., PSB
47	Radziwiłł Dominik	Mniszchówna Izabella	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw., PSB
48	Radziwiłł Dominik	Czapska Konstancja	1778	1782	Dw.
49	Radziwiłł Hieronim Florian	Sapieżanka Teresa	1739	1745	Dw, PSB, AR XI
50	Radziwiłł Hieronim Florian	Czapska Magdalena	1745	1751	Dw., PSB, AR XI
51	Radziwiłł Karol Stanisław	Lubomirska Maria Karolina	1753	1763	Dw, PSB, AR XI

No.	Men	Women	Date of marriage	Date of divorce	Information source
52	Radziwiłł Karol Stanisław	Rzewuska Teresa Karolina	1764	1781	Dw, PSB, AR XI
53	Rogaliński Józef	Denhoffówna Konstancja	before 1775	no data	Dw.
54	Rzewuski Seweryn Józef	Szembekówna Barbara	1726	before 1732	Dw.
55	Sanguszko Aleksander	Potubińska Hanna	no data	before 1533	Dw.
56	Sanguszko Hieronim Janusz	Sapieżanka Anna Teofila	1774	1778	Dw., PSB
57	Sanguszko Janusz Aleksander	Denhoffówna Konstancja	1731	before 1770	Dw., Arch. Sang.
58	Sanguszko Janusz Modest	Gozdzka Karolina	1773	1778	Dw.
59	Sanguszko Karol	Sanguszkówna Dorota	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
60	Sapieha Franciszek	Potocka Pelagia	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Ziel.
61	Sapieha Franciszek Ksawery	Suffczyńska Teresa	1768	no data	Dw.
62	Sapieha Jan Józef Kalasanty	Branicka Elżbieta	1753	1756	Dw.
63	Sapieha Michał Antoni	Sapieżanka Katarzyna Ludwika	1733	1745	Dw.
64	Sapieha Władysław Józefat	Daniłowiczówna Urszula	17 <sup>th</sup> century	17 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw., PSB
65	Sikorski Jan	Działyńska Teresa	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
66	Solohub Jan	Sapieżanka Maria Katarzyna	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
67	Sułkowski Antoni	Działyńska Marianna	1766	1781	Dw.
68	Szembek Franciszek Jakub	Działyńska Teresa	before 1719	ca.1746	Dw.
69	Tarło Antoni	Potocka Anna	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.

No.	Men	Women	Date of marriage	Date of divorce	Information source
70	Tarło Jan	Lubowiecka Marianna	no data	1717	Dw.
71	Tarnowski Gratus Aleksander	Łącka z Nadola Maria	1636/38	1660	Dw.
72	Tarnowski Michał Amor	Ludwika Żaboklicka	1699	1704	Dw.
73	Tyszkiewicz Wincenty	Poniatowska Maria Teresa	1778	no data	Dw.
74	Tyzynhauz Michał	Sapieżanka Cecylia Zofia	after 1712	ca.1727	AMCh
75	Warszycki Jan Kazimierz	Stanisławska Anna	17 <sup>th</sup> century	17 <sup>th</sup> century	PSB
76	Wielopolski Andrzej	Grabowska Karolina	1808	no data	Dw.
77	Wirtemberski Fryderyk L.A.	Czartoryska Maria	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.
78	Zaluski Teofil Józef	Stempkowska Honorata	ca.1786	ca.1803	ASZ
79	Zaranek Horbowski Kazimierz	Chodkiewiczówna Joanna	18 <sup>th</sup> century	18 <sup>th</sup> century	Dw.

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Zielin – Teresa Zielińska, *Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych*, Warszawa 1997.

PSB – Polski Słownik Biograficzny (*Polish Dictionary of Biography*)

AMCh – Archiwum Młynowskie Chodkiewiczów (The Młynowskie Archive of the Chodkiewicz), Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (State Archives in Cracow)

ASZ – Archiwum Siedliszowskie Żaluskich (The Siedliszowskie Archive of the Żaluskis), Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (State Archives in Cracow).

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**MARRIAGE, CHILDREN AND FAMILY  
IN POLISH CITIES AND TOWNS  
IN THE 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES**

The main objective of the present study is to depict family as a basic social unit in a society, i.e. to present the rules of family formation, its composition, and mutual relationships of family members. Within this framework, we make an attempt to determine and define the following components of family forms: marital patterns (age of newlyweds, social and territorial selection) and the role of closer and more distant relations; coresiding family members, their function consisting in breeding and raising children; means of securing material stability; mechanisms governing family life, especially power relations and distribution of authority within a family. Also important for the present analysis is the position of the elderly within a household, with account taken also of their gender and marital status. Our research has concentrated on the early modern period, and the territorial reach of analyses included, owing to source limitations, has been narrowed down to cities and towns situated within the Polish Crown, i.e. with the exclusion of urban centres of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Before moving on to a more meticulous characteristics of marriage, children and family in Polish cities and towns in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is worthwhile to summarise certain facts. There is no denying that the urbanizational panorama of Poland in the early modern period was dominated by relatively small settlements. Although Henryk Samsonowicz's tentative calculations of the urbanization degree of the country ca. 1500 indicate that the 700 contemporary cities and towns had been inhabited by ca. 16% of the population, only the populations of centres included in the two higher categories of cities (i.e.

those with a population of over 2,000) exerted a more substantial influence on the social and professional structure of the country (i.e. ca. 6% of the totality of population).<sup>1</sup> At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, some 18% of the total population of the Crown lived in the country's 862 towns (according to territorial status after the first partition of Poland). According to Paul Bairoch's findings, it was quite a high result – Bairoch, expert on population relations of European cities and villages, estimated the percentage share of urban populations of the Old Continent in 1800 at 11.5% in urban centres of over 5,000 inhabitants, and 14.6% in centres of over 2,000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> In a latest French synthesis of the history of urban civilizations, Olivier Zeller perceives urbanization ratios for our country (cities of over 5,000 inhabitants) – 6% in 1500, 4.3% in 1700, and 4.8% in 1800 – as testimony to dis-urbanising tendencies, which, however, is difficult to agree with because first of all, the results have been underestimated, and the complex issues of urban development, importance of cities and urban life standards cannot be approached from the perspective of population density exclusively.<sup>3</sup>

Urban network of the Polish Crown rebuilt during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski was still characterized by a large number of small cities and towns. In the 1790s only Warsaw itself was populated by 100,000–110,000 inhabitants, leaving Gdańsk with its 40,000 residents far behind, not to mention Lviv – 33,000, Lithuanian Vilnius – 24,000, and the Cracow agglomeration – 24,000. The population of Poznań, Elbląg or Lublin oscillated between 12 and 13 thousand.<sup>4</sup>

In terms of religion, the majority of the Crown's large and small urban centres was inhabited by Catholics. Only the territories of Royal Prussia – Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń – were dominated by Lutherans.<sup>5</sup> In turn, the population of Lviv at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was composed of some 33% Jews (ca. 10,700). Around 1785 the communities of south-eastern borderlands of Poland were composed to a large degree of Greco-Catholics (nearly 46%); Israelites constituted second largest group (29%), and third – members of the Latin Church (24%).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, 122.

<sup>2</sup> P. Bairoch, *Une nouvelle distribution des populations: villes et campagnes*, in: J.-P. Bardet, J. Dupâquier (eds.), *Histoire des populations de l'Europe*, vol. 2, Paris 1998, 196.

<sup>3</sup> O. Zeller, *La ville moderne*, in: J.-L. Pinol (ed.), *Histoire de l'Europe urbaine*, vol. 1, Paris 2003, 615–616.

<sup>4</sup> C. Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009, 234–235.

<sup>5</sup> See: J. Baszanowski, *Statistics of Religious Denominations and Ethnic Problems in Gdańsk in 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, *Studia Maritima* 7, 1988, 55; M. Biskup (ed.), *Historia Torunia*, vol. 2/3: *Między barokiem a oświeceniem (1660–1793)*, Toruń 1996, 396.

<sup>6</sup> Z. Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, vol. 3: *Studia z dziejów społecznych*, Przemyśl–Rzeszów 2008, 142.

Marriage understood as a union between man and woman constituting the basis of the family occurred among all known peoples, although its structure changed along with their historical development (e.g. monogamic/polygamic/polyandric marriages). The Old Testament saw marriage as the basic smallest social unit of Israel; in a similar character the institution of marriage appeared already at the dawn of Christianity in the gospels of the New Testament.<sup>7</sup> Although Martin Luther and John Calvin, protestant reformers of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, negated the sacramental character of marriage, they nevertheless acknowledged marriage's high status, and standardized marital rituals so that they conformed to the Roman-Catholic ceremony.<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, owing to its very often complex political, economic or cultural entanglements, marriage frequently denoted a momentous social event.

In the Polish context, marital laws and regulations on matrimonial durability included in canonical law found their reflection only in land law, leaving a legal gap in Magdeburg or Culm urban law, binding in cities and towns of pre-partition Poland.<sup>9</sup> The entire sphere of material marital law remained the domain of land and urban law and corresponding judicial institutions. Up until the end of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 the state – respecting the sacramental character of Christian marriage and Church's authority in this regard – hardly interfered with the realm of marital law, in contrast to the situation in absolute monarchies, e.g. – France, or the Polish neighbours – Austria and Prussia.

Even the most recent studies of the history of Old Polish society and Old Polish family show the contemporary community as made of individuals all of whom, except for secular and monastic clergy of both genders, were for longer or shorter tied to others by the marital knot. The reality was however quite different, and the blame for such a misunderstanding should be cast on historians-demographers nearly totally ignoring the question of celibacy in the past. In pre-partition Poland definite celibacy (i.e. remaining single after the age of 50) grew slowly but surely throughout the three hundred years, albeit it was indeed slightly more widespread in the cities, rather than in rural areas. In Old Polish cities, especially the most densely populated, it exerted a more pro-

<sup>7</sup> See: Old Testament, Genesis 1:27–28; 2:18–24; Tobit 8:5–8; Proverbs 2:17; Malachias 2:14; New Testament, Matthew 5:32; 19:3–15; Mark 10:2–12; 12:19–25; Luke 16:18; 1 Corinthians 7:10–11; Romans 7:1–3.

<sup>8</sup> More on Luther's and Calvin's opinions on the institution of marriage – see: M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI–XVIII wieku na tle porównawczym*, Warszawa 1998, 90–95.

<sup>9</sup> T. Opas, "Nad źródłami do badań rozwoju rodziny miastach polskich u schyłku epoki feudalnej", part 1, "Rzeszowskie Zeszyty Naukowe" 16, 1994, 270–271.

nounced mark on the female populations. Whereas at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century ca. 6–8% of peasants and some 8–11% of women never started a family, the ratio of spinsterhood or bachelorhood in large cities could affect even 15–20% of grown-up women and 10–15% of adult men.<sup>10</sup> Naturally, in smaller cities and towns, which dominated the urban landscape of Poland in those times, the ratios might have been slightly lower.

The greatest obstacles on the road to marriage were experienced by girls from lower social strata who migrated to cities in mass and came to constitute a substantial social group within these urban centres. Their salaries, as well as those of large numbers of male servants or wage labourers, were insufficient to afford establishing and future sustaining of a family.

In the present study we wish to concentrate more on the prospective spouses' age at marriage although one has to bear in mind that the church ceremony itself was preceded by already well familiar elements of both secular ritual – engagement, supplemented frequently by signing a prenuptial agreement which specified the bride's dowry and the precise amount of her dower – a provision for the wife in case of widowhood – and church practices, such as wedding announcements and prenuptial exam. Learning about marriage, one of the basic demographic parameters of constituting the family, remains all the more so given that up until recently, mainly due to John Hajnal's observations, it was believed that the Polish late-feudal family was characterized by a very young age of newlyweds and a negligible percentage of individuals living in celibacy.<sup>11</sup>

Table 1 shows that in urban centres the age of nupturients at their first marriage was slightly higher than in the villages. The age of bachelors in cities and towns was not at all as low as it had been earlier believed, and exhibited a substantial diversification. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century men from the elite of the then largest and richest Polish city, Gdansk, married only at the age of 30. Also other Lutherans, for example, the Neissers in Toruń, representatives of well-to-do commonalty at the turn of 17<sup>th</sup> century, married for the first time equally late (a year or two before turning 30). Painstaking studies into their marriages in

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<sup>10</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 277. Even greater scale of definite celibacy, especially among women from many large urban agglomerations of Western Europe is noted by: M. Palami, "Female Solitude and Patrilineage: Unmarried Women and Widows During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centurie", *Journal of Family History* 15, 1994, no. 4, 451; A. Fauve-Chamoux, "Marriage, Widowhood, and Divorce" in: D.I. Kertzer, M. Barbagli (eds.), *The History of the European Family*, vol. 1: *Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500–1789*, New Haven – London 2001, 226.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Pattern in Perspective" in: D.V. Glass, D.E.C. Eversley (eds.), *Populations in History*, London 1965, 101–143.

the 17<sup>th</sup> century revealed an increase in men's average age at marriage from 27.5 to 30.5 years, and fluctuations in this regard closely corresponded to changes in economic situation and to the intensification of the occurrence of plagues and epidemics in a given urban centre. Only in the densely populated Warsaw of the 17<sup>th</sup> century bachelors from St. John's parish in the city centre were younger, – on average, 26 years of age, but already in the following century their neighbours from St. Cross parish were averagely 29 years old at their first marriage. Men's age at first marriage in small towns even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was lower and generally did not exceed 27 years, lower yet in some Upper Silesian locations such as Strzelce Opolskie or Toszek: 25 years. Roman-Catholic burghers of Borderlands-situated Brzeżany married at the average age of 26, and their Greco-Catholic neighbours were usually some 6 months older.

Women in Poland, as in entire pre-industrial Europe, married earlier than men, but also hardly ever decided to make this move before turning 20. Catholic female burghers of Old Warsaw started their families at the age of almost 21, and their Torunian peers from the Neisser family were only slightly older (19–23 years). Throughout the entire 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the average age at marriage of Lutheran Torunian maidens increased by 5 years, from 19.5 to 24.5 years. More meticulous and complete data for the 18<sup>th</sup> century confirm that girls usually married at the age of over 22 (in particular in Warsaw), and even later in Toruń: 25–26 years. Only in small Brzeżany local Roman-Catholics and Greco-Catholics were about 21 years old at the moment of their marriage.<sup>12</sup>

In light of the presented data it appears that the age of newlyweds in Poland decreased in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries from west to east, and was generally higher in the city than in the village. The panorama of concluded marriages, at least in central Poland, was dominated by marriages of maidens with older partners (in Gdansk or Warsaw the age difference could even exceed 6, 7 years), constituting ca. 75% of all marriages. Marriage of a young bachelor to an older woman was a rarer occurrence, and made up some 15% of the totality of marriages. The remaining 10% were marriages between peers. A visible age diversification at marriage in urban centres at the beginning of the early modern era was resultant from several factors, among which the most significant were probably local cultural-economic conditions such as Church or feudal master's control over the new family unit; varying interests of the newlyweds' families (e.g. delaying the handing over of a craftsman's workshop or, broader, of the

<sup>12</sup> For more on European marriage pattern in Polish perspective see: P. Guzowski, "The Origins of the European Marriage Pattern in Early Modern Period from the Perspective of Polish History", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 108, 2013, 5–44.

Table 1: The age of newlyweds in Polish cities from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

City	District	Dates of marriage	Average age in years			
			Bachelors	Maidens	Widowers	Widows
Gdańsk	Royal Prussia	15 <sup>th</sup> –16 <sup>th</sup> centuries	30.0	15–20	-	-
Toruń		1636–1700	28.4	22.2	36.6	32.4
Poznań	Greater Poland	1800–1815	29.0	24.6	-	-
Warsaw	Masovia					
St. John's parish		17 <sup>th</sup> century	25.9	20.8	-	-
St. Cross's parish		1740–1769 1770–1799	28.8 29.0	22.6 21.8	39.2 41.2	35.5 34.1
Wieleń	Greater Poland	Second half of the 18 <sup>th</sup> century	29.5	24.3	-	-
Ostrów	Masovia	18 <sup>th</sup> century	27.0	23.0	-	-
Krapkowice	Upper Silesia	1761–1800	27.0	23.0	-	-
Toszek		1791–1800	24.4	22.3	40.7	29.4
Strzelce Opolskie	Lower Silesia	1766–1800	22.0	20.0	-	-
Brzeżany	Red Ruthenia	1784–1800	26.0 RC	20.9 RC	41.6 RC	33.8 RC
			26.6 GC	20.9 GC	47.0 GC	38.1 GC
1784–1800		23.7 RC	20.0 RC	39.9 RC	32.9 RC	
		23.0 GC	20.8 GC	45.2 GC	35.3 GC	
- suburbs						

RC – Roman-Catholics; GC – Greco-Catholics

Source: C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009, 279–283.

entire farmstead); financial considerations (gathering means for independent management of a household or completing professional training before getting married); biological condition of the population; prospective spouses' marital status, their domicile and, last but not least, their socio-professional status. In investigated urban environments the youngest age at marriage belonged to members of lowest social strata; representatives of local elites (patricians, wealthy tradesmen) married much later, quite often only after turning 30. Women were generally characterized by a greater age homogeneity, even across socio-professional categories.

Owing to numerous epidemics which plagued Toruń in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the percentage of widowers was quite high. Widowed men frequently remarried, in particular around the age of 37. In the following century, the age of widowers, both in small towns such as Brzeżany or Toszek, and in large cities like Warsaw, was on average ca. 40 years. Widows, in turn, if they decided to remarry they did so usually at the age of 30–35.

Juxtaposed to the Christian family, the Jewish family was distinguished by distinctly earlier marriages. The very scarce Polish studies of the demographic structure of the Jewish family reveal that the average age at marriage was for men 17 years, and for women even 16.<sup>13</sup> In his investigation of the Crown's largest Jewish community in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Cracow district of Kazimierz, Jakub Goldberg notes that among the local youth of up to 20 years of age nearly 74% of women and 29% of men were already married, although in many smaller Polish towns Jews married usually at the age of 20–24, regardless of gender.<sup>14</sup> Such early marriages were propagated by the Jewish religious community, stressing the ideals of family life and seeing early marriage as prevention from extramarital sexual contacts. For the new family unit the possibility to rely on the help and support of one's own parents was a very important reassurance; however, the Jewish practice of early marriages came in for severe criticism, both from Jews themselves (Jakub Kalmanson, Abraham Hirszowicz), and persons outside the Jewish community (Andrzej Zamojski, Józef Wybicki).

It is also worth noting Armenian marriages, marked by ethnic and ritual specificity proper to a closely-knit community residing in Borderlands cities. Armenians generally married much later than Catholics or Uniates, not to mention Israelites. Their marriages were mature in terms of the newlyweds' age, their social status and affluence. Armenian girls left their family homes no sooner than after turning 20, and 30-year-old bachelors would only begin their search for life partners, remaining until this moment in the household of their parents and siblings. Thus, the age difference between spouses was often quite substantial, oscillating even between 20 and 30 years. Marriages between peers did not occur in this social group.<sup>15</sup>

Early modern marriages were in general rather short-lived, both in the Polish scale, and the broader, European context. In Old Polish cities, especially those most densely populated, e.g. the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Poznań and Old Warsaw,

<sup>13</sup> A. Michałowska, "Rodzina żydowska w Radoszkowicach w końcu XVIII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 110, 2003, no. 1, 64.

<sup>14</sup> J. Goldberg, "Jewish Marriage in Eighteenth Century Poland", *Polin* 10, 1997, 23.

<sup>15</sup> Z. Budzyński, *Kresy*, 187.

marriages on average lasted only 10 years. Once the number of citizens of Warsaw grew to 100,000, first marriages were already longer, lasting on average 15 years, but in small towns of Upper Silesia relationships could last even 25 years. Regardless of environment, city or village, the most durable were marriages of representatives of the richest groups of local communities.<sup>16</sup> High mortality caused by plagues and epidemics of the time meant that remaining spouses frequently remarried. According to data on small Polish towns in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, first marriages constituted 75% of the totality of marriages. However, in Poland's largest cities such as Poznań, Toruń or Warsaw subsequent marriages decisively dominated and in years of relative peace and quiet could amount to even 40–50% of the totality of marriages.

In pre-partition Poland, as in other countries, duration of widowhood and propensity to remarriage were determined first and foremost by individual wealth. Additionally, guilds functioning in many cities issued their own rules regulating questions of remarriages of foremen's widows. Young widowers, having numerical edge over widows in younger generations, were usually more likely to remarry because mass migrations of young girls to large cities led to a numerical superiority of women on the marriage market. Although in the capital city of Warsaw the duration of male and female widowhood was by large the same, lasting ca. 1.5 years, in the Saxon period local widowers remarried faster, with half of them married to new partners in just 6 months following the death of their previous spouse. At the same time only a quarter of widows remarried. In total, during the first year of widowhood 75% of widowers and only 50% of widows started their new families.<sup>17</sup> It has to be remembered that the more affluent widower could compensate a temporary lack of a wife in household duties by hiring female servants. Widows, in turn, especially wives of deceased foremen, were forced to remarry within a year from the death of their husband by a regulation conditioning their further management of a guild workshop on the presence of a male head. For a woman, the decision to remarry was not an easy one as it bred multiple complications and could even pose threats to the future of the orphaned offspring. In the case of a mother's death and the step-father's remarriage the fate of children from first marriage was usually deplorable and frequently led to their pauperization.

The rareness of remarriages of women in the first months of their widowhood was related to the fear of prospective candidates for husbands whether the widow they were about to marry was not pregnant and expecting an inher-

<sup>16</sup> For more see: C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 285.

<sup>17</sup> C. Kuklo, *Rodzina w osiemnastowiecznej Warszawie*, Białystok 1991, 185–186.

itor. At times, too, a relatively swift remarriage of some widows in Warsaw, the largest Polish agglomeration of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was dictated by striving for a quick legalization of already conceived extra-marital children, since following the death of a husband some women assumed a more frivolous moral attitude.

Frequency of marriages of widower or widow depended on a number of factors, including age at widowhood, wealth, fluctuations in supply on the marital market, cultural and economic environment, and number of orphaned offspring. A closer look at the functioning of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Warsaw society allows to assume that in general, having numerous (five, six or more) children from previous relationship, regardless of their sex, was one of hindrances to finding a new life partner. Among widowers, it was usually the childless or those with a maximum of 3 children who married. Having one, two or three children was not an obstacle for Warsaw widows to remarry; however, with women it was usually their material standing which prompted their remarriage, obscuring even the women's more advanced age (half of them were about 35–44 years old); among the most affluent Warsaw widows who remarried it was not uncommon to encounter mothers of six.<sup>18</sup>

Marital strategies in the sense of models of socio-economic empowerment of sons and daughters, along with motivations for subsequent marriages in the social strata of pre-partition Poland remains a poorly investigated issue, though recently more frequently addressed. Old urban and rural communities alike were to large extent governed by tradition-sanctioned social norms which ascribed the choice of a wife or husband (daughter- and son-in-law) with considerable importance, and within the most affluent groups even with ultimate significance. Modern cities, especially those most populous, had an advanced vertical structure. Even in smaller centres such as Ostrów Mazowiecka, Toszek, Strzelce Opolskie or Bielawa rules of match-making within one's own or at least approximate social stratum applied, although not always because some of the poorer craftsmen married peasant girls. In 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ostrów in Masovia only 12% of marriages were socially heterogeneous, including marriages of peasants and minor noblemen with Ostrow's burgher maidens, and to a lesser degree marriages of noblewomen and peasants or burghers.<sup>19</sup> The resultant material or social inequality was frequently the source of a more permanent malaise and inferiority of one of the sides in family life, aggravated by the fact that the awareness of the inequality was constantly remembered (and experienced)

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, 182–184.

<sup>19</sup> A. Siłuch, "Rejestracja metrykalna ślubów w parafii Ostrów Mazowiecka w XVII w.," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 14, 1983, 79.

not only by family members, but by broader social circles, as well. In affluent families, regardless of the size and distinction of the city/town, wealth guaranteed by both sides constituted an essential element of pre-marital negotiations, conducted rather by seniors of the family than by the newlyweds themselves.

A recent, very interesting study by Krzysztof Mikulski of family strategies of various professional and social groups of Toruń burghers (patricians and tradesmen, brewers and barbers, doctors and pharmacists, scholars, butchers), long affiliated to this rich protestant town, revealed a colourful panorama of matrimonial attitudes of the citizens of modern Toruń.<sup>20</sup> Histories of richest burgher families, brewers and tradesmen, testify to a narrow reach of family affinities, limited to the group of merchant-intellectual elite, thus foreclosing any possibility of interference with the mob. The wealthiest families were distinguished by their care and respect for education, especially at the university level, of sons who were seen as providing the prospect of, if not social advancement, then of at least maintaining the hitherto-held status. Personal skills and abilities, as well as a scrupulous and extensive education, backed by substantial inheritance and rich marriage helped some medium-rich families enter the elites, as it happened in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Maissner family of barbers and, a century later, merchants (!). Observations of family strategies of butchers, who, alongside tradesmen, brewers and bakers played an important role in the city, revealed the group's matrimonial endogamy at a highest level of all Toruń's guilds.<sup>21</sup> By comparison, representatives of food and leather industries, as well as tradesmen, would quite frequently look for husbands or wives for their children outside their own guild. It is quite symptomatic, too, that this conservative marital strategy corresponded to educational strategies that their sons were subjected to, typically, education terminated at the level of middle school. Widowed butchers frequently took subsequent wives from outside their guild; widows, however, were almost exclusively married to other butchers.

Scarcity of source materials precludes a more extensive study of marital practices of poorer social groups of townsmen (servants, free persons, labourers), at least for the time being. Problems with marital 'availability' and eligibility affected in particular girls from lower classes, and were noticed both by the church, secular moralists, and authorities of many Old Polish cities, especially the largest, although at least a partial relief was to be provided by various 'dowry

<sup>20</sup> K. Mikulski, *Pułapka niemożności. Społeczeństwo nowożytnego miasta wobec procesów modernizacyjnych (na przykładzie Torunia w XVII i XVIII wieku)*, Toruń 2004, 191–257.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 80–81.

foundations' established ever since the end of the Middle Ages for underprivileged girls who could also apply for wedding allowances.<sup>22</sup>

In large Old Polish cities marriages of people belonging to different urban parishes occurred very rarely. Still, however, reality oftentimes proved otherwise but it was hardly ever recorded in the sources, i.e. marriage registers which provided information on the domicile of prospective spouses prior to their marriage and did not include entries on their places of birth. Moreover, migration routes of populations heading for many large agglomerations such as Gdańsk, Cracow, Lublin, Lviv, Poznań, Toruń or Warsaw, generally did not lead the migrants directly to these destinations from their home villages or towns. The migrants arrived in the large cities en route by neighbouring villages and larger towns which frequently were stages of their journey. Thus, among the newlyweds of urban parishes there were both their native residents and newcomers at the beginning of the assimilation process.<sup>23</sup>

In small Polish towns of a predominantly rural character marriages were usually concluded during autumn and winter, with the exclusion of the Advent month of December, following the completion of farm activities (tillage and sowing of gardens and fields) and accumulation of adequate food supplies and funds (See table 2). The influence of the economic factor was slightly less visible in large urban centres; most weddings took place during the Carnival, i.e. in January and February, and only then during the autumn months of October and November. Many marriages were also concluded in July. Such a pattern of marital seasonality in Old Polish families was quite in line with the broader European trends throughout the entire continent of the pre-industrial era, a most favoured wedding season was the winter period (November–February), although in Protestant communities the preference was slightly less pronounced.<sup>24</sup>

Investigations of weekly wedding distribution in the early modern period, less widespread than studies of monthly seasonality, prove that there were definitely more regional and social discrepancies than similarities. It has to be borne in mind that the wedding ceremony was of vivid interest to the prospective spouses, their parents, closer and more distant relatives, and friends of the family. Great efforts were taken to assure the wedding's festivity, regardless of the financial capacities of the involved sides. It appears that the attractiveness of the wedding itself could have been well enhanced by a proper and carefully

<sup>22</sup> A. Karpiński writes about such institutions in: "Fundacje posagowe w dużych miastach Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII w.", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 105, 1998, no. 1, 3–20.

<sup>23</sup> More in C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 291–291.

<sup>24</sup> A. Fauve-Chamoux, "Marriage, 227–228.

Table 2. Marital seasonality in Polish cities in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries  
(indicators for 1,200)

City	Years	Months											
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Ostrów Mazowiecka	1601–1627	202	292	9	27	82	68	55	51	46	88	277	3
	1661–1700	207	395	23	48	42	32	81	31	32	65	238	6
Brzeżany	1641–1700	138	352	33	65	128	99	100	45	47	65	124	4
	1701–1800	185	284	14	14	114	102	65	62	88	103	161	8
Strzelce Opolskie	1771–1800	235	205	6	33	120	95	77	77	69	112	171	-
	1578–1602	155	366	28	42	61	80	86	92	85	106	99	-
Poznań	1717–1739	146	156	20	68	68	96	98	115	96	204	129	4
	1779–1792	135	165	7	47	84	102	160	131	106	161	98	-
Warsaw	1700–1724	214	188	19	54	109	97	95	82	97	105	129	11
	1775–1799	157	184	21	45	119	92	129	89	89	142	129	4

Source: C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 299.

considered choice of the wedding day. In local communities of large and small towns alike Catholic couples usually concluded their marriage on a holiday: a Sunday, for instance, followed by almost equally popular Monday and Tuesday, and much less so on other weekdays.<sup>25</sup> By contrast, in Protestant Gdańsk, Toruń or Elbląg the local wedding ordinations prohibited organizing wedding ceremonies on Sundays and other holidays in accordance with Luther's teaching that holidays should be devoted to common spiritual experience and not sumptuous wedding feasts. In the same vein, most marriages in Royal Prussia were concluded on Mondays, Tuesdays, or Thursdays.<sup>26</sup>

The vast majority of wedding witnesses were recruited from the newlyweds' social environment. In some cases the newlyweds and witnesses were bound by kinship, societal or professional ties, in others yet their mutual relations were an expression of Protestant social contacts, resultant from professional affinity. Interestingly, regardless of the size of the town/city and its functions, their inhabitants lived in closely-knit communities of a couple of neighbours and usually did not venture beyond these relations. Their cognitive horizons were defined by the limits of their own parish, or even their street, home, old house, or manor. Marriages were concluded strictly within these circles, and their members, in terms of social life, entertainment and business, maintained close relationships with one another.

The birth of a child was a gift of God. Such a perception functioned both on the individual and social level in old centuries. It should also be added here that the exceptionality of the woman's state related to her pregnancy was also acknowledged by Old Polish punitive law. Pregnancy protected women from the punishment of beating or torture; sometimes also they did less strenuous sentence for the offence committed while they were pregnant.<sup>27</sup> Earlier most deliveries took place in the woman's own household, with the assistance of midwives (*vetulae*). Only in some big cities, mostly in Royal Prussia, were there 1–2 professional accoucheuse (*obstetrics*) hired, obliged to assist patrician women in deliveries. The first child in old urban families, contrary to stereotypical opinions, was not born as early in marriage as one could expect. Among 43% of families of wealthy burghers of Old Warsaw in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the first child

<sup>25</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 300–302.

<sup>26</sup> E. Kizik, *Wesele, kilka chrztów i pogrzebów. Uroczystości rodzinne w mieście hanzeatyckim od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2001, 49–53.

<sup>27</sup> The issue was stressed by Bartłomiej Groicki (1534–1605), lawyer and author of Polish works from the field of criminal law, functioning in municipal courts as interpretation of the Magdeburg law. See: B. Groicki, *Artykuły prawa magdeburskiego. Postępek sądów około karania na gardle. Ustawa płacej u sądów*, ed. By K. Korany, Warszawa 1954, 71.

was born after 8–12 months of marriage, among 28% after 13–24 months, and among over 17% after two and more years.<sup>28</sup> A century later among families of Holy Cross parish the first delivery took place after 14 months (including also pre-marital conceptions).<sup>29</sup> Also among many families in smaller towns (Strzelce Opolskie, Toszek, Bielawa) the mentioned interval was not short as it amounted to 11–20 months; subsequent children were born with 24–30-month intervals, which usually grew longer with subsequent deliveries. The delivery intervals became shorter in the case of the previous child's death in infancy.<sup>30</sup> On average, in burgher families from smaller towns 6–8 children were born but owing to high infant mortality rate (ca. 300 percentile) less than half of them lived to adulthood. High mortality of infants and children was constituent to the contemporary demographic condition of the urban family. However, observations of procreative attitudes of married couples in large cities such as, for instance, Warsaw give reasons to suppose that some of them not only knew but applied birth control methods in practice. The noticed fall of total fertility at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was accompanied by other phenomena: also the number of offspring born in the first five years of marriage fell, whereas the proportion of childless families grew. It is also hard to talk of attempts of capital city's couples to maximally utilize the Warsaw female inhabitants' reproductive capacities (which would mean natural fertility) if they gave birth to their last children at the age of 34–39, which is long before the end of their biological fertility.<sup>31</sup>

The phenomenon, characteristic of Enlightenment Warsaw, to voluntarily limit the number of births and even to control conception, is closely related to quite a widespread practice of extra-marital sexual contacts. Every sixth, seventh child born in richer and poorer families alike was conceived before marriage. Unmatched 'leaders' in pre-marital sexual contacts (19% of the total number of conceptions) were women aged 30–34 among marriages concluded between 1740–1769, and only slightly younger, 25–29, among couples marrying at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly to marital seasonality, also the numbers of births in particular months were generally characterized by a changing intensity. In the pre-in-

<sup>28</sup> M. Sierocka-Pośpiech, "L'image démographique de la famille en Vieille Varsovie au déclin du XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles" in: C. Kuklo (ed.), *Les modèles familiaux en Europe aux XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Białystok 1992, 98.

<sup>29</sup> C. Kuklo, *Rodzina*, 209.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 212–214.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. C. Kuklo, "Attitudes procréatrices de la société dans l'Ancienne Pologne", *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna* 13, 2004, 39–55.

<sup>32</sup> C. Kuklo, *Rodzina*, 205–208.

dustrial period most children in Polish cities were born between January and March inclusively (with peak intensity observed in March). Sometimes, too, especially in cities such as Warsaw or Poznań, also the early autumn months (September–October) abounded in births.<sup>33</sup>

In everyday life, the birth of a child, usually meticulously noted in many diaries and journals of the day, alongside a lucky delivery, signaled rather constant care and fear of the child's survival. Thus, parents rushed with baptism, which took place usually one to three days following the child's birth, although at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century a tendency to postpone the date of baptism became visible among Warsaw families.<sup>34</sup> Although the baptism ceremonies were far from the pomp of wedding celebrations, still, even the representatives of less affluent urban communities took pains to celebrate these occasions with splendor, stressing their attitude by choosing a Sunday as the day of the baptism. Lutheran Church authorities and urban authorities in Royal Prussia, despite allowing the possibility to baptize a child on any chosen weekday, interfered with the day times proper for the ceremony. The burghers of Gdańsk, assenting to functioning rules, baptized their children in the afternoon hours, regardless of their wealth or social standing. The citizens of Toruń, in turn, baptized their offspring during two times of the day allowed by law, i.e. morning and afternoon.<sup>35</sup>

A recently gradually more numerous observations of the durability of social barriers with regards to the choice of godparents corroborate that burghers of Old Polish cities and towns attached great importance to the proper choice of witnesses of the Christian initiation. Godparents were thus usually recruited from the same socio-professional environment as the child's parents. Even in the numerous urban-rural parishes, in which life standards and cultural habits of small-town burghers practically did not differ from their peasant background, the infrequency of contacts between the two neighbouring communities was well pronounced.

With regards to infancy, one of the gravest problems faced by the parents, the mother in particular, was feeding the child in the first days, weeks and even months of its life, owing to its weak body exposed to various risks which could very often prove lethal. Rich families often hired wet nurses who relieved mothers from the strains of direct child care, allowing them to quickly recover and resume active participation not so much in family life as in the economic life of

<sup>33</sup> M. Kędelski, *Rozwój demograficzny Poznania w XVIII i na początku XIX wieku*, Poznań 1992, 29, 78.

<sup>34</sup> C. Kukło, *Rodzina*, 105–106.

<sup>35</sup> E. Kizik, *Wesele*, 148–149.

the household. What also needs to be remembered is the high rate of post-natal mortality among women. The so-far only fragmentary data indicate that 3.5% deliveries ended with the women's death.

Imprecise source terminology frequently caused problems not only in learning the internal structure of families and farmsteads, but also in determining their average sizes. A comparison of urban populations, including the populations of two large centres: Cracow, with over 10,000 inhabitants, and yet more populous Warsaw (100,000 inhabitants) – with small towns which hardly ever exceeded the level of 1,000 inhabitants, reveals significant discrepancies (See table 3). Although in all urban organisms family life went by within nuclear families, in small guild and trade centres, very often by then already agrarised, their share was situated on a similar level as in village environments, i.e. 70–80%. Along with the growth of the city and development of its multi-functional nature, the proportion of simple family farmsteads fell to approximately 2/3 of the total number of households. In smaller towns, multiple families were rather rare, constituting some 4–9%, and extended families rarer yet, which in the most populous centres amounted to only a negligible proportion. At the same time, the data included in table 3 accentuate the basic difference in the structure of family forms functioning in urban and rural communities of pre-partition Poland. What distinguished the pre-industrial, metropolitan city was a significant share of single-person-households which constituted from 1/5 in Cracow to even ¼ in Warsaw. Importantly, the vast majority of them were managed by single women. Non-family hearths, regardless of their status, were very rare.

All that has been said so far proves the fundamental importance of the institution of marriage for the creation and functioning of urban households in pre-partition Poland. Referring to expert literature and to the present deliberations, it may well be stated that among peasant, noble and burgher environments the tendency of the new family to individualize quickly was very strong; the young family units took great efforts to gain empowerment in order to function first and foremost as an autonomous household.

Although our knowledge of the mutual influence of demographic, social and economic mechanisms at the level of the family is as yet rather scarce, still, it may well be assumed that unfavourable conditions of everyday existence in the pre-industrial city discouraged a part of the inhabitants from a full exploitation of marital reproductive potential. At least until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the sizes of urban families and households were plagued by various natural disasters, calamities and epidemics which very often severely undermined the families' biological potential. Others, such as floods, heavy rains, hailstorms or long-term

Table 3. Structure of urban households in Poland in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries

City	Years	Voivodeship	Number of households	Types of households in P. Laslett's classification in [%]					
				I single	II non-family	III Simple	IV extended	V multiple	VI non-marked
28 cities	1662–1674	podlaskie	1118	12.4	2.2	71.3	8.9	4.9	0.3
Praszką	1791	sieradzkie	161	4.3	-	85.1	4.3	5.6	0.7
Radziejów	1792	brzesko-kujawskie	124	7.2	2.4	79.1	8.1	3.2	-
Olkusz	1791	krakowskie	126	11.9	-	79.4	7.9	0.8	-
Wieluń	1791	sieradzkie	261	18.4	1.2	71.6	6.2	2.2	0.4
Cracow	1791	krakowskie	1159	18.5	5.9	67.0	7.2	1.1	0.3
Warsaw	1791	mazowieckie	4122	25.0	1.7	66.3	6.1	0.9	0.0

Source: C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 359.

droughts acutely decimated food supplies, leading to violent price increases, always much more painfully experienced in cities than in villages. For many urban families, even those in the middle of income range, this meant a drastic impoverishment of an already hard-earned subsistence.

In the cities investigated so far, the size of family households appears to confirm the general trend towards forming smaller hearths in Old Polish environments. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in populous Poznań an average household was composed of 5.6 persons and 3.4 persons a century later (persons of 10 and more years of age).<sup>36</sup> In smaller centres it was usually 5–6 persons. In Dobre Miasto in Warmia, according to *status animarum* from 1695, the average family counted 4.8 persons, with patricians' households counting 8–9 persons, craftsmen's 5, but peasants' tenants and labourers' only 3 members.<sup>37</sup> At the demise of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth parochial population listings, which however frequently did not include infants, show that family households in Warsaw (inhabited not only by affluent burghers but also by substantially impoverished populations) were of smallest sizes: average 3.5; median 4 persons. Only slightly bigger were households in Olkusz, Praszka or Wieluń (3.6–3.9 home-dwellers), with the median for the latter already 5 persons. More numerous were households in Cracow: average 4.5 persons, median 6, and in Poznań, 6.5 persons on average.<sup>38</sup>

In light of the above-presented data it is hard to locate a correspondence between a city's population density and average sizes of a household. What, however, passes without doubt is the direct proportionality between household sizes and their heads' affluence. Thus, the averagely larger sizes of households in Cracow and Poznań in contrast to metropolitan Warsaw point to more stabilized economic structures of both centres, or, speaking more plainly, to their inhabitants' greater wealth. In Polish pre-industrial cities, as in all Europe of the time, most household heads were men, although the share of women performing this function was by no means negligible. Although the women's road to an independent management of a household was more complicated than the men's and also more dependent on their age and marital status (usually after the age

<sup>36</sup> S. Waszak, "Ludność i zabudowa mieszkaniowa Poznania w XVI i XVII w.", *Przegląd Zachodni*, 8, 1953, no. 9–10, 117.

<sup>37</sup> S. Borowski, "Próba odtworzenia struktur społecznych i procesów demograficznych na Warmii u schyłku XVII w. na przykładzie Dobrego Miasta i okolicy", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 8, 1975, 146–150.

<sup>38</sup> More on the sizes of urban households see: C. Kuklo, *Kobieta samotna w społeczeństwie miejskim u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej. Studium demograficzno-społeczne*, Białystok 1998, 105–109.

of 50 women became widows), households governed by maidens and widows were relatively widespread. In Polish pre-industrial cities single women headed 15–17% of households in smaller centres, and even 25% in the largest, such as Cracow and Warsaw.<sup>39</sup> However, an urban female household in pre-industrial times was, as in many other cities of the Old Continent, for example Reims, was always smaller than a household managed by a male head.<sup>40</sup>

Relationships within an urban family of the pre-industrial era are at the same time well-known and unfamiliar. Whereas the state of research on the urban family's demographic condition, its socio-professional and sometimes territorial characteristic, economic function, and the legal status of its members is quite advanced, partially thanks to various religious and moralizing, as well as politico-legal treatises, still many sweeping statements and superficial assumptions persist, derived from unverified sources and thus straying from the actual historical picture. In the present study, the main emphasis is placed on the basic relationships between parents and children within the burgher family, bearing in mind the substantial internal population stratification, especially of populations inhabiting the largest Polish cities such as Cracow, Lviv, Poznań, Toruń, Gdańsk, not to mention Warsaw in the 1790s, with its over 100,000 citizens. Quite a separate issue remains the question of the degree to which in the 16th–18th centuries intra-family relations were unchanging and durable, and to which they were subject to reformulations.

In light of the above observations, there can be no denying that the towns of Central Poland were dominated by small families, made up of families and children, and only sometimes including also some older generation members or more distant relatives. All members of these relatively small formations had their assigned functions, which they usually accepted, and were closely related to others. The head of the family was husband and father whose authority, which it needs to be stressed, extended over all members of the family unit, with no exceptions made either for the wife or servants. The father's superior position in the old family was sanctioned both by the contemporary urban law and the Church, according to which the father was the legal subject of all arrangements and obligations, regardless of the nature of matters in question. The patriarchal

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, 97; C. Kuklo, "Les femmes chefs de famille dans la société urbaine à la fin de l'Ancienne Pologne" in: P. Mane et alii (eds.), *La femme dans la société médiévale et moderne*, Varsovie 2005, 211–235.

<sup>40</sup> C. Kuklo, "Les femmes", 224–225; A. Fauve-Chamoux, R. Wall, *Nuptialité et famille* in: J.-P. Bardet, J. Dupâquier (eds.), *Histoire des populations de l'Europe*, vol. 1, Paris 1997, 359.

model of the burgher family, with the dominant role of the husband and father, did not necessarily mean total subjugation of other members of the family, in particular of the wife.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, there are also voices according to which many Old Polish marriages were of marriages of equal partners.<sup>42</sup> The position of the wife in an urban family could also reflect the amount of her dowry, the social significance of her family, or her family connexions. In general, the position of the wife was weaker in urban environments than in noble communities. In mutual relations of the spouses, which affected the entire household, including household servants, a lot depended also on individual characteristics of the husband and wife, which, owing to source reasons, are frequently omitted in research. Diligence, thriftiness, practical resourcefulness of the spouse more easily won the other's respect than pompous lifestyle and squandering. It appears safe to assume that the majority of marriages went through their life with the spouses acting as one another's support and taking care of acquired wealth; sources are rife with stories of affection and respect among marriages of all echelons of the urban society. At the same time, however, there were also a number of marriages among the wealthiest social groups known for conflicts and tensions and even great, long-term moral and material dramas and scandals.<sup>43</sup>

There were cases, for instance, when a marriage of an older and presumably more experienced citizen of the town with a young maiden ended tragically. In 1765 in Kalisz the burgher by the name of Nowackiewicz died, and his heirs accused his second wife of not only having squandered his entire wealth but also of leading him to death. A prodigious wife was a shame and ruin of the household. Also the president of the town of Kalisz, brewer Wojciech Zielinski, suffered from a similar experience. In a complaint lodged to the court he lamented that while he was busy taking care of public affairs his wife was spending his money like water and eventually ran them into huge debts. However, the truth is that there were many more complaints made by wives against their husbands than the other way round, although it was much generally much more difficult

<sup>41</sup> The notion of wife's obedience towards her husband, deeply rooted in social awareness of the modern period, was systematically strengthened by contemporary morals – see: E.E. Wróbel, *Chrześcijańska rodzina w Polsce XVI–XVII w. Między ideałem a rzeczywistością*, Kraków 2002, 122–125.

<sup>42</sup> M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa*, 41–42.

<sup>43</sup> As convince the works of, i.a.: I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *La femme face au divorce en Pologne aux XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, in: P. Mane et alii (eds.), *La femme*, 167–175; E. Bezzubik, “Konflikty małżeńskie w Polsce nowożytnej – na podstawie akt separacji i rozwiązań małżeństw z oficjalatów krakowskiego, poznańskiego i wrocławskiego z lat 1597–1697”, *Genealogia. Studia i Materiały Historyczne* 17, 2005, 7–74.

for women to get satisfaction at court and receive proper legal protection. Even in a relatively small and peaceful town as Kalisz at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with only some 4,000 inhabitants, family scandals did occur, let alone such populous cities as Warsaw. In 1782, the Mayor's court of the city was looking into the Bielachowskis, in which the husband was accused of regular sexual intercourse with a servant, whereas the wife was systematically sleeping with her stepson, and, what is more, both spouses were trying to effect a miscarriage of the servant who became pregnant with the said stepson.<sup>44</sup>

In general, marriage was entered into as a joint obligation, lasting until the death of one of the spouses. In practice there were exceptions to this rule, all the more interesting for the present study in that divorce cases often lent an insider's perspective on the internal relationships within a family, and between the spouses in particular. The Catholic Church formally allowed for the possibility of marriage annulment, which however was a rare case, and spouses' separation, which occurred more frequently. Edyta Bezzubik's study shows that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the majority of separation suits from three Church courts, i.e. in Cracow, Poznań and Włocławek, were lodged by burghers (48), and only 19 by nobility. Similarly, the majority of marriage annulment cases were pursued by burghers (33) but only slightly fewer, 28, by nobility. In both, the majority of plaintiffs were women.<sup>45</sup>

Both happy moments and hardships in marital life stemmed from the somewhat problematic status of the wife and mother in an Old Polish family, who, directly after the household head, occupied an unquestionably important position. In many burgher, noble and even richer peasant houses it was the woman who managed and supervised household service and sometimes dealt even with economic matters.<sup>46</sup>

During the husbands' temporary absences the women knew how to single-handedly run a craftsman's household or, in smaller towns, a farmstead and could even handle tax payments. Surviving burgher testaments prove that wives were treated with respect and regarded as confidants and friends rather than otherwise. It was usually the wife who was entrusted the care, upbringing and education of orphaned offspring. The actual relationships between a husband and his wife were illuminated not only by last wills, but also by records of

<sup>44</sup> W. Rusiński, *Życie codzienne w Kaliszu w dobie Oświecenia*, Poznań 1998, 296–309.

<sup>45</sup> E. Bezzubik, "Konflikty", 39, 70.

<sup>46</sup> M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa*, 66–82; A. Karpiński, *Women in Professional and Socio-Religious Corporation In Polish Towns during the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century* in: P. Mane et alii (eds.), *La femme*, 190–197.

marital correspondence and epitaphs which oftentimes prove the existence of deep and affectionate marital bonds.

The authority and importance of the father was experienced by all children in the family, regardless of their age or sex. Even adult sons, until they married, were usually under the father's absolute control. The same applied to daughters, only to a much larger degree. In everyday practice, all home-dwellers, wife, children and household servants alike, were aware of the gravity of the husband's or father's corporal punishment. It is hard to unequivocally assess the actual influence of contemporary writers and moralists on the shaping of emotional bonds between parents and children but it appears that in the early modern period it was strict upbringing that prevailed, regardless of social group. Such an attitude towards children was expected of the father, who in turn demanded the same from the wife and mother. It was especially visible not so much during the Renaissance as in the later counter-reformation era. Thus, it comes as no surprise that once verbal admonitions failed, resort was made to corporal punishment, often excessive and inadequate to the offense, especially in burgher and peasant families.<sup>47</sup> The household head frequently took recourse to violence, e.g. flogging of children, not his own, however, but those hired in the farmstead as household service or pupils in the guild. It is important to observe here that excessive corporal punishment was in general criticized throughout the entire late-feudal period, and even stronger during the Enlightenment. Józef Legowicz, a wise parson, in his guidebook for spouses and parents published in 1787 in Vilnius strongly accentuated the need to raise children sternly, at the same recommending prudence in punishing them.<sup>48</sup> A multitude of repetitions in this regard, from the Church, the urban authorities and guilds alike, still in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, might testify to their hitherto low efficiency.

Among many forms of child abuse the most drastic was sexual violence, recently characterized in more detail by Andrzej Karpiński. His study shows that, in comparison with forced prostitution and rapes on girls, cases of incest and pedophilia also took place though not that often.<sup>49</sup>

It is not easy to unequivocally answer the question of the role and position of the child in a burgher family, just as it is difficult to generalize on the parents'

<sup>47</sup> See more in: A. Karpiński, "Wbrew prawu i moralności. Dziecko jako ofiara przemocy, agresji i deprawacji w miastach polskich w XVI–XVIII wieku" in: M. Dąbrowska, A. Klonder (eds.), *Od narodzin do wieku dojrzałego. Dzieci i młodzież w Polsce*, part. 1: *Od średniowiecza do wieku XVIII*, Warszawa 2002, 243–266.

<sup>48</sup> *Poradnik Józefa Legowicza o pożyciu małżeńskim z XVIII wieku*, ed. by B. Rok in: *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, vol. 2054, Wrocław 1998, 75–131.

<sup>49</sup> A. Karpiński, "Wbrew prawu", 248–250.

emotional attitude towards their offspring. Philippe Ariès's study on the question of childhood in Middle Ages and the Modern Period remains instructive here, along with many polemics that sprang up with regards to her work.<sup>50</sup> Even a strict upbringing did not have to be entirely devoid of displays of care and affection towards the child, not to mention outbursts of happiness for having a child in the first place. Contrary to the French historian's stipulations, Old Polish sources (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century), as well as later-day, frequently mention even very young children, cared for and dearly loved, although naturally that did not have to be a universal pattern.

Not much can be said about small children of less affluent burghers or the plebs. Both groups early incorporated even several-year-old children into the household chores, expecting them to help their parents. The practice of children going into service was common, an act which drastically shortened their childhood and often prematurely introduced the youngsters into the tough adult world. Among rich burgher families the situation was quite different, with efforts to protect and preserve the children's well-being during their earliest years, although also in these cases contradictory data abound. The more affluent representatives of the burgher class frequently hired nannies, wet nurses and other specialized guardians to alleviate the strain of direct child care but the majority of 6–7-year-old children were brought up by parents, under the careful eye of the mother rather than the father, and could experience motherly love and attention. It may well be assumed that in families in which children were brought by the parents the mutual relationships were warmer and more affectionate. In many burgher families the duty to teach a young child the basics still fell to the mother; several-year-old children, however, were given over into the charge of domestic teachers and governesses on whom sources for the best part remain silent. Their task was to teach the children to read and write in Latin, as well as to instruct them in articulation and sometimes, depending on the capacities of the teacher, teach them one of modern languages. Children from less affluent families were usually educated at parish-run schools.<sup>51</sup> Thus home- or parish-schooled male youth at the age of 10–12 continued their education either

<sup>50</sup> Ph. Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancienne Régime*, Paris 1960. The significance of this work in the intensification of international historical studies of childhood is well accentuated by Egle Becchi and Dominique Julia in the Introduction to the synthesis of the history of the child in Western Europe – see: E. Becchi, D. Julia, "Historie de l'enfance, histoire sans paroles?" in: E. Becchi, D. Julia (eds.), *Histoire de l'enfance en Occident*, vol. 1: *De l'Antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1998, 14–21.

<sup>51</sup> S. Litak, *Edukacja początkowa w polskich szkołach w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2010, 201–218.

in the same way, supervised by subsequent permanent or migrant teacher (but this was usually the case only with the richest), or went on to attend gradually more popular in mid-16<sup>th</sup> century Protestant high schools (the most notable examples in Gdańsk and Toruń) or later Jesuit colleges. A few burghers' sons found their way to court schools, organized and supported by leading officials of political and cultural life of the country. All these educational options, high schools, colleges and court schools, instructed the young in the languages, including Greek and Hebrew, ancient works, and in general provided education at a standard comparable to other such institutions in Western Europe. The last stage of education for the sons and male relatives of the richest families was studies, either at the Cracow Academy or, for those lucky few, at foreign universities in Italy, Germany and Spain.

The Old Polish education system was predominantly oriented towards the teaching of male offspring. Young girls, seen mainly as future wives and mothers, beside religious instruction, were trained mostly in practicalities regarding child rearing and managing a household. Still, although there existed no formal education system for females, some of them did acquire the basic skills such as reading, writing or arithmetic. A slight improvement in girls' schooling was brought forth by sisterhoods which ran training schools for maidens within the framework of their statutory activity.<sup>52</sup> Out of the 18 sisterhoods functioning in 1772 in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth only the Discalced Carmelites did not engage in the upbringing and education of girls. It was only beginning with the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that greater importance was ascribed to the intellectual education of maidens. Burghers, in comparison to other social groups, were characterized by a relatively high proportion of literate population.

So far, in writing about children the present study concentrated on children born within marriages and thus being legitimate offspring. It has to be borne in mind, though, that in contemporary urban communities, especially the largest, quite a large share of children were born in extra-marital relationships, which, according to both Church and civil urban law, were treated as illegitimate offspring whose legal predicament was, to put it mildly, woeful. Giving birth to a child out of wedlock, be it as an outcome of either pre- or extra-marital affair, was perceived rather as a disgrace for the woman, especially seeing that the child's father hardly ever decided to recognize the child as his own. In a small-town environment, this meant derision and contempt for the mother, could cost her her job (in the case of servants), or could expose her to yet other forms of social

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<sup>52</sup> See more: *ibidem*, 233–258.

ostracism, both from her closest surroundings and the clergy, as well. In small Old Polish towns the percentage of illegitimate children who were baptized and registered in metrical books usually did not exceed 5%, but there is no information on how many had not been baptized at all and how many had not lived to this moment. In large centres the phenomenon was much more widespread. At the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Poznań illegitimate children constituted between 8 and 15% of the totality of baptized children; in Old Warsaw in 1671–1680 there were some 9% of illegitimate children. In a better explored parish of Holy Cross in Warsaw throughout the entire 18<sup>th</sup> century the percentage of illegitimate births oscillated around 10%, although in some decades (1740–1749 and 1750–1759) it was drastically higher and reached even 13% of the totality of births.<sup>53</sup> As a rule, the percentage of illegitimate children was lower among local Evangelists than Catholics, which was particularly visible in Poznań, the capital of Greater Poland, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>54</sup> What is quite typical is that regardless of the sizes and functions of a given urban centre, the highest percentages of extra-marital births closely correspond to war years, epidemics and plagues, or economic straits.

Quite a separate issue, though related to questions of child rearing and the functioning of old families but extending beyond the scope of the present study, is the phenomenon of child abandonment. Surviving statistics of urban hospitals which accepted abandoned children (i.e. those who survived and were baptized) testify to a broad range of the phenomenon in the largest cities of the Polish Crown.<sup>55</sup> Between 1601–1612 the Cracow Holy Spirit Hospital admitted over 1,200 foundlings; tens of them were annually accepted in hospitals in Gdańsk. The phenomenon acquired greatest precedence in a dynamically developing Warsaw in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, only at the end of the 50s., annually over 220 foundlings were found, in the 70s already twice as many, and the peak of registered foundlings (over 900) occurred in 1795. The citizens of the capital remembered this and the previous year as a period of hunger, dearth, epidemics and various brutal confiscations effected by occupant armies of Austria, Prussia and Russia.

When dealing with issues of the functioning of the family in old urban communities it is not possible to ignore the predicament of the elder populations who had entered the final stages of existence. Defining old age remains prob-

<sup>53</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 384–389, see for more extensive literature of the subject.

<sup>54</sup> In Poznań, the percentage of illegitimate offspring was highest in the city centre – 15.3%, lower in the left-bank suburbs – 12.2%, and lowest among local Protestants – only 7.5%. See: M. Kędelski, *Rozwój*, 144–145.

<sup>55</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 394–398.

lematic, especially since in traditional rural and urban culture of the pre-industrial era it was not age but one's status or performed functions that determined social prestige. Nevertheless, following international research on ageing it is assumed that the age of 60 marks the beginning of old age.<sup>56</sup> Thus, without negating the diversification of the population age profile in cities and towns of the Polish Crown, caused by for instance substantial migration of population in their prime to largest urban centres, there appears to be no ground for questioning the share of the elderly around 6–8% of the totality of population.<sup>57</sup> At this stage, more significant than the percentage of the elderly is the question of their family situation. Hitherto made observations reveal substantial differences in the predicament of older men and women. In small towns, over a half (53%) of elderly men still lived as members of a full nuclear family, i.e. with wives and children, whereas in larger centres the percentage decreased, reaching its lowest value of 39% in metropolitan Warsaw. The phenomenon was accompanied by a simultaneous increase of men living only with their wives. In total, in large cities such as Cracow or Warsaw as many as three quarters and in smaller towns even 84% of men over the age of 60 never experienced the loneliness of old age, co-residing with wives or wives and children. Thus, they were not left to their own fate, although the percentage of those living entirely on their own grew with rank, size and economic development of a given urban centre, from 8% in small towns to nearly 20% in the largest cities of the Polish Crown.<sup>58</sup>

The family predicament of elderly women in urban communities of pre-industrial Poland was starkly different than the situation of their male peers. Only one third of women in largest cities and slightly more in smaller towns lived in a full married-couple family. What particularly strikes in various *status animarum* and population listings from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is an enormous number of old women living entirely on their own, from one quarter in small towns to nearly a half in Cracow and Warsaw during the reign of king Stanisław August Poniatowski.<sup>59</sup> In smaller towns, following the death of their

<sup>56</sup> Similarly: P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love In Earlier Generations*, Cambridge 1977, 174–213; D. Troyansky, “Old Age in the Rural Family of Enlightened Provence” in: *Old Age in Preindustrial Society*, New York 1982, 209–231; E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction*, Cambridge 1989, 528.

<sup>57</sup> C. Kuklo, *Demografia*, 376.

<sup>58</sup> C. Kuklo, *Ludzie starzy w miastach i miasteczkach u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, in: M. Kopczyński, A. Mączak (eds.), *Gospodarka, ludzie, władza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Juliuszowi Łukaszewiczowi w 75. rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1998, 152–154.

<sup>59</sup> Idem, “Gospodarstwo domowe osób starszego pokolenia w miastach na ziemiach polskich w epoce późnofeudalnej”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 58, 2010, no. 1, 132.

husbands, elderly women lived to their advanced years in the company and under the supervision of their children, and in largest cities among relatives or even non-related persons. Loneliness, especially as a condition of old age, was related to the times, places, other people, and even one's own self.

The co-residence of elderly parent in an adult son's or son-in-law's household, even in the case of a formally guaranteed life usufruct, was not easily accomplished. The parent was better tolerated if he could still perform some physical chores in the household; the situation was much bleaker in the case of senile weakness when he had no other choice but to hope for sustenance and care provided by his relatives. Court sources frequently present very plastic descriptions of this saddest part of Old Polish senility spent in the bosom of one's relatives.

For a very small group of the elderly yet another option for living through their advanced years existed, i.e. living in a parish hospital-almshouse. In the largest cities such asylums could accommodate even up to several tens of pensioners; in smaller towns they gave shelter to a dozen or even only a couple of people. Significantly, the structure of pensioners of the Old Polish era was dominated by women who constituted from two thirds to even 80% of the total number of pensioners. In urban centres, particularly in large cities, due to larger spatial capacity attempts were made to separate not only women from men but also the sick from the healthy. In better-off hospitals the board did not differ much from that of poorer representatives of urban communities (usually including groats, pea, cereal produce, vegetables and meat only on special occasions), provided that, however, their supervisors did not attempt to cheat on them. In small and poorly equipped hospitals mendicant board prevailed. It was not until the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that universal access to medical and sanitary care began to be provided in hospitals, but the pensioners of hospitals in well-off Royal Prussia (Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg), as well as in Cracow and Warsaw, experienced these comforts already from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century on.

The questions which begs to be posed at the conclusion of the present deliberations is whether in light of the above observations the family in the cities of the Polish Crown during the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries differed essentially from its Western European counterpart. It remains very hard today to give a positive answer with full certainty. Moreover, the composition of the hearth, with the dominant simple and nuclear family, as well as the presence of servants or quite substantial percentage of the state of never being married situate the Polish family in the circle of the Western European family type. The only more serious

discrepancy occurred in relation to the age difference between spouses, which was definitely more pronounced in Poland than in Western Europe. Still, the hitherto made observations and the present state of research call for further meticulous study and multi-aspectual confrontations based on a larger yet share of the socio-economic factor.

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**THE AGE OF ENTERING THE SERVICE  
IN POLISH LANDS IN THE SECOND HALF  
OF THE 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY:  
IN PURSUIT OF LIFE-CYCLE SERVANTS**

Domestic service hardly ever becomes the object of analyses of Polish historians. Should one be tempted to compile a bibliography of this issue, the list produced would be extremely short, covering only a handful of articles.<sup>1</sup> From the pre-Second World War period, when servants still constituted an important socio-professional group, probably only a short publication by Jakub Berman deserves to be mentioned, in which the author concentrated on Warsaw butlers of the king Stanisław August Poniatowski era.<sup>2</sup> Also post-war scholars for a long time only sporadically became engaged with the issue of domestic service, which was deemed a less attractive subject than criminals or the working class and various groups described as proto-proletariat. It was only in the 1980s that research into domestic service was taken up by a new generation of historians, inspired by achievements of Western, in particular French and Anglo-Saxon, historiographies. They rejected the traditional analysis of this socio-professional group in the context of class struggle and began to pose new research questions

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<sup>1</sup> C. Kukło, “Ze studiów nad służbą domową w miastach Polski przedrozbiorowej” in: C. Kukło (ed.), *Między polityką a kulturą*, Warszawa 1999, 199–209; R. Poniat, “Zapomniana grupa społeczna – o potrzebie badania służby domowej na ziemiach polskich” in: H. Kurkowska (ed.), *Zielonogórskie spotkania z demografią*, t. 1, *Przemiany demograficzne Europy Środkowej w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. by H. Kurkowska, Zielona Góra 2010, 355–363.

<sup>2</sup> J. Berman, “Służba domowa w Warszawie w końcu XVIII w. oraz próby jej zrzeszenia się zawodowego”, *Ekonomista* 26, 1926, no. 2–3, 1–11.

which included issues such as the place of domestic servants in the social structure of cities,<sup>3</sup> hired labour in rural areas,<sup>4</sup> employment at the post of servant as a stage in one's lifetime,<sup>5</sup> or gender diversification of the group discussed.<sup>6</sup> It needs to be stressed, though, that publications resultant from this renewed interest in domestic service still did not make any attempts at a synthesis of the situation of servants in Polish lands in the modern times.

In the efforts to evaluate the hitherto conducted research it should also be noted that many authors, with the exception of Cezary Kuklo, Michał Kopczyński and Mikołaj Szoltysek, were very reluctant to refer to Western publications and compare their own results with data from other countries. Even such a key-term for a description of service as life-cycle servants appears only in the works of the three above-mentioned authors. Apart from the works of these three historians, analyses of the functioning of domestic servants which prevailed remain surprisingly static. The situation persists despite frequent voices raised already many years ago by Andrzej Wyczański, calling to attention not only the servants' mobility, but also the complexity of their experiences analysed from the perspective of life cycle research.<sup>7</sup>

The term 'life-cycle servants' denotes individuals who took up work as servants in the period between leaving their family household and starting their own. According to studies by Western scholars, they constituted a dominant group among servants. Such a form of employment, then, was not a permanent occupation performed for life, but only a temporary stage experienced by the majority of

<sup>3</sup> A. Karpiński, *Paupers. O mieszkańcach Warszawy w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1983, 152–194; A. Zarawska, "Krakowskie służące na przełomie XIX i XX wieku", *Rocznik Krakowski* 59, 1993, 93–98.

<sup>4</sup> A. Izydorczyk, "Pozycja służby w rodzinie chłopskiej w XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku" in: J. Topolski, C. Kuklo (eds.), *Studia nad gospodarką, rodziną i społeczeństwem w Europie późno feudalnej*, Lublin 1987, 161–165; A. Kamler, "Praca najemna na wsi małopolskiej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 97, 1990, no. 1–2, 3–31; eadem, *Chłopi jako pracownicy najemni na wsi małopolskiej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>5</sup> M. Kopczyński, "Młodość i młodzież na Kujawach w XVIII wieku. Rzecz o czeladzi i służbie w świetle parafialnych spisów mieszkańców z 1791 roku", *Przegląd Historyczny* 86, 1995, no. 3–4, 329–350; C. Kuklo, "Czy w Polsce przedrozbiorowej służba domowa była etapem w życiu człowieka?" in: *Spółczesność w dobie przemian. Wiek XIX i XX. Księga jubileuszowa profesor Anny Żarnowskiej*, Warszawa 2003, 205–212.

<sup>6</sup> A. Karpiński, "Żeńska służba domowa w miastach polskich w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku" in: J. Sztetyła (ed.), *Nędza i dostatek na ziemiach polskich od średniowiecza po wiek XX*, Warszawa 1992, 41–61.

<sup>7</sup> A. Wyczański, "Społeczność" in: A. Wyczański (ed.), *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia*, Warszawa 1970, 143.

European youth which had a significant impact on shaping the old communities. Ever since John Hajnal's seminal article it has been common knowledge that the wide availability of employment as servants led to procrastinations in the average age of starting one's own family, affecting also the shape and functioning of farmsteads.<sup>8</sup> Life-cycle servants were also supposed to constitute one of the key elements distinguishing Western Europe from the rest of the world.<sup>9</sup> According to many scholars, the existence of life-cycle servants is also closely related to phenomena typical of European communities such as a relatively strong position of women,<sup>10</sup> developed and flexible job market,<sup>11</sup> and even the birth of capitalism.<sup>12</sup>

The above mentioned studies conducted by Cezary Kuklo indicate that the existence of life-cycle servants was also characteristic of Old Polish society,<sup>13</sup> an observation confirmed by the age distribution of Warsaw servants from 1791 (See table 1). Among domestic servants below the age of 30 there were nearly two thirds of men and over 75% of women. Only 4% of retinue lived longer than 40 years. A comparison of figures obtained in the course of the present study with Cezary Kuklo's investigations into marriages concluded in the St. Cross's parish allows us to assume that the majority of servants were below the observed average age at marriage. With medians for newlyweds amounting to 22 (women) and 30 (men), 63% of male servants and 53% female servants were younger than the statistical bride or groom.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> J. Hajnal, *European marriage pattern in historical perspective* in: D.V. Glass, D.E.C. Everley (eds.), *Population in history. Essays in historical demography*, London 1965, 101–143; idem, "Two kinds of preindustrial household formation system", *Population and Development Review*, vol. 8, 1982, 449–494; P. Laslett, "The stem-family hypothesis and its privileges position" in: K.W. Wachter, E.A. Hammel, P. Laslett (eds.), *Population and social structure. Advances in historical demography*, New York 1978, 89–111; A. Kussmaul, *Servants in husbandry in early modern England*, Cambridge 1981.

<sup>9</sup> M.J. Maynes, A.B. Walter, "Women's life-cycle transitions in a World-historical perspective. Comparing marriage in China and Europe", *Journal of Women's History* 12, 2001, no. 4, 15–16.

<sup>10</sup> M.S. Hartman, *The household and the making of history. A subversive view of the Western past*, Cambridge 2004 – for critical reviews: cf. R. Poniak, *Przegląd Historyczny* 98, 2007, no. 2, 294–298; M. Szołtysek, "Na Zachodzie bez zmian", *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 66, 2006, 153–167.

<sup>11</sup> T. de Moor, J.L. van Zanden, "Girl power: the European marriage pattern and labour markets in the North Sea region in the late medieval and early modern period", *The Economic History Review* 63, 2010, no. 1, 1–33.

<sup>12</sup> W. Seccombe, *A millennium of family change. Feudalism and capitalism in Northwestern Europe*, New York, 1995, 240–241.

<sup>13</sup> C. Kuklo, "Czy w Polsce", *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> C. Kuklo, *Rodzina w osiemnastowiecznej Warszawie*, Białystok 1991, 175.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of servants' age in the Warsaw parish of St. Cross in 1791

		Sex		In total
		Male	Female	
Age	0-4	-	.3	.2
	5-9	1.0	1.2	1.1
	10-14	7.0	8.8	8.1
	15-19	23.5	24.2	23.9
	20-24	18.6	31.1	26.4
	25-29	13.6	11.0	12.0
	30-34	16.8	11.1	13.3
	35-39	5.3	3.0	3.9
	40-44	8.8	4.5	6.1
	45-49	2.1	.8	1.3
	50-54	1.4	2.2	1.9
	55-59	.3	.5	.4
	60-64	1.0	.9	1.0
	65+	.7	.4	.5
Total:		100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw [Polish: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie; further referred to as AGAD], Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25.

It needs to be stressed that the observation has baleful consequences not only with regards to domestic service as it situates the Polish lands within a territory characterized by the Western model of household. According to Hajnal himself, as well as to many authors drawing on his work, the eastern border of this zone ran from St. Petersburg to Trieste, i.e. it did not cover the lands of the Commonwealth. In light of Cezary Kuklo's latest research and Mikolaj Szoltysek's recent publications the so-perceived West should also include the territories of the Crown.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> M. Szoltysek, "Three kinds of preindustrial household formations system In historical Eastern Europe: a challenge to spatial patterns of the European family", *The History of the Family* 13, 2008, 223-257; idem, "Rethinking Eastern Europe. Household-formation patterns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and European family systems", *Continuity and Change* 21, 2008, no. 3, 1-39; idem, "Family systems and welfare provisions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 42,

The above-presented research results were predominantly based on population listings: a type of source very popular with historians but nevertheless fraught with several practical obstacles in their application. Owing to their very nature, population listings constitute a very static photograph of the investigated population in that they depict its condition only in a strictly defined moment, not allowing for a broader analysis of its dynamics and temporal changes. Therefore, listings prove not the best type source for investigations of individuals' life cycles, which is indeed a significant problem because life-cycle servants, as the definition of the term goes, belong to the category of dynamic phenomena, occurring among individuals of a given age and disappearing with time. Such a situation demands that reference be made to sources which would better depict the life cycle patterns and changes in social status and professional activity taking place throughout the given period.

The possibility for a broader, though still limited, insight into the above-mentioned issues is provided by Warsaw protocols of interrogations conducted by instigators of the Grand Marshal of the Crown. The collection of the documents has first been noticed by Zofia Turska, who published parts of it and conducted preliminary analysis of its content.<sup>16</sup> Thanks to her work, the source began to function in Polish historiography, although its application has usually been limited to quoting the published interrogations, which were treated as illustrations and examples.<sup>17</sup> Only very recently attempts have been made to take a step beyond Turska's study and to analyse the entire collection with regards to Jewish delinquency.<sup>18</sup>

The surviving instigations, collected at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw in a volume known as The Archive of the Polish Kingdom,<sup>19</sup> date back to 1787–1794 and are composed of fair copies of interrogations of people accused of having committed criminal offences, usually in the form of a unified, uninterrupted narration. Questions asked by instigators appear only sporadi-

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2015, 25–57; idem, *Rethinking East-Central Europe: family systems and co-residence in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, vol. 1–2, Bern 2015.

<sup>16</sup> *Z rontem marszałkowskim przez Warszawę. Zeznania oskarżonych z lat 1787–1794*, ed. by Z. Turska, Warszawa 1961.

<sup>17</sup> J. Jedlicki, *Klejnot i bariery społeczne. Przeobrażenia szlachectwa polskiego w schyłkowym okresie feudalizmu*, Warszawa 1968; C. Kukło, *Rodzina*.

<sup>18</sup> M. Majewski, "Przestępczość żydowska w Warszawie doby Sejmu Wielkiego", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2010, no. 2, 143–156.

<sup>19</sup> Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Polish: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie; further referred to as AGAD), Archive of Polish Kingdom (Polish: Archiwum Królestwa Polskiego further referred to as AKP) 162, 302, 311, 312, 313, 314.

cally, in more meticulous interrogations referring to details of the committed crime. The surviving material does not include information on the outcomes of the investigations, and finding out if the accused had been convicted is only possible in the case of testimonies of people accused in subsequent cases. Neither are the hearings of the victims or witnesses included, unless they were also accused. All the deficiencies mentioned here significantly limit the possibilities of applying the preserved interrogations to investigations into delinquency, although they do not negate their significance for social historians. Similar collections of court materials constituted the basis of studies on the functioning of domestic servants in London.<sup>20</sup>

The main advantages of instigations are their deeply standardized forms and a broad range of questions posed to the accused. The interrogators were interested not only in the details of the crime committed; they attempted to find out also those answers which would allow them to construct a demographic and social characteristics of the crimes. It was thanks to such questions, which, though they had not been written down, must have accompanied virtually all investigations, that today there are 630 biographies of the accused at the scholars' disposal. In all cases the gender of the accused was noted, nearly always also their social status, religion, age, occupation, and information on their parents. Most interrogations contain also the place of origin of the accused, although the degree of accuracy in this regard varies. Usually it is the name of the location, with additional information specifying whether it is a city, village or town.

The most interesting aspect of the source presented is undoubtedly the information regarding the professional activity of the accused. Nearly each of them states the age in which he/she left their parents' household and then goes on to enumerate his/her subsequent workplaces, sometimes also hospitalizations and prison stays. Employment data are usually supplemented by further information on the duration of a given post, in some cases also on the circumstances of taking and leaving it, details of the employer and the type of duties performed. The accuracy of these descriptions varies with each testimony, with some being exceptionally extensive, and others limited to general statements such as "in my young years I used to try my hand at several odd jobs".<sup>21</sup> The information included in the source, as well as the source's comprehensive character, allows us to conduct statistical analyses which give scholars the rare opportunity to

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<sup>20</sup> D.A. Kent, "Ubiquitous but invisible. Female domestic servants in mid-eighteenth century London", *History Workshop Journal* 28, 1989, no 1, 111-128; T. Meldrum, *Domestic service and gender 1660-1750. Life and work in the London household*, Harlow 2000.

<sup>21</sup> AGAD, AKP 311, fol. 53.

search for answers to questions regarding the life cycle of representatives of the Old Polish society. Importantly, the objects of study are not members of the elite but rather representatives of the lower classes, usually much worse represented in documents investigated by historians. Such studies should, however, be preceded by several reservations.

First of all, it is difficult to determine to what degree the accused occurring in the source differed from the majority of society. To shed doubt on the representativeness of the data obtained, it is enough to remark that women constitute mere 9% of the investigated group. The information listed refers to offenders or individuals accused of having a criminal record, in general, individuals functioning at social and economic margins, which decides about the group's increased mobility, with its members frequently on the move, not only as a result of their own choice but also due to pursuits organized after them or sentences of banishment. Most certainly, the life cycle of the majority of the accused distinguished them not only from the representatives of the elite but also from affluent nobility, guild masters, or household heads. Acknowledging these reservations does not have to mean giving up on practically applying the presented source. Leaving aside the argument which makes a frequent appearance in historians' research activities, i.e. that of the absence of better materials, factors increasing the representativeness of information in one's possession should be taken into account. Although the documents at hand are offenders' testimonies, most of them cannot be defined as hardened criminals. The majority of the investigated miscreants were accused of petty crimes such as theft, profiteering, or public order offenses, and their testimonies show that they did not draw constant profits from delinquency but rather took advantage of chances for a quick and easy gain. Paraphrasing then an observation made by Jane Humphries with regard to diarists from lower classes which the scholar researched, it may be said that these were ordinary individuals who found themselves in extraordinary circumstances.<sup>22</sup> If those testifying in Warsaw were indeed felons, then they should be regarded as petty criminals, sometimes simply accidental culprits. Surely not that much distinguished them from other representatives of the contemporary social low lives: apprentices, servants and day labourers, who simply had a little more luck and managed to avoid direct encounters with instigators. Especially in their young years, professional activity and spatial mobility of the accused did not distinguish them from their peers. It appears safe to agree with Zofia

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<sup>22</sup> J. Humphries, *Childhood and child labour in the British industrial revolution*, Cambridge 2010, 23.

Turska who believed that the testimonies collected painted quite a realistic picture of the low lives of Warsaw in the king Stanislaw August Poniatowski era.<sup>23</sup>

The majority of sources available to historians usually do not include information which could help to explain why a given person took up work as a servant. It is hard to determine whether domestic servants appearing in the listings chose this particular occupation from a wider range of available options, whether it was their independent decision or whether they fulfilled the expectations of their parents or older family members. Also economy guidebooks, which mostly presented only the employers' point of view, do not pay much attention to this issue, and their authors appear to be assuming that the representatives of the lower classes somehow naturally and/or automatically became servants. Of course such a perspective cannot be dismissed out of hand and deemed an overtly ideologized notion of the elites. Since domestic service constituted one of the most popular occupations experienced by a substantial number of young people, in many cases the decision to look for a permanent job in service to many lower-class children must have seemed obvious and rather unavoidable.<sup>24</sup> Still, even in such situations there must have been also other forms of employment. Even when one chose the servant post, the workplace could very well be quite far away from one's hometown. The surviving sources do not present clear-cut answers to questions of why some individuals decided to take up a job in urban centres far from their birthplaces, and of the reasons for favouring some cities over others. Certainly these choices were to some degree related to the attractiveness of the job market, the existence of local or family migratory traditions, the functioning of contact and support networks; still, all these statements remain hypotheses and not conclusions drawn from data analyses.

The form used by instigators covered not only information on the current situation of the testifying individuals but also on their background and employment history which allowed to analyse at least some of the factors affecting their decision to take up work as servants. Due to the accuracy of the surviving data the present study will only consider the first jobs which will also enable an easier comparison of the results with those of other groups. Whereas subsequent job positions could have been determined by troubles with the law, earlier sentences and progressing social degradation of the accused, with respect to first jobs, it

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<sup>23</sup> *Z rontem*, 5.

<sup>24</sup> This afflicted particularly orphans in the care of various charity organizations. Especially in the case of adolescent girls being sent away to service was believed a natural and desirable solution – cf. J. Jacobi, “Between charity and education. Orphans and orphanages in early modern times”, *Pedagogica Historica* 45, 2009, no. 1, 58.

is rather ill-grounded to suspect that these were drastically different from those taken up by other persons coming from similar backgrounds.

Presented in figure 1, the analysis of first jobs taken up by individuals testifying in Warsaw uses the method of classification trees, a gradually more and more popular statistical method allowing to search for regularities occurring in the investigated population on the basis of which individuals characterized by similar properties can be gathered together in groups. The method enables also to locate factors which would best explain the observed differentiations. Interior nodes, created throughout the entire calculation procedure assemble elements of approximate characteristics and split those which are sufficiently different.<sup>25</sup> The CART algorithm applied in the present analysis is somewhat less frequently used than the popular and most widely discussed in course-books CHAID algorithm, but both exhibit very similar properties. The major difference is that in CART, no more than two branches may spring from each node, which however makes result interpretation easier.<sup>26</sup> At the node-zero level, which groups all the investigated individuals, first job as servant applied to 58% of the described group. The category “Other” encompasses all other trades, in particular apprenticeship, day laboring, and independent economic activity, such as lease of an inn or petty peddler’s trade. Much rarer was military service, teaching, or, the in case of women, marriage and subsequent dependency on the husband. Statistical analysis of the population leads to the observation that the primary division ran along the denotative line. Jews were included in the first node in which first job as servant applied to only 23% of the investigated individuals, which means that in Warsaw three quarters of testifying individuals of the Mosaic faith started their professional activity from jobs in different positions, mostly establishing their own businesses or going into apprenticeship. Such a high share of employment included in the category “Other” starkly distinguishes Jews from the remaining groups.

Nobility, burghers and peasants were included in the second node in which the share of persons starting their professional life in the character of servants amounted to nearly 65%. Another division, this time running between social strata, grants the observation that among these groups a particularly high share of servants occurred with regards to peasants. Among the representatives of this group testifying in Warsaw nearly 80% started their professional activity as serv-

<sup>25</sup> For a broad discussion of classification trees: cf. B. Ratner, *Statistical modeling and analysis for database marketing. Effective techniques for mining big data*, Boca Raton 2003.

<sup>26</sup> L. Rokach, O. Maimon, *Data mining with decision trees. Theory and applications*, New Jersey 2008, 71–72.

ants. In general, that meant working as farm hands at farmsteads or manors,<sup>27</sup> though forms of employment were also quite frequent, for instance at a manor house or in a city. Such a prevalence of service jobs among peasants might be interpreted in the context of few alternatives. Representatives of this social group hardly ever could find their way to job trainings or trade, having very limited financial means at their disposal and narrow contact networks which could facilitate starting their own economic activity. Moreover, for peasants the primary alternative to service was day laboring, i.e. form of employment situated at the very bottom of the professional hierarchy owing to meagre income and little social prestige.

Burghers and nobility gathered in the third node were in the next step in the analysis divided by age at leaving parental home and taking up the first job. Those who did it before turning 16 were included in the fifth node. Among them, nearly 70% declared starting their professional activity from service. Later empowerment led to a slight decrease in the percentage of people performing this profession, probably related to a somewhat better material situation of families who could afford not only to keep the offspring longer at the household but also to provide him/her with financial and social support while looking for jobs in other professions. The existence of clear alternatives is particularly visible in the case of burghers who were included in the eighth node. Among them, 50% took up their first job other than service, mostly connected to learning the crafts and apprenticeship, i.e. activities somehow “naturally” ascribed to this social class. With regards to nobility, the first job as servants became the share of two thirds of the investigated individuals, a surprising result in that it indicates that the representatives of the highest social class more often engaged themselves in the performance of an occupation at the very bottom of the professional strata than the burghers. A qualification is due here, however. Some nobles worked for the richest representatives of their social class or even for magnates.<sup>28</sup> Affinity to such employers could mean not only better salaries but also higher

<sup>27</sup> With regards to earlier times, the issue was more broadly described by Anna Kamler in: *Chłopi jako pracownicy najemni na wsi małopolskiej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2005. An attempt at a more detailed depiction of the life-cycle issue was made by Cezary Kukło, “Społeczno-demograficzny cykl życia człowieka w mieście staropolskim u schyłku XVIII wieku”, *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 62, 2002, 85–106.

<sup>28</sup> The nobleman Stanisław Malinowski from the Voivodeship of Sandomierz started his professional activity as a butler at magnate Sanguszko family court— cf. AGAD, AKP 302, fol. 32.

prestige and broader career prospects.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, there were cases of noble-born but *déclassé* representatives of this social group working for peasant and burghers;<sup>30</sup> many of them actually came from petty gentry or even families entirely deprived of money and/or estates and long-since inhabiting the cities.

Analysis of the link between social class and employment in the character of servant could also be related to age at which representatives of a given occupation left their family households. Although it cannot be coupled with reaching adulthood (and it also frequently happened that after some period of work the young returned to their family home), it was certainly an important event in the lives of the investigated individuals marking a beginning of their path towards complete empowerment.<sup>31</sup> The issue is represented in figure 2. Classification conducted with the aid of the CART algorithm leads to the conclusion that although the average age at first work for the entire investigated population was ca. 15.8,<sup>32</sup> significant differences occurred with relation to social origin and the type of job performed. Among Jews and peasants, included both in the second node, the average age at first work was 17.2. The relatively high value resulted mostly from the character of work performed by the parents of the investigated persons.<sup>33</sup> Farmers' children from their earliest years were engaged in the economic activity of the farmstead. The testifying individuals themselves frequently stress that before leaving home they have already spent long years working under the supervision of parents or relatives. Also Jews were in a similar situation, because they learned their craft from their fathers or were

<sup>29</sup> There were cases where taking service at a magnate court was a pass to an impressive promotion. A good example is Maciej Starzeński, who served at Jan Klemens Branicki's since the age of 15, being eventually promoted to the function of the secretary and the office of starosta – cf. M. Starzeński, *Na schyłku dni Rzeczypospolitej. Kartki z pamiętnika Michała Starzeńskiego*, ed. by H. Mościcki, Warszawa 1914, 3; J. Kitowicz, *Dzieje obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, vol. 2, Wrocław 2003, 433.

<sup>30</sup> A good example here is nobleman of Polesia Wiktor Niewierowski who for three years worked as farm hands at a peasant household – cf. AGAD, AKP 311, fol. 48.

<sup>31</sup> M. Dribe, *Leaving home in a peasant society. Economic functions, household dynamic and youth migration in Southern Sweden 1829–1866*, Södertälje 2000, 114.

<sup>32</sup> An average age at home leaving in England (arithmetical average) in 1851 was 16.6 years for women and 17.7 for men – cf. K. Schürer, “Leaving home in England and Wales 1850–1920” in: F. van Poppel, M. Oris, J. Lee, (eds.), *The road to independence. Leaving home in Western and Eastern societies, 16<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Berno 2004, 59.

<sup>33</sup> The phenomenon was meticulously described in reference to farmers' children in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden – cf. M. Dribe, “Leaving home as family strategy in times of economic and demographic stress. The case of rural Scania, Sweden 1829–1866” in: F. van Poppel, M. Oris, J. Lee (eds.), *The road to independence. Leaving home in Western and Eastern societies, 16<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Berno 2004, 112–113.

their younger partners in a family-run business. Owing to high demand for work within family households the decision to look for other employment was frequently postponed and often only made under pressure from chance occurrences such as economic dire straits or death of the parents. Thus, only in the situation of having lost the previous source of income (or following a decision carefully thought through to become self-sufficient and independent) peasants and Jews from the investigated group left their parents. Home leaving age was most strongly influenced by the character of the first employment. Individuals taking jobs as servants usually did it at the age of 16, which is well visible in node six. Others, employed in different professions, usually started their professional activity two years later.

Starkly different from the above-discussed social classes were burghers and nobles, included in the first node. In their case, the average age at leaving their parents' household was 15.2 years, and the values fell yet more for people whose first job was in service. A further division clearly indicates that the phenomenon affected in particular urban populations. Regardless of whether these were burghers or representatives of impoverished nobility, they usually started work at the age of only 14.5 years (node nine). Such an early age at first job was predominantly due the parents' difficult economic situation. Belonging usually to the lowest professional groups they could neither provide their children with full board nor engage them in work in their own household.<sup>34</sup> Thus, sending the offspring away into service as early as possible was by far the best solution. The cost of living and board of the growing child were passed onto the employers, and entry into the job market, in contrast to even apprenticeship,<sup>35</sup> did not require any additional financial means from the parents. In turn, village-originated representatives of nobility in general began work as servants a year later.

The two analyses presented here, both of which conducted with the use of classification trees, primarily indicate the existence of stark discrepancies between Jews and Christians. The former not only much less frequently took service jobs (which does not mean, however, that they never did so), but also in their case this happened much later. The main reason was the economic situation of the followers of Judaism. Frequently involved in trade or crafts, they could afford to keep their children in the family home for longer, where they

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<sup>34</sup> With regards to the German context, the phenomenon was also observed by Michael Mitterauer, *Sozialgeschichte der Jugend*, Frankfurt 1986, 81–82.

<sup>35</sup> The question of tuition fees valid in some guilds is discussed by Z. Kropidłowski, *Samopomoc w korporacjach rzemieślniczych Gdańska, Torunia i Elbląga (XIV–XVIII w.)*, Gdańsk 1997, 70.

not only worked to the benefit of the family household but also acquired professional skills. If no serious incidents such as parents' death or financial trouble occurred, the young only decided to start living on their own after having acquired adequate skills, which enabled them to establish their own economic activities. Under such circumstances, service jobs were not among preferred professional options, and the decision to seek such employment usually resulted from the family's economic difficulties, for example when the family was not able to provide its young members with sufficient support. It also needs to be remembered that if a young Jew decided on such an employment option, his/her employer was always a coreligionist.

Among Christians the group which left the family home the latest turned out to be peasants. Similarly to Jews, young peasants used to initially work for the benefit of their own family. Usually only after several years they decided to seek empowerment and establish some sort of their own economic activity. The most popular job was broadly understood domestic service, in particular in the position of farm hands. Such a choice should not come as a surprise because young peasants were not prepared for another work. Representatives of burghers were in a much more favourable position because they had a wide range of professions at their direct disposal, including apprenticeship, option practically unavailable for people from outside this social class. Choosing this option of course meant early departure from the parents' home and coming into work for the guild master. Those burghers who did not go into craft training, usually became servants, also at a very young age. Paradoxically, the situation of representatives of the nobility was much more difficult than that of their burgher peers. For an individual coming from impoverished, land-deprived families, the choice was usually between army and service. Apprenticeship or trade, options widely available to Jews and burghers, were open to only a minor part of the nobles, with the main obstacles being not necessarily old prohibitions according to which taking up such work threatened with degradation,<sup>36</sup> but rather the lack of proper contacts such as friends or relatives ready to help to train the young person in a given craft or trade. Only in rare situations, when the obstacle had been somehow overcome, young representatives of the knightly classes took up craft apprenticeship.<sup>37</sup> Those for whom this was not possible chose mostly service. In contrast to representatives of peasantry, they did start relatively early, on average before turning 15.

<sup>36</sup> S. Grodziski, *Obywatelstwo w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 1963, 88.

<sup>37</sup> A good example is Kazimierz Wierzbiński, Lviv nobleman, pharmacist by profession – cf. AGAD, AKP 311, fol. 61.

Table 2. Professional mobility of individuals testifying before Marshal instigators in Warsaw in 1787–1794

Employment history	Source of income		Percentage of servants
	Domestic service	Others	
First Job	331	262	55.8
Second	138	197	41.2
Third	136	131	50.9
Fourth	95	113	45.7
Fifth	68	89	43.3
Sixth	46	82	35.9
Seventh	25	48	34.2

Source: AGAD, AKP 162, 302, 311, 312, 313, 314.

The emerging picture fits well in the model of functioning of life-cycle servants and is further corroborated by the fact that, apart from the young age at taking the first job as a servant, many people performing this function quit the job with time. As already calculated by Zofia Turska, people performing this job constituted over a quarter of the entire group the scholar investigated.<sup>38</sup> However, the value applies to individuals who performed this job at the moment of their indictment only; an earlier employment as servants was declared by many more testifying individuals. First of all, for 55% of them it was their very first job, and after adding up those people who had experience of servant work at a later stage in their lives, the value increases to 60%. Selected aspects of servants' mobility are presented in table 2. The values are divided according to the place of each employment in the entire cycle of professional activity of the investigated individuals. Owing to their rare occurrence, the table omits the eighth and subsequent employments. Data analysis allows us to confirm that in the first period of professional activity domestic service was the most popular form of employment. Since a similar phenomenon was frequently observed with regard to populations of Western countries,<sup>39</sup> the result seems to indicate that individuals testifying before Marshal instigators in this respect were not particularly different from the majority of society. In line with the definition of life-cycle servants, even at their seventh subsequent job for one third of the testifying individuals service remained the source of income. The relatively high result is, at least in part, due to the young age of most of the accused, and

<sup>38</sup> *Zrontem*, 34–38.

<sup>39</sup> E.A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English industrial revolution*, Cambridge 2010, 145.

to the fact that some of them, especially those accused of crimes, got 'stuck' in the job and did not manage to accumulate sufficient means for promotion to better positions.

Employment as servants was an episode in the lives of substantial part of individuals testifying before Marshal instigators, and first employment referred also to teenagers which is well visible in figure 3, presenting age distribution at the start of service job. Significantly, the decision to take up work, as well as the determination of the location of workplace, was frequently made by parents or guardians, and not the directly involved individuals, as was the case with 15% of them. The result might seem not particularly high but it has to be noted that the testimonies usually did not include any information on the motivations for starting work. If account was taken only of cases in which such information is included, then a family decision would stand behind as many as 83% of first jobs.

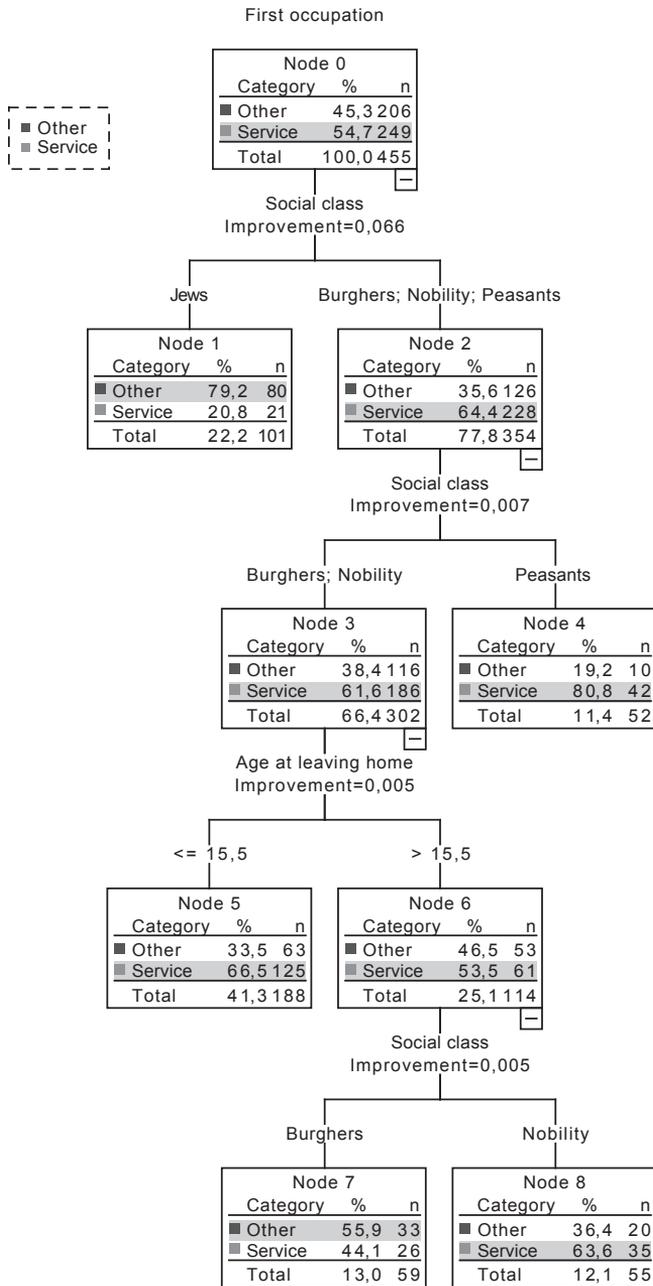
Cases of starting professional activity before turning 10 were only sporadic (6% of the investigated individuals) and usually resulted from the death of one or both parents. For instance, Jakub Kubalewicz, orphaned at the age of 8, following a six-month stay in the care of friends was sent into service to an officer Jakubowski where young Jakub worked as errand boy.<sup>40</sup> Significantly, in Jakub's case his first job was not his own decision but the will of his guardians. Also Agata Pęcherzyska, testifying in Poznań in 1743, found herself in a similar situation: when she was 7, her father died which forced her to take up a job at a nearby manor.<sup>41</sup>

It appears that the above-presented data on the age at first job as servant and on gradual quitting of the job confirm previous observations made by Cezary Kuklo and Michał Kopczyński. Life-cycle servants, in the West and on Polish lands alike, constituted a significant professional group, and the experience of life-cycle service marked an important stage in the lives of a considerable part of Old Polish society, which is indicated not only by previous research based on population listings, but also the data on life-cycle patterns collected throughout this paper.

<sup>40</sup> AGAD, AKP 314, fol. 47.

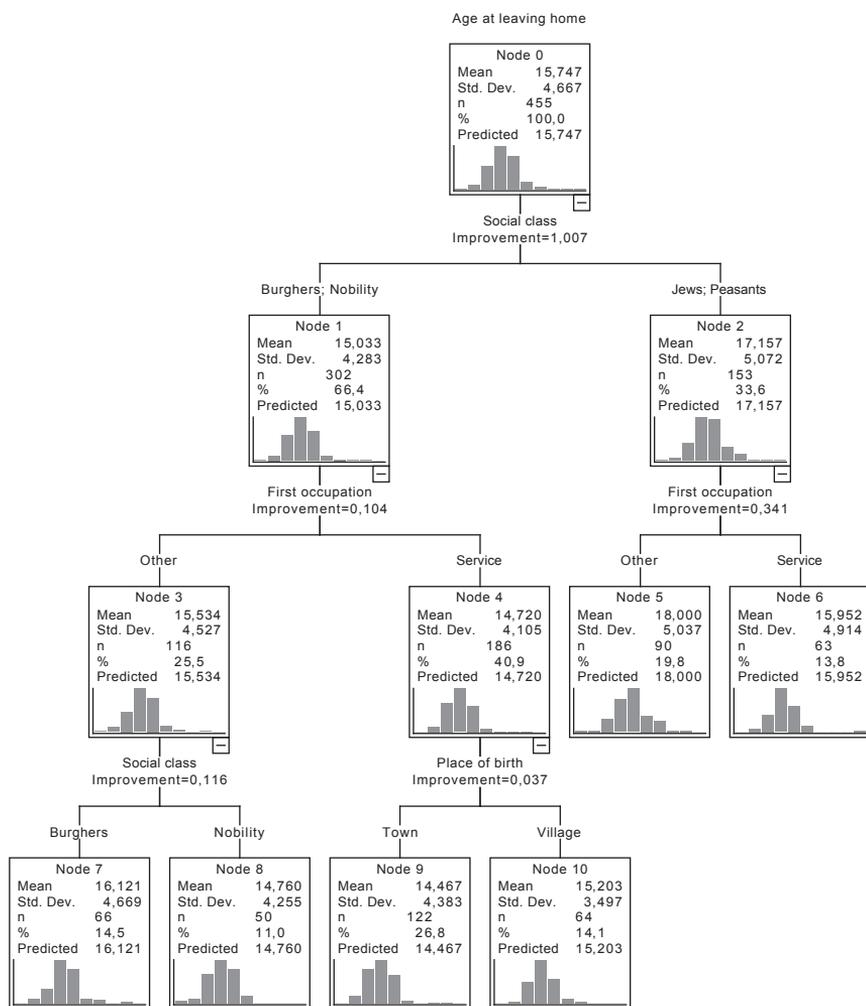
<sup>41</sup> State Archive in Poznań (Polish: Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu), Municipal Records of Poznań (Polish: Akta Miasta Poznania), I 672, f. 11.

Figure 1. Type of first job performed by individuals testifying before Marshal instigators in Warsaw at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century



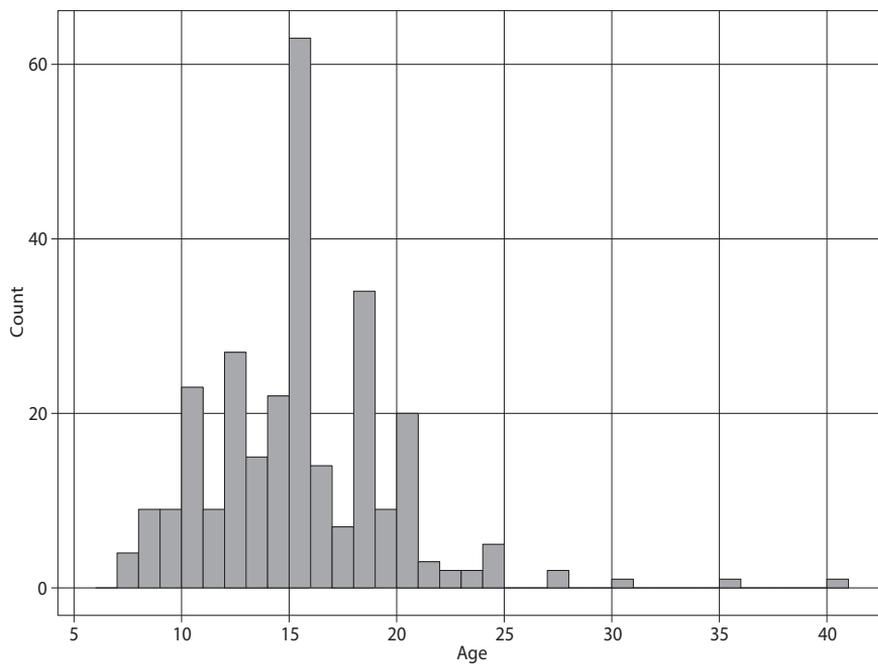
Source: AGAD, AKP, 162, 302, 311–314.

Figure 2. Age at first job of individuals testifying before Marshal investigators in Warsaw at the end of the 18th century



Source: AGAD, AKP, 162, 302, 311–314.

Figure 3. Age at first job as servant of individuals testifying before Marshal instigators in Warsaw at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century



Source: AGAD, AKP, 162, 302, 311–314.

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**AGE HEAPING AND DIGIT PREFERENCE IN  
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLAND-LITHUANIA:  
WHO WAS ROUNDING OFF THEIR AGE,  
AND WHY?<sup>1</sup>**

**1. INTRODUCTION**

More than in many other sectors of demography, researchers studying past populations (and especially populations of the so-called “pre-statistical age”)<sup>2</sup> need to use data that are often very rough, imprecise, or fragmentary. This problem has led demographic historians to pay special attention to the tasks of data assessment and checking. These practices have become so important that they are now considered “the cornerstone of research in historical demography”.<sup>3</sup>

In this essay, we examine the quality of enumerations in census-like micro-data from historical Poland-Lithuania, assessing one of the four distinct draw-

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<sup>1</sup> This article provides a condensed summary of observations and arguments made in various parts of Appendix 1 of the second volume of the recently published book *Rethinking East-Central Europe: family systems and co-residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Bern–Berlin–Bruxelles–Frankfurt am Main–New York–Wien 2015). The book covers much wider number of topics than those conveyed by this single essay.

<sup>2</sup> The “prestatistical age” is commonly regarded as being the period before the introduction of national population censuses. L. Henry, “The Verification of Data in Historical Demography”, *Population Studies* 22, no. 1, 1968, 385–386; P.A. Rosenthal, “Thirteen Years of Debate: From Population History to French Historical Demography (1945–1958)”, *Population: An English Selection* 9, 1997, 219–222; L. Del Panta, R. Rettaroli, P.A. Rosenthal, “Methods of historical demography” in: G. Caselli, J. Vallin, G. Wunsch (eds.), *Demography: Analysis and Synthesis. A Treatise in Population*, vol. 4, 2006, 597.

<sup>3</sup> L. Henry, “The Verification”, 61–81; J. Dupâquier, *Introduction à la démographie historique*. Paris–Tournai–Montréal 1974, 9; L. Del Panta et.al., “Methods”, 597–598.

backs inherent in them, namely age misreporting, also known as age heaping (the rounding of ages).<sup>4</sup> In the following we will first describe the Central European Family Forms Database (hereafter *CEURFAMFORM*), which forms the very basis of this work, in terms of its scope and structure, including a brief history of the datasets. Next, the problem of age heaping will be introduced from a demographic perspective, along with the general patterns in digit preference in our data. After providing measures of the general reliability of our age statistics in comparative perspective, multivariate analysis will be carried out to assess the relationship between the tendency for rounding of ages and geographic, demographic, residential, and group-related characteristics of individuals involved. In the conclusions, the relevance of our findings is discussed.

## 2. THE CEURFAMFORM DATABASE

The empirical data used in the analysis is provided by a database which includes information on 26,655 peasant households in the late-eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, belonging to 236 parishes and 900 settlements, and with an overall population of nearly 156,000 persons.<sup>5</sup> The data were derived from various types of cross-sectional nominative enumerations listing individuals by discrete residential units, and providing a comparable set of demographic identifiers (age, sex, marital status), as well as kinship pointers: the censuses of The Civil-Military Order Commissions 1790–1792 (48.7 percent); the Russian 5<sup>th</sup> soul revision of 1795 (37.6 percent); and the “lists of souls,” i.e., the Roman Catholic *Libri Status Animarum* or the Protestant *Seelenregister* (7.3 percent of all household listings). The remaining data came from other types of household lists (6.4 percent).

The Civil-Military Order Commissions (Polish: *Komisje Porządkowe Cywilno-Wojskowe*) were established by the Polish Diet (*Sejm*) in November 1789 in each administrative unit (voivodeship, land, district) of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The tasks of each commission included collecting annual censuses (beginning in January 1790) of the population living in the territory within

<sup>4</sup> The remaining are: (1) lack of internal consistency of enumeration schedules, (2) missing information on individuals’ characteristics, (3) underenumeration. All of them are tackled in detail in M. Szołtysek, *Rethinking East-central Europe*, Appendix 1.

<sup>5</sup> The database development was supported by the Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship project (FP6-2002-Mobility-5, Proposal No. 515065) at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Cambridge, UK, 2006–2008. The database was completed in 2012 at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research in Rostock (Germany).

its jurisdiction,<sup>6</sup> without any restrictions as regards religious denomination of individuals. The collected data on given populations were to be submitted to the commission by priests of both the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox churches, as well as by Protestant priests of all denominations, under the penalty for those vicars who failed to fulfil their population registry duty.<sup>7</sup> While this census covered the entire territory of the declining Polish-Lithuanian state, only six large collections of census micro-data (apart from some individual parishes) survived out of over 70 listings compiled by the commissions throughout the Commonwealth in 1789–1790.<sup>8</sup>

The Russian “soul revisions” (*revizii*, literally “review”) were designed as periodic tax censuses used by the central government to assess the poll tax that all male peasants in Russia were required to pay.<sup>9</sup> As regards the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, these surveys were first taken in 1782 on its eastern borderland, after their annexation by Russia a decade earlier (the 4<sup>th</sup> revision). However, it was not until 1795 that the first comprehensive survey covering the

<sup>6</sup> T. Korzon, *Wewnętrzne dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, vol. 1 Kraków 1897, 296–297, 301; vol. 5, 196–201; J. Kleczyński, “Spisy ludności w Rzeczypospolitej polskiej”, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności* 30, 1892, 18–19; J. Gordziejew, *Komisje Porządkowe Cywilno-Wojskowe w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w okresie Sejmu Czteroletniego (1789–1792)*, Kraków 2010.

<sup>7</sup> *Volumina legum*, vol. 9, Kraków 1889, 140, 153; J. Kleczyński, “Spisy”, 17; J. Gordziejew, *Komisje*, 58, 231.

<sup>8</sup> J. Janczak, “Dom, gospodarstwo i rodzina wiejska w Wieluńskim u schyłku XVIII stulecia” in: P. Franaszek (ed.), *Celem nauki jest człowiek. Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej ofiarowane Helenie Madurowicz-Urbańskiej*, Kraków 2000, 118–119.

<sup>9</sup> A. Plakans, “Peasant Farmsteads and Household in the Baltic Littoral, 1797”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, 1975, 2–35; P. Czap, “A large family: the peasant’s greatest wealth: Serf households in Mishino, Russia, 1814–1858” in: R. Wall, J. Robin, P. Laslett (eds.), *Family forms in historic Europe*, Cambridge 1983, 105–151; H. Palli, “Parish registers and revisions: research strategies in Estonian historical demography and agrarian history”, *Social Science History* 7, 1983, no. 3, 289–310; I. Troitskaya, *Revizii naseleniya Rossii kak istochnik demograficheskoi informatsii (metodologicheskie problemy)*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Faculty of Economics, Moscow State University 1995; A. Blum, I. Troitskaya, “Mortality in Russia during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century: local assessments based on the Revizii”, *Population: An English Selection* 9, 1997, 123–146; T.K. Dennison, “Serfdom and household structure in Central Russia: Voshchaznikovo, 1816–1858”, *Continuity and Change*, 18, 2003, no. 3, 395–429; I. Chernyakova, “Marriage Behaviour in Pre-Industrial Karelian Rural Parishes” in: P. Kooij, R. Paping (eds.), *Where the Twain Meet Again: New Results of the Dutch Russian Project on Regional development 1750–1917*, Groningen 2004, 91–129; M. Polla, “Peasant Families in Northern Russia: Nineteenth-Century Regional Patterns”, *Historical Social Research* 32, 2007, no. 3, 270–298; S.A. Rýbchónak, “Kompleks révizskikh skazak u Natsýyanal’nym gistarýchnym arkhive Belarusi”, *Belaruski Arkheagrafichny shtogodnik*, 8, 2007, 47–54.

Belarusian heartland of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania after the second partition of Poland was conducted.<sup>10</sup>

Instructions on how to conduct the new survey were laid out in a tsar's decree, which ordered that the survey be conducted according to the rules of the previous, or fourth revision.<sup>11</sup> As in the case of censuses of the Civil-Military Order Commissions, the failure to report the presence of all individuals during the revision process was subject to penalties, such as dismissal or demotion.<sup>12</sup> In the two newly established governorates of Minsk and Grodno, the revision was prepared in both the Polish and the Russian languages, although Polish remained the language of the original lists.<sup>13</sup> At a local level, the duty of conducting the listings fell to the owners or administrators of the estate, who were supported by a deputy selected from representatives of the local Polish or Lithuanian gentry.<sup>14</sup>

The third major type of sources used here are the listings of parishioners created by the local clergy (*Libri Status Animarum*; *Seelenlisten*)<sup>15</sup> for the purposes of church registration – to gauge the needs and revenue-generating potential of their parishes, as well as the spiritual welfare of their flocks. Long known to

<sup>10</sup> The 1782 census was carried out only in the eastern part of Belarus. Later, after the censuses from 1795–96, similar ones took place in 1811, 1815–16, 1833–34, 1850, and 1857–58. In the Belarusian territories, the 1795–1796 revision was conducted in four principal Russian governorates (see: V.M. Kabuzan, *Narodonaseleniie Rossii v XVIII – pervoi polovine XIX v. po materialam revizii*, Moskva 1963, 165; A.M. Karpachev, P.G. Kozlovskij, “Dinamika chislennosti naselenia Belorussii vo vtoroi polovine XVII–XVIII vv.,” *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoj istorii Vostochnoj Evropy (za 1968 god)*, 1972, 90, 92; S.A. Rȳbchonaĳ, “Kompleks”, 47–54; *Revizijnij perepis naselennâ 1795 r. – Braclavskaja guberniâ*, part. 1: *Beršads'kij povit*, vol. 1: *Revizijni spiski selân sil: Kriklivec', Krušinivka, Luguĳate, Lûbašivka, Obodivka, Potašnâ, P'âtkivka, Rogizka, Tatarivka, Hristiše, Âlanec'* ed. by Ŭ. Legun, O. Petrenko, Vinnica 2003.

<sup>11</sup> The supposed objects of registration were members of the gentry without subjects, as well as peasants, servants, merchants, burghers, and masters of various crafts. Moreover, the census differentiated between populations of Russian, Jewish, Crimean Karaites, Gypsy, and Tatar descent, and also between doctors and teachers, clergymen and church and convent servants, and orphans and the poor (V.M. Kabuzan, *Narodonaseleniie*, 69).

<sup>12</sup> M. Kędelski, “Spis ludności Kamieńca Podolskiego z 1795 roku”, *Genealogia* 12, 2000, 103–104; D.N. Antonov, I.A. Antonova, *Metricheskie knigi Rossii XVIII – nachala XX veka*, Moskva 2006, 262–263. From the 10<sup>th</sup> revision onwards, a standard form was used that included the natural and migratory population turnover during the inter-listing period. For the new provinces, which were made up of territories annexed from Poland after its second partition, a simplified form was used in which only the current status of the population had to be reported (there had been no previous revision).

<sup>13</sup> B. Feldblyum, “Russian Revision Lists: A History”, *Avotaynu* 14, 1998, no. 3, 59.

<sup>14</sup> M. Kędelski, “Spis”, 103–104.

<sup>15</sup> Hereafter as LSA and SL, respectively.

historical-demographers,<sup>16</sup> these listings are among the most important sources for studies of historical family and residential arrangements.<sup>17</sup> The first order to prepare parishioners' lists came from the Roman Catholic church in the *Rituale Romanorum*, which was promulgated under Pope Paul V in 1614. Across Polish territories, the rule was institutionalized with the promulgation of the *Rituale Piotrcoviensis* in 1631.<sup>18</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup>-century instructions for conducting an LSA recommended that the priests get to know their parishioners in the privacy of their homes, and called for the results of such visits to be recorded in special books with information on the villages of the parish, including the number of houses in each village and the list of inhabitants in each dwelling.<sup>19</sup> According to the surveying procedure in use on Polish lands, the visiting party was to carefully describe the surveyed domestics by parameters such as name, surname and age. Moreover, the list had to include information on family ties stemming from blood relationships or affinity, as well as the social status or occupational category of the registered. In addition, the register was to serve as a record of participation in sacraments.<sup>20</sup> A variant of the Catholic church's listings are the *Seelenlisten* (or *Seelenregistern*) conducted by the Protestant communities. Here, these listings have been added to the *Libri Status Animarum* group (two lists out of 17 in this category). Both the *Libri Status Animarum* and the *Seelenlisten* generally covered only the local population of a given denomination, and contained no records of religious dissidents or Jews.

<sup>16</sup> R. Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1, Louvain 1954, 75–102, vol. 3, 25–37; C.A. Corsini, "Gli status animarum, fonte per le ricerche di demografia storica" in: *Le fonti della demografia storica in Italia*, Roma 1972, 85–126; M. Mitterauer, R. Sieder, "The developmental cycle of domestic groups: Problems of reconstruction and possibilities of interpretation", *Journal of Family History* 4, 1979, no. 3, 257–259; J.D. Willigan, K.A. Lynch, *Sources and methods of historical demography*, New York 1982, 85–87; G. Coppola, C. Grandi (eds.), *La "conta delle anime": popolazioni e registri parrocchiali: questioni di metodo ed esperienze*, Bologna 1989; B. Kumor, "Księgi "status animarum" w diecezjach polskich (do 1918 roku)", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 1, 1967, 89–110.

<sup>17</sup> M. Szoltysek, S. Gruber, "Mosaic: recovering surviving census records and reconstructing the familial history of Europe", *The History of the Family* (DOI: 10.1080/1081602X.2015.1006655).

<sup>18</sup> B. Kumor, "Księgi", 96–97; R. Kotecki, "Rejestracja metrykalna wiernych w świetle politycznego ustawodawstwa Kościoła Katolickiego (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem prawodawstwa diecezji chełmińskiej, gnieźnieńskiej, płockiej i włocławskiej)", *Nasza Przeszłość* 112, 2009, 135–175; M. Dębowska, *Status Animarum łacińskiej parafii katedralnej w Lucku 1815–1819*, Lublin 2013.

<sup>19</sup> B. Kumor, "Księgi", 93; R. Kotecki, "Rejestracja", *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> B. Kumor, "Księgi", 96–97; R. Kotecki, "Rejestracja", *passim*.

Of the remaining lists, the main ones are the population lists prepared on the command of the noble landed estates (nine items). Two of these datasets are Crown estate inventories. Two further units (both from Silesia) are communion books, another form of parochial statistics occurring across both Catholic and Protestant lands.<sup>21</sup> Finally, one item is a remnant of a general survey conducted by the authorities of the ephemeral Duchy of Warsaw in 1809.<sup>22</sup> Yet another is a nominal list of one estate from a Prussian tax cadaster from 1772.<sup>23</sup>

The 236 parishes investigated have been grouped into twelve regions, either on the basis of their administrative belonging or geographical proximity. Such regions have been further aggregated into four larger clusters using statistical tests and data mining techniques (figure 1). The cluster called West encompasses all regions of Poland proper and Silesia, stretching from Warmia in the north to the Sudetes and the Carpathian foothills in the south. The cluster East 1 encompasses a vast area spread concentrically around the Pripyat Marshes in nowadays southern Belarus, covering central territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL), parts of Red Ruthenia and northern Ukraine. East 3 comprises the Polesian territories in the southern parts of the GDL, and East 2 part of the Volhynian-Podolian plateau. A broad geographical division breaking down all regions into western and eastern parishes in relation to the model division of the territories of eastern Europe, as proposed by Hajnal,<sup>24</sup> may also be suggested, thus distinguishing between regions 1–7 on the one hand and the remaining regions, on the other.

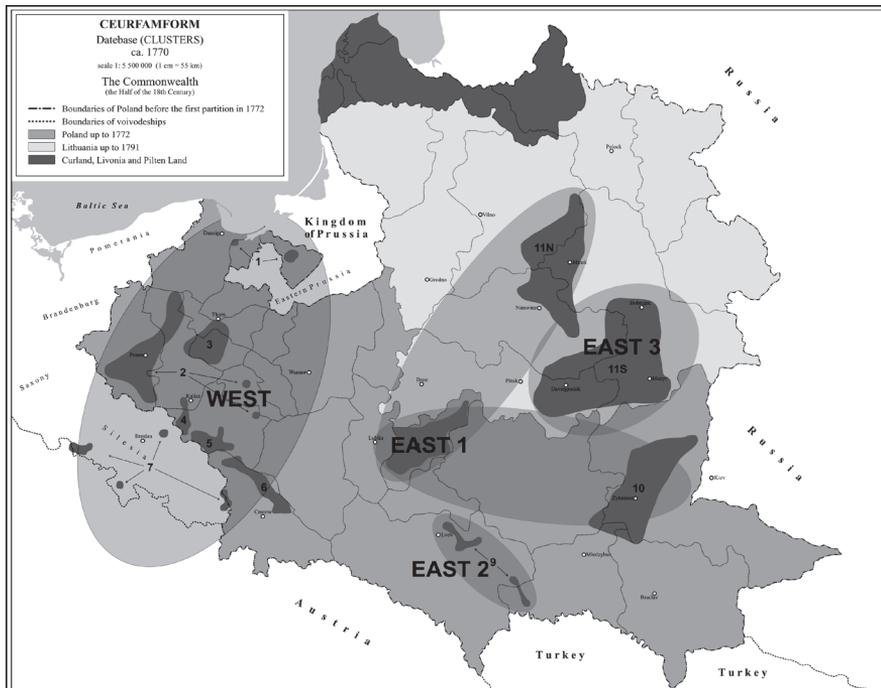
<sup>21</sup> M. Szołtysek, “Central European household and family systems, and the “Hajnal-Mitterauer” line: the parish of Bujakow (18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries)”, *The History of the Family* 12, 2007, no. 1, 19–42; C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*. Warszawa 2009, 72–74; B. Moring, “Land, labor, and love: Household arrangements in nineteenth century eastern Finland-cultural heritage or socio-economic structure?”, *The History of the Family* 4, 1999, no. 2, 159–184.

<sup>22</sup> S. Borowski, “Procesy demograficzne w mikroregionie Czacz w latach 1598–1975”, *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 9, 1976, 101.

<sup>23</sup> J. Bachanek, “Spisy ludności wsi Jeziernik (Schönsee) i Ostaszewo (Schöneberg) w dzierzawie nadworskiej w województwie malborskim z 21–22 grudnia 1772 r.”, *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 20, 1997, 145–187; S. Cackowski, “Pruski kataster podatkowy z roku 1772/1773. Problemy heurystyczne” in: W. Stępiński, Z. Szultka (eds.), *Pomorze, Brandenburgia, Prusy (państwo i społeczeństwo Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Bogdanowi Wachowiakowi z okazji 70-lecia urodzin i 50-lecia pracy naukowej*, Szczecin 1999, 91–98.

<sup>24</sup> J. Hajnal, “European marriage patterns in perspective” in: D.V. Glass, D.E.C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in history. Essays in historical demography*, London 1965, 101–143.

Figure 1. Clustering of regional groups included in the CEURFAMFORM Database (borders as of 1770)



Map design: J. Suproniuk/M. Szołtysek. Source: CEURFAMFORM Database.

The database comprises exclusively rural societies engaged in small- and middle-scale agriculture. An overwhelming majority of the population of all regions consisted of serfs living in personal and hereditary subjugation. The Polish (and Catholic) preponderance over the western areas was diminishing in favor of large numbers of Belarusians and Ukrainians (mostly Uniates, i.e., Greco-Catholics) in the eastern provinces.

The regional clusters are considered as representative of discrete family systems across the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, at least in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> The structural progression in family characteristics within Poland-Lithuania has

<sup>25</sup> M. Szołtysek, "Three kinds of preindustrial household formation system in historical Eastern Europe: A challenge to spatial patterns of the European family", *The History of the Family* 13, 2008, no. 3, 223–257; Idem, "Residence patterns and the human-ecological setting in historical Eastern Europe: a challenge of compositional (re)analysis" in: P. Kreager et alii (eds.), *Population in the human sciences: concepts, models*, Oxford 2015, 431–468.

moved from less kin-centered, mostly neolocal households in the west, where people married at a moderate age, to much higher levels of household complexity, prevalence of patrilocality, and a strictly universal marriage on Poland's eastern edges.<sup>26</sup> The cluster East 1 exhibits the features of a transitional territory, with several 'hybrid' traits, e.g., a nearly perfect numerical balance of simple and complex families, and a decline in the occurrences of servants and lodgers, as well as in the age at marriage. The indicators of family system complexity increased most dramatically in Polesia (Region 11S). The East 2 cluster, while retaining some specifically "eastern" features (e.g., a high share of co-resident relatives in the population, a low incidence of life-cycle service, and a relatively low marital age), was also similar in many ways to the western regions, particularly in terms of the preponderance of simple households.

### **3. THE PROBLEMATIC NATURE OF AGE HEAPING, AND GENERAL PATTERNS IN DIGIT PREFERENCE**

Since age structures represent the starting point for any population study, obtaining information on age structures and plotting it on a graph is often the first step in seeking to understand the nature of processes affecting populations. An overall investigation of the age-sex structure according to the requirements of contemporary demographic statistics is disrupted in case of many historical data by a substantial accumulation of age values on particular numbers. This specific type of age misreporting known as age heaping (the rounding of ages) constitutes "one of demography's most frustrating problems".<sup>27</sup> It represents an insidious obstacle in census enumeration because these digit preferences are difficult or even impossible to detect at an individual level.<sup>28</sup> The data on ages are rarely completely incoherent, but depending on the circumstances, they can be overestimated, inflated, or deflated. The extent to which these distortions occurred can be measured by means of age heaping indices, which measure the tendency in a population to round ages using certain digits. The susceptible age registration resulting from a strong heaping, especially when those who contributed to it might have been drawn from several digits on both sides of the

<sup>26</sup> M. Szołtysek, "Central European", *passim*; Idem, "Life cycle service and family systems in the rural countryside: a lesson from historical East-Central Europe", *Annales de Démographie Historique* 117, 2009, 53–94.

<sup>27</sup> D.C. Ewbank, *Age misreporting and age-selective underenumeration: sources, patterns, and consequences for demographic analysis*, Washington 1981, 81.

<sup>28</sup> R.H. Steckel, "The quality of census data for historical inquiry: a research agenda", *Social Science History* 15, 1991, no 4, 581–82.

concentration year,<sup>29</sup> in principle rules out the prospect of absolute accuracy of the potential estimations based on age-specific rates. It is also widely assumed that digit preferences (particularly for zero and five) are likely to be linked to other sources of inaccuracy in age statements, and to a general lack of reliability of age distribution.<sup>30</sup>

While age heaping is generally treated as a source of distortion in age statistics, which need to be removed or at least minimized, it can also be studied as a topic of interest in its own right. Economists and economic historians have been increasingly interested in using age heaping in self-reported age data as an indicator of basic numeracy,<sup>31</sup> and increasingly, as an indicator of human capital.<sup>32</sup> People with lower mental capacities who were not able to accurately determine their ages (and in practice had almost no recourse to written baptismal records), or who lacked numerical discipline, could only give a rough estimate of their age. In making such estimates they likely used the ages of close relatives, i.e., parents, siblings, or children, as points of reference.<sup>33</sup> Previous research has shown that numeracy correlates strongly with other human capital indicators, literacy, in particular,<sup>34</sup> especially in agricultural societies.

Figures 2 through 4 present the age-sex structure of the aggregate population of the CEURFAMFORM database, and its two main geographical conglomerates, deemed illustrative of a range of possible patterns discernible in the entire collection. Almost all of these figures show that certain numbers in our

<sup>29</sup> M. Szoltysek, *Rethinking*, Appendix 1, section 1.5.3.

<sup>30</sup> United Nations, *1988 Demographic Yearbook*, New York 1990, 20.

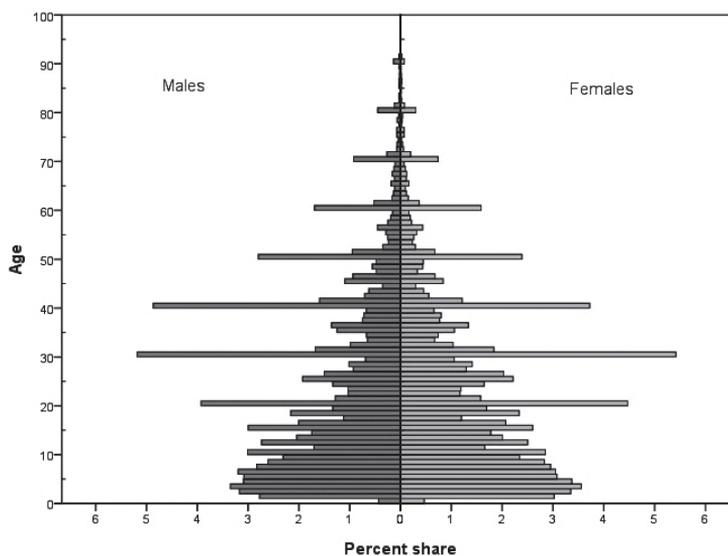
<sup>31</sup> E.G. Stockwell, "Patterns of digit preference and avoidance in the age statistics of some recent national censuses: a test of the Turner hypothesis", *Eugenics Quarterly* 13, 1966, no. 3, 205–208; E.G. Stockwell, J.W. Wicks, "Age heaping in recent national censuses", *Social Biology* 21, 1974, no. 2, 163–167; D.H. Kaiser, P. Engel, "Time- and Age-Awareness in Early Modern Russia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, 1993, no. 4, 824–839.

<sup>32</sup> B. A'Hearn, D. Crayen, J. Baten, "Quantifying Quantitative Literacy: Age Heaping and the History of Human Capital", *Journal of Economic History* 69, 2009, 783–808; D. Crayen, J. Baten, "Global trends in numeracy 1820–1949 and its implications for long-term growth", *Explorations in Economic History* 47, 2010, 82–99; T. de Moor, J.L. van Zanden, "Every Woman Counts": A Gender-Analysis of Numeracy in the Low Countries during the Early Modern Period", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, 2010, no. 2, 179–208; J. Baten, M. Szoltysek, "A golden age before serfdom? The human capital of Central-Eastern and Eastern Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries", MPIDR Working Paper 2014-008, AUGUST 2014.

<sup>33</sup> See: D. Herlihy, C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427*, New Haven 1985, 109; D.C. Ewbank, *Age*, 5–17.

<sup>34</sup> See: B. A'Hearn, D. Crayen, J. Baten, "Quantifying", *passim*.

Figure 2: The age and sex distribution of a population of Poland-Lithuania (entire collection)



listings held a particularly powerful attraction. Even a cursory look at the pyramids tells us, however, that the selection of declared ages in the enumerations was not entirely arbitrary, and that rounding generally occurred in consistent patterns. Especially after the age of 20 (and in some regions even earlier), most of the pyramids show pronounced spikes at the decadal years and secondary spikes at ages ending in five. Single-year age groups one or two digits apart may show enormous variations in size. For both sexes, the most “crowded” age was 30, followed by 40; although there was some regional variation in this pattern.<sup>35</sup>

This stress on even ages persisted in older age groups, while the preference for reporting ages ending in a five and in other digits declined. A provisional inspection of the census figures shows no signs of a preferential reporting of ages with the even-numbered terminal digits two, four, six, and eight over those ending in one, three, seven, and nine; indeed, the degree of preferences was almost the same for both categories of digits.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The proportion of individuals with ages concentrated on 30 years within the total population aged 23–62 varied across all regions in the database from 3.6 percent to 20.4 percent; and for those with ages rounding on 40 years from 2.9 to 17.9 percent, respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Our sole focus in this paper is on age heaping for digits zero and five, the most profound pattern of age misreporting in our data. For analysis of digit preference other than zero and five, and of the patterns of digit avoidance in the CEURFAMFORM data, see section 1.5.3 of volume 2 of M. Szołtysek, *Rethinking Est-Central Europe*.

Figure 3: The age and sex distribution of a population of western regions of Poland-Lithuania

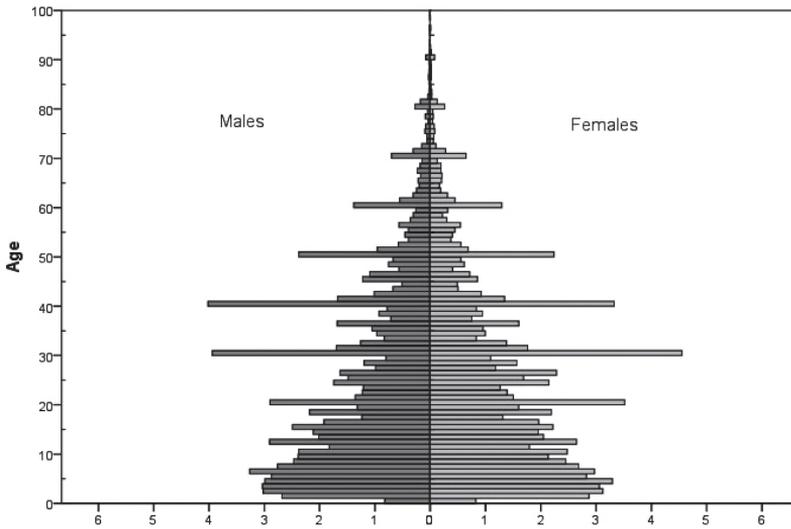
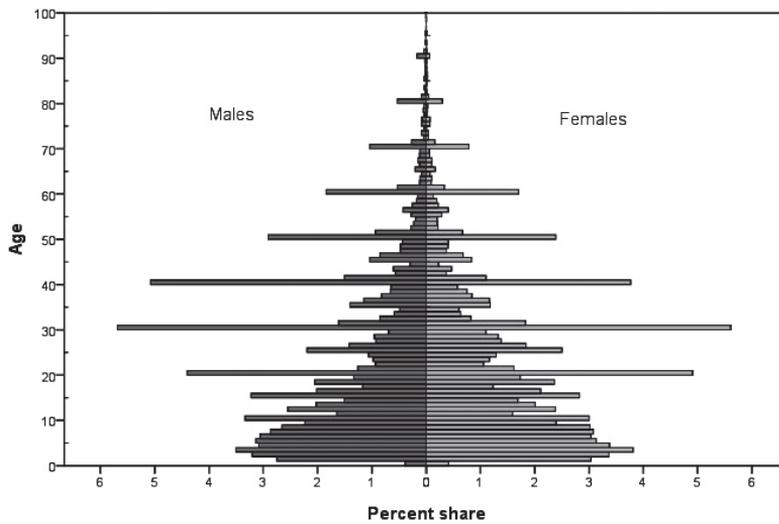


Figure 4: The age and sex distribution of a population of eastern regions of Poland-Lithuania



A better test of the general reliability of our age statistics can be conducted by referring to the age heaping index, which measures the degree of preference for or avoidance of ages ending in zero and five (the so-called Whipple's index).<sup>37</sup> Index values are given for all regions in table 1.

The United Nations has stated that if the values of Whipple's index are less than 105, then the age distribution is deemed "highly accurate." If the index values oscillate between 105 and 109.9, the age distribution is considered "fairly accurate." Meanwhile, values of between 110 and 124.9 are deemed "approximate;" values of between 125 and 174.9 are considered "rough;" and values of 175 or higher are deemed "very rough".<sup>38</sup> In our case (column B in table 1), only one region had an index value which is acceptable by modern demographic standards (region 7), though another region was close (region 10). These regions differed substantially in terms of their location and the type of census used. Region 7 had a mostly German-speaking population and kept records using the Protestant "lists of souls." In region 10, the records came from remnants of the Polish-Lithuanian census of 1791, and the population consisted mainly of Greek-Catholics and Ukrainians. In all of the remaining regions, the Whipple's index values were well above the level of 125 (which is the lower threshold of poor age reporting quality), and the values were over 175 in most cases.<sup>39</sup>

If we regroup the data by treating Hajnal's line as a demarcation marker, the east-west gradient in the degree of age heaping clearly appears. Overall, eastern parishes had a higher index than western parishes (236 to 180), but it is fundamentally an effect of disproportionately high index values in Belarusian regions

<sup>37</sup> The original Whipple index is calculated by taking the ratio of the sum of people reporting an age ending on multiples of five and the total sum of people in the age range 23–62, which in demographic terms is the most stable population group. The Whipple index value of 500 would indicate perfect heaping on multiples of five; a value of 100 would indicate no heaping at all. All values below 100 suggest "anti heaping;" meaning that the population is concentrated on ages that end in neither zero nor five. A Whipple index of zero is theoretically possible and would mean an avoidance of ages ending in five and zero. However, values below 95–100 are uncommon. Some limitations of the index are related to the fact that in older age groups frequencies of some categories of age may differ significantly due to mortality effects, even in the absence of age heaping (F. Hobbs, "Age and sex composition" in: J. Siegel, D. A. Swanson (eds.), *The methods and materials of demography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2008, 125–173; see also T. Spoorenberg, "Quality of age reporting: Extension and application of the modified Whipple's index", *Population E* 62, 2007, no. 4, 729–742).

<sup>38</sup> United Nations, 1988 *Demographic Yearbook*, 18–19.

<sup>39</sup> From the 220 parishes included in the analysis only two achieved index value between 100 and 104, which is considered as an attribute of highly accurate data. One of these parishes belonged to region 10 in the Ukraine.

Table 1: Measures of age heaping and the dispersion of age heaping across parishes (estates), by regions of Poland-Lithuania

Region	Whipple's Index, both sexes (population means)	Whipple's Index, males (population means)	Whipple's Index, females (population means)	Whipple's Index, total population; sample means (st.dev.)	Coefficient of variation (in %)*	ABCC index**
A	B	C	D	E	F	G
REG 1	177	162	192	178 (40)	22***	81
REG 2	186	193	180	158 (94)	59	78
REG 3	188	194	181	196 (99)	51	78
REG 4	213	216	210	182 (76)	42	72
REG 5	202	213	190	188 (94)	50	75
REG 6	210	218	201	184 (89)	48	73
REG 7	109	112	106	106 (16)	15	98
REG 8	147	155	139	135 (79)	58	88
REG 9	313	307	320	275 (36)	n/a****	47
REG 10	131	130	132	118 (80)	68	92
REG 11N	334	342	326	336 (79)	24	42
REG 11S	312	332	289	313 (88)	28	47
Total	211	217	204	224 (118)	53	72

Source: CEURFAMFORM Database. Data for 220 parishes with 141,172 individual observations.

\* CV was calculated from regional sample (parish/ estate) means and their respective standard deviations.

\*\* The ABCC Index is a linear transformation of the Whipple Index. It indicates the percentage of individuals with a correctly reported age (see B. A'Hearn, D. Crayen, J. Baten, "Quantifying Quantitative Literacy: Age Heaping and the History of Human Capital", *Journal of Economic History* 69, 2009, 783–808).

\*\*\* Data for only two parishes.

\*\*\*\* Data for only one parish.

(11N and 11S) and in Ukrainian Podolia (region 9). Two other regions with a predominantly Ruthenian population (regions 8 and 10) depart significantly from this pattern, exhibiting index values distinctly lower than those for western and southern Polish lands. These two regions are also among the 19 parishes with the highest quality of age registration (the Whipple's index of 100–124).

The extent of digit preference within the regions varied considerably between parishes (see columns E–F in table 1). Region 7 and the two Belarusian regions

displayed the lowest degree of variation in the quality of age reporting. For region 7, this lack of variation indicates that the quality of age registration was high across most of the region's parishes. For the Belarusian regions, however, this lack of variation suggests that there were only very small inter-regional deviations from the overall tendency to misreport age.

An extension of the original Whipple's index is provided with its linear transformation, which yields the share of individuals with a proper age record (the so-called ABCC Index).<sup>40</sup> The general characteristics of our dataset indicate that the ages were correctly reported for 72 percent of individuals (table 1, col. G). This parameter varies from 40 percent in the Belarusian territories to 70–80 percent in the western regions. The 100 percent level was approached only in region 7, although it was also relatively high in regions 8 and 10.<sup>41</sup>

Table 2 allows us to compare the age heaping indicators from pre-modern Poland-Lithuania with those of some other European and non-European societies of the preindustrial and modern eras (sites are sorted chronologically within broad geographical regions). The overall quality of age reporting in our dataset does not compare favorably with the indicators calculated from state-administrated censuses from the Netherlands, the southern Danish provinces, and Norway; nor with values inferred from nationwide censuses of the US and Great Britain one century later. However, figures from some regions of historical Poland approach these quality levels (regions 8 and 10 in table 1 above).

Our data compare somewhat more favorably with data from the *status animarum*, which was conducted in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century by the church administration of the Münster bishopric. In this case, the levels of age misreporting exceeded the levels recorded in all of the western regions of our sample, and in historical Poland-Lithuania overall. The consistency of age reporting in our material is also in line with that of listings from other parts of eastern and southern Europe and from historical Latin America. The Whipple index for our entire

<sup>40</sup> The ABCC Index reports a society's share of individuals who probably know their true age (named after A'Hearn, Baten and Crayen as well as Greg Clark, who developed that measure). The formula is

$$ABCC = \left( 1 - \frac{(Wh - 1000)}{400} \right) * 100 \text{ if } Wh \geq 100; \text{ else } ABCC = 100$$

The index ranges from 0 to 100. If everybody reports their correct age, ABCC has a value of 100.

See: B. A'Hearn, D. Crayen, J. Baten, "Quantifying", 788; D. Crayen, J. Baten. "Global trends", 84.

<sup>41</sup> For comparative data see: B. A'Hearn, D. Crayen, J. Baten, "Quantifying", 801.

Table 2: Age heaping indicators from pre-modern Poland-Lithuania and other European and non-European societies

Region/ location	Whipple Index
Reims, 1422	234
8 Westphalian parishes 1751	263
Southern Netherlands, 1796	163
Rural Norway, 1801	126
Schleswig-Holstein 1803	109
Rural US 1850	142
Rural Britain, 1851	125
Tuscany (without Florence), 1427	289
Poland, 1921	135
Tula (central Russia), 1715–20	257
Viatka (northeastern Russia), 1710–17	342
Russia, 1897	175
7 Latin American countries, 1744–1899	247
Albania 1918	324
Iran, 1976	163
Indonesia, 1980	222
Afghanistan, 1979	297
CEURFAMFORM	211

Source: for Poland-Lithuania – CEURFAMFORM Database; for Albania – data provided by S. Gruber; for Reims, Tuscany and southern Netherlands – T. de Moor, J. L. van Zanden, “Every Woman Counts: A Gender-Analysis of Numeracy in the Low Countries during the Early Modern Period”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, 2010, no. 2, 179–208; for Westphalia and Schleswig Holstein – Mosaic Historica Data; for Norway – data from the census of Norway provided by A. Solli; rural Britain and the US – 1 percent samples from NAPP; for Tula and Viatka – D. Kaiser, P. Engel, “Time- and Age-Awareness in Early Modern Russia”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, 1993, no. 4, 824–839; for Poland – own calculation based on the First general Census in Poland; for 1897 Russia – J. Baten, M. Szołtysek, “A golden age before serfdom? The human capital of Central-Eastern and Eastern Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries”, *MPIDR Working Paper 2014-008*, AUGUST 2014; for Latin America – K. Manzel, J. Baten, Y. Stolz, “Convergence and Divergence of Numeracy: The Development of Age Heaping in Latin America from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century”, *The Economic History Review* 65, 2012, no. 3, 932–960; for Iran, Indonesia and Afghanistan – A. J. Jowett, Y. Li, “Age heaping: contrasting patterns from China”, *GeoJournal* 28, 1992, no. 4, 434.

collection is lower than it is in all of these locations, especially in comparison with 18<sup>th</sup>-century Russia, rural Tuscany, and the Balkans. This does not, however, apply to the age data from the Polish Eastern Borderlands (regions IIN and IIS), as the quality of the data from these regions is lower than in the case of countries with very poor records of age registration, such as Russia, Albania, and even contemporary Afghanistan.

#### **4. WHO WAS ROUNDING OFF THEIR AGE, AND WHY?**

##### 4.1. Descriptive statistic

Who was rounding off their age, and why? A simple cross-tabulation of the percentage of individuals reporting ages ending in zero and multiples of five by geographic, demographic, residential, and source-related characteristics should help to shed some light on this question (table 3). The regional panels of table 3 are in line with our preceding explorations of the spatial patterns of age heaping, as they illustrate the exceptional nature of the household listings from regions 7, 8, and 10; as well as the general superiority of age reporting in parishes located in the western part of the country. Our previous observations are corroborated in yet another respect, as digit preference seems to have had a slightly more marked effect on the age returns of males than on those of females. Numbers from the age group panel in table 3 seem to be quite revealing, as well, showing a clear old-age effect in the tendency to heap ages.

The statistics presented in table 3 demonstrate interesting connections between age misreporting and household status. Among all household members, age rounding was most frequently observed among the parents of the head. These findings are consistent across all of the relevant columns of the table.<sup>42</sup> This may suggest that the intimacy of intergenerational co-residence and the widely accepted notion – especially in the eastern regions – that the elderly had an exceptional and superior social status<sup>43</sup> did not necessarily imply that household members knew each other's precise ages. Equally surprising is the finding that in the west, the age reports provided by the household heads and their spouses were not much more accurate than those supplied by marginal household mem-

<sup>42</sup> Cf. L. Dillon, *The Shady Side of Fifty: Age and Old Age in Late Victorian Canada and the United States*, Montreal and Kingston 2008, 110.

<sup>43</sup> J. Obrębski, *Polesie. Studia etnosocjologiczne*, ed. by A. Engelking, Warszawa 2007.

Table 3. Persons reporting an age ending in zero and zero or five by individual and group characteristics, western and eastern parishes of Poland-Lithuania (%)

Variables	WEST		EAST		CEURFAMFORM	
	ending in 0	ending in 0 or 5	ending in 0	ending in 0 or 5	ending in 0	ending in 0 or 5
<b>REGION</b>						
Region 1	20	35			20	35
Region 2	26	37			26	37
Region 3	27	37			27	37
Region 4	33	42			33	42
Region 5	28	40			28	40
Region 6	31	40			31	40
Region 7	11	23			11	25
Region 8			20	29	20	29
Region 9			47	58	47	58
Region 10			17	28	17	28
Region 11N			47	63	47	63
Region 11S			44	62	44	62
<b>CLUSTER</b>						
Western parishes					25	36
Eastern parishes					34	47
<b>SEX</b>						
Males	25	36	35	49	31	44
Females	25	36	32	45	29	41
<b>AGE GROUPS</b>						
15–24	17	30	24	40	21	36
25–34	26	36	34	48	31	43
35–44	30	38	38	49	35	44
45–54	28	41	37	50	33	46
55–64	30	40	47	55	40	48
65–74	31	41	49	59	41	51
75–84	33	43	53	63	44	54
85+	35	45	45	58	41	53
<b>SPOUSE PRESENCE</b>						
No spouse present	22	36	28	47	25	41
Spouse present	27	36	36	47	33	43

Variables	WEST		EAST		CEURFAMFORM	
	ending in 0	ending in 0 or 5	ending in 0	ending in 0 or 5	ending in 0	ending in 0 or 5
<b>RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</b>						
Head	28	37	42	51	36	45
Spouse	26	34	35	45	31	40
Child	14	32	22	43	19	40
Parent	35	42	46	53	40	47
Other relative	20	32	32	47	30	46
Non-relative	28	39	32	44	29	40
<b>PARISH OR ESTATE SIZE</b>						
1-500	25	35	37	52	33	46
501-1000	22	33	26	38	24	35
1001-1500	22	33	37	50	31	43
1501-2000	31	42	46	63	40	53
2001+	55	63	23	34	35	45
<b>HOUSEHOLD TYPE (Hammel-Laslett scheme)</b>						
Solitary	24	34	49	59	31	41
No family	25	43	45	59	37	53
Nuclear	25	36	32	45	28	40
Extended	26	36	33	46	30	41
Multiple	23	34	35	49	33	46
<b>HOUSEFUL SIZE (persons)</b>						
1-4	25	35	37	49	32	43
5-6	25	36	33	46	29	42
7-8	25	36	32	46	29	42
9+	26	37	34	48	31	43
<b>CENSUS TYPE</b>						
Civil-Military Commissions	29	39	19	29	24	34
Status animarum/ Seelenlisten	24	38	48	64	31	47
Soul revisions			46	62	46	62
Other types	13	24			13	24
N (ind. observations)	36 687		50 701		87 388	

Source: CEURFAMFORM Database. Persons aged 15+.

bers, such as servants and lodgers; whereas in the eastern parishes (and in the entire aggregated collection), they were markedly worse.<sup>44</sup> Although there is little direct evidence of how exactly the “survey teams” gathered their data in the enumeration process in Poland-Lithuania, a provisional inference from the above findings could be that the heads did not always supply the age information for all of household residents.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, across all of the samples, the heads’ co-resident children were found to have been less likely than other domestic group members to have reported ages rounded to zero, but they were not shown to have been substantially less likely to have engaged in age heaping in general.<sup>46</sup>

The size of the population registered in a listing – but not the structure and size of the domestic groups in which the population lived – also seems to have mattered (albeit mainly in the west). In the west, the proportions of individuals rounding off their ages were very similar irrespective of the structural characteristics of the dwelling they occupied. There is evidence that in the east a lack of family members in the household might have had an aggravating effect on the individual tendency to misreport age, but it is only partly confirmed when the entire collection is inspected.

#### 4.2 Multivariate analysis

The above-presented analysis reveals complex and interesting patterns, but it tells us nothing about the relative strength of these different associations, or about the extent to which certain patterns stay put when other factors are controlled for. In real life, a person’s behavior is simultaneously affected by many factors. Thus, in order to determine the unique effect of a specified characteristic of an individual, we need to make sure that the confounding effects of the extraneous variables are eliminated. In order to get a better sense of how each individual characteristic was associated with a given behavior, we used logistic regression, and focused on one particular aspect of its interpretation; i.e., the odds ratio.<sup>47</sup> In the regression techniques this ratio is used to assess the risk of a particular out-

<sup>44</sup> These patterns are largely corroborated by calculations of the Whipple’s indexes for corresponding household membership groups. For the aggregate collection, the Whipple’s indexes for heads and non-kin co-residents were 221 and 201, respectively. If we investigate the problem separately for western and eastern parishes, then the respective values of the index will be 184/194 in the former, and 250/223 in the latter.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. D.H. Kaiser, P. Engel, “Time- and Age”, 832–834.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. M. Kopczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1998, 73–74.

<sup>47</sup> F.C. Pampel, *Logistic regression: A primer*, Thousand Oaks 2000.

Table 4. Logistic regression on the probability of reporting an age ending in zero and zero or five, on selected characteristics, Poland-Lithuania

Characteristics (categories and classes)	Age ending in 0		Age ending in 0 or 5	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
<b>CLUSTER</b>				
Western parishes	1		1	
Eastern parishes	,77	0	,78	0
<b>SEX</b>				
Males	1		1	
Females	,97	,205	,94	,001
<b>AGE GROUPS</b>				
15-24	1		1	
25-34	1,42	0	1,69	0
35-44	1,59	0	1,86	0
45-54	1,44	0	2,08	0
55-64	1,84	0	2,10	0
65-74	1,90	0	2,30	0
75-84	2,15	0	2,38	0
85+	1,84	0	2,05	0
<b>SPOUSE PRESENCE</b>				
No spouse present	,89	0	1,27	0
Spouse present	1		1	
<b>RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</b>				
Head	1		1	
Spouse	,85	0	1,00	,981
Child	,59	0	1,13	,000
Parent	1,38	0	1,06	,243
Other relative	,74	0	1,07	,034
Non-relative	1,15	0	1,23	,000
<b>PARISH OR ESTATE SIZE</b>				
1-500	1		1	
501-1000	,80	0	,84	0
1001-1500	1,17	0	1,14	0
1501-2000	1,50	0	1,48	0
2001+	1,20	0	1,11	,003

Characteristics (categories and classes)	Age ending in 0		Age ending in 0 or 5	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
<b>HOUSEHOLD TYPE (Hammel-Laslett)</b>				
Nuclear	1		1	
Solitary	1,38	,001	1,13	,190
No family	1,60	,001	1,39	,012
Extended	,97	,252	,94	,009
Multiple	1,03	,239	,98	,443
<b>HOUSEFUL SIZE (persons)</b>				
1-4	1		1	
5-6	,90	0	,93	,001
7-8	,89	0	,92	,001
9+	,87	0	,86	,000
<b>CENSUS TYPE</b>				
Civil-Military Commissions	1		1	
Status animarum/ Seelenlisten	1,16	0	1,36	0
Soul revisions	3,16	0	3,70	0
Other types	,32	0	,46	0
N	87388		87388	
-2 Log likelihood	98456,487		110267,032	
Model Chi-square	8471,122091		8833,476	

Source: CEURFAMFORM Database. Persons aged 15+.

come (in our case, the risk of rounding off the age) if a certain factor is present. The advantage of this technique is that it can illustrate the unique effect of each specified factor by controlling for the effects of others. The odds ratio tells us how much more likely a person exposed to the factor under study is to develop the outcome than a person in a comparison group (usually called a reference group).

Table 4 presents logistic regressions on the probability of reporting an age ending in zero and multiples of five for individuals aged 15 and above in our database (for the sake of simplicity, the regressions were run only for the aggregated collection). Most of the variables used previously in table 3 were included as predictors (they are listed down the left side of the regression table), and for each of them we first ran a bivariate model, which was subsequently complemented with

a model that included all of the covariates.<sup>48</sup> This allowed us to see how the effect of an individual characteristic changed when we shifted from analyzing the given relationship in isolation to assessing its importance in the multivariate context.<sup>49</sup>

Overall, the multivariate analysis confirmed many of the patterns observed in the cross-tabulations presented before, albeit with some important modifications. Even after controlling for individual demographic and residential characteristics, individuals from eastern parishes were 50 to 58 percent more likely to report a rounded age than individuals from western parishes; importantly, however, this east-west differential diminished when the effects of the survey type were held constant. When judged independently of the origin of the census category, individuals from the east scored 22–23 percent better than individuals from the west. This indicates that the difference observed between the two clusters in the bivariate model was driven primarily by specific data collection mechanisms in these eastern territories, and that there was nothing inherently “eastern” in the propensity for age rounding.

Regression of sex on the propensity for age heaping confirmed that women were slightly less likely to round off their ages than men, and this finding remained robust to the effects of other predictors. As witnessed in the cross-tabulations in table 3, age itself remained strongly associated with digit preference, although the odds ratios were consistently higher for the probability of age rounding in multiples of five than in zero only. Even after controlling for a host of interacting variables (including an eastern or a western geographical location, and type of household listing), individuals aged 35 and above were found to be twice as likely to heap ages on zero or five compared to the reference group.

In the initial analysis it appeared that individuals living without a spouse were less likely to have reported their age in an even number. However, after we shifted our focus to a digit preference for multiples of five and applied basic controls for age, it was found that the likelihood that people without a co-resident spouse would misreport their age was 27 percent higher in relation to people living with a partner; which is in line with theoretical expectations.

Our findings on the influence of household status were more ambiguous. In the model assessing the probability of digit preference on even numbers, mem-

<sup>48</sup> A broad geographical division into western and eastern parishes was preferable in the regression over a division into “regions” due to the strong multicollinearity of the regional divisions with the type of census variable. Regions 3–5 were, for example, composed of parishes surveyed with only one specific type of listing, as was the overwhelming majority of region 7.

<sup>49</sup> In table 4, as well as in table 5, only the results of the multivariate model are included. All of the reference groups among the predictors have odds ratios at of one, i.e., 100 percent.

bers of the parental generation were found to have been 1.38 times more likely to have rounded off their age than heads of domestic groups. But regressing the group status against the second response variable significantly toned down this discrepancy, and yielded a likelihood for age rounding that was only six percent higher than that of heads. Thus, being a parent was shown to have affected the probability of age rounding only as much as being a relative other than a spouse or a child. The spouses of the head were less likely to have rounded off their age to zero than the heads themselves, and they were more likely to have done so than co-resident children; but this relationship was less clear-cut in the second model.

The most consistent results were obtained for the category of co-resident non-kin. For both types of age rounding, holding demographic characteristics constant<sup>50</sup> yielded a positive association between being a co-resident non-relative and the propensity for age rounding. The finding that marginal household members were more likely to have engaged in age heaping than relatives of the household head seems to provide strong evidence that the heads were involved in the process of age reporting. This appears to call for a revision of the previous observations which were based on cross-tabulations only. We will return to this issue further on.

The modest effect of the size of the settlement in which individuals lived on the likelihood that they had rounded off their age was confirmed in both the bivariate and the multivariate models. All other things being equal, people living in communities with over 1,000 inhabitants were on average 1.30 as likely to misreport their ages as people living in communities with fewer than 500 inhabitants. However, the exact threshold of population size that mattered for age reporting quality remains unclear. The same can be said about the relationship between the size of domestic group and the extent of age heaping, although in all of the models people living in larger households seem to have been less prone to round off their age.

In the bivariate model, the propensity of simple household members to round off their age was systematically outstripped by the age heaping tendencies of people in other residential arrangements.<sup>51</sup> That changed, however, after additional variables were alternately entered into the equation. Controlling for the type of

<sup>50</sup> Again, age turns out to be crucial in this regard, which is not surprising since non-kin co-residents were on average younger than household heads.

<sup>51</sup> Differences in household structures may correspond to different patterns of authority and power relations within domestic groups [E. Todd, *The explanation of ideology. Family structures and social systems*, Oxford 1985]. As such, they could be indicative of potential differentials in the extent to which the authority of a household head could play a crucial role in the very process of the age reporting of household members.

listing and the individual household status obliterated the relationship between age rounding and living in extended and multiple family environments.<sup>52</sup> However, the distinctive effect of living in a residence group with neither a parental nor a conjugal link present (“no family”) remains genuinely robust to other confounding interactions. With either of our response variables, individuals in this type of residential situation were 39 to 60 percent more likely to misreport their age than individuals in domestic groups with a conjugal family unit. The situation of people in solitary households was similar, particularly when rounding to even numbers was involved. These findings point to the significance of conjugal and parental links for the quality of age reporting. It seems that a lack of family members in the household might have had an aggravating effect on the individual tendency to misreport age in our data.

One missing aspect of the previously discussed models is that they could only partly account for the possible effects of household heads’ numeric abilities. If we assume that these heads normally provided enumerators with information on the ages of all of the people living in the household, then we would expect household heads who rounded off their own age to also have been more likely to misreport the ages of other domestic group members. To investigate this issue, we ran additional regressions using a surrogate dataset which included one previously unexplored individual characteristic: i.e., information on a person’s membership in a household in which the head had their age rounded with zero or multiples of five.<sup>53</sup> For each person in each type of the model two categorical variables were created, which indicated the age reporting status of the head of household to which this person belonged. Simple cross-tabulations seemed to

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<sup>52</sup> In the modeling process, the type of census and household status had the strongest immediate impact on the effect of domestic group structure, although each of these control variables worked in opposite directions. The first reversed the relationship between the “multiple family” predictor and the outcome variable into a significant negative association, whereas the second made it positive.

<sup>53</sup> The reason for running separate regressions instead of including the new variable in the standard dataset was that the new model required additional exclusions of groups of individuals. All of the household heads were excluded from calculations on the grounds that they could not be a reference category for themselves in the modeling process, which decreased the number of cases to 63,444 individuals. The Index of Dissimilarity for the age composition of the original population and the abbreviated one was 11.7, which demonstrated that the overall variation between the two datasets was not particularly substantial (the index represents the proportion of people who would have to move to a different age category to make the distributions identical; it can vary from zero to 100. Any index that is less than 10 indicates that their distributions are similar; see D. T. Rowland, *Demographic methods and concepts*, Oxford 2003.

Table 5. Logistic regression on the probability of reporting an age ending in zero and zero or five, on selected characteristics (including the household head's age heaping pattern)

Characteristics (categories and classes)	Age ending in 0		Age ending in 0 or 5	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
<b>CLUSTER</b>				
Western parishes	1		1	
Eastern parishes	,77	0	,82	0
<b>SEX</b>				
Males	1		1	
Females	,91	0	,93	,001
<b>AGE GROUPS</b>				
15–24	1		1	
25–34	1,35	0	1,66	0
35–44	1,56	0	1,79	0
45–54	1,57	0	2,01	0
55–64	1,97	0	2,15	0
65–74	1,89	0	2,23	0
75–84	1,81	0	2,24	0
85+	1,64	,001	2,32	0
<b>SPOUSE PRESENCE</b>				
No spouse present	,76	0	1,26	0
Spouse present	1		1	
<b>RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</b>				
Spouse	,72	0	,83	,000
Child	,51	0	,91	,001
Parent	1,29	0	,86	,006
Other relative	,66	0	,89	,001
Non-relative	1		1	
<b>PARISH OR ESTATE SIZE</b>				
1–500	1		1	
501–1000	,86	0	,88	,000
1001–1500	1,15	0	1,09	,001
1501–2000	1,38	0	1,34	,000
2001+	1,21	0	1,12	,007

Characteristics (categories and classes)	Age ending in 0		Age ending in 0 or 5	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
<b>HOUSEHOLD TYPE (Hammel-Laslett)</b>				
Nuclear	1		1	
Solitary	,96	,801	,90	,434
No family	1,66	,005	1,25	,192
Extended	,99	,733	,96	,123
Multiple	,99	,751	1,01	,787
<b>HOUSEFUL SIZE (persons)</b>				
1-4	1		1	
5-6	,891	0	,92	,001
7-8	,881	0	,92	,003
9+	,858	0	,86	,000
<b>CENSUS TYPE</b>				
Civil-Military Commission	1		1	
Status animarum/ Seelenlisten	1,02	,646	1,22	0
Soul revisions	2,33	0	2,69	0
Other types	,40	0	,54	0
<b>HEAD'S HEAPING PATTERN</b>				
Age ending in 0	1,88	0		
Age not ending in 0	1			
Age ending in multiples of 5			1,87	0
Age not ending in multiples of 5			1	
N	63444		63444	
-2 Log likelihood	68931,352		6751,254	
Model Chi-square	6172,192529		79328,512	

Source: CEURFAMFORM Database. Persons aged 15+.

predict a strong effect of the new variables on the probability of age rounding. On average, 39 percent of people belonging to households in which the head had an age ending in zero had their ages rounded to zero, compared to only 21 percent of those with heads who stated their ages differently; and the respective figures were higher for digit preference in multiples of five (53 to 31 percent).

The new models generally produced results that were very similar to those of the previous regressions (table 5). Most of the predictors had a similar order of

importance, although the strength of some changed. In the bivariate analysis, the new variable partly surpassed the relative effects of the Russian census type, and had odds ratios which were much higher than any of the other variables except membership in age groups 55 and above. In the multivariate models, the absolute strength of the new variable was mitigated, as were the effects of previous top predictors (census type and age group). Accordingly, the head's age heaping pattern yielded a risk of an individual rounding off his/her age that was only third to the type of enumeration or the individual's age group membership.

Holding other variables constant, individuals who were living in a house with a head who had rounded off his age were almost 1.90 as likely to misreport their own age as their counterparts in domestic groups led by a head who showed no digit preference. Even after controlling for the effect of the household head, age heaping remained much more pronounced in the Russian revisions, and more prevalent among marginal domestic group members and residents of "no family" domestic units.

## **5. AGE HEAPING IN POLAND-LITHUANIA: A DISCUSSION**

Despite having been drawn from rural societies of one specific historical-geographic area of Europe, our samples reveal huge inter-regional discrepancies in the quality of age reporting, and explaining these differences is a formidable challenge. We may, for example, find that the numerical capabilities of the eastern Greek-Catholic populations were very different from those of the predominantly Catholic and Protestant populations of the west. However, this distinction is neither absolutely straightforward in the cross-tabulations, nor does it appear to be robust in multivariate testing.

Age data are normally derived from statements made by the "informant" or a second party (husband, father, etc.), but they may also be obtained from estimates made by the enumerator. While a large proportion of age misreporting indeed arises because the respondents do not know their exact age, this problem is likely to be exacerbated by differences in the performance of the enumerators, as some of them may take their duties more seriously than others (United Nations 1952, 59).<sup>54</sup> The test of the association of the census type with age round-

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<sup>54</sup> United Nations, "Accuracy tests for census age distributions tabulated in five-year and ten-year groups", *Population Bulletin* 2, 1952, 59-79; With reference to the notorious hardships encountered in the surveying processes in contemporary developing countries, Ewbank noted as follows: "In particular, the training of interviewers, their level

ing we have just attempted (see lowest panels of tables 3–5) may provide some insight into this problem.

In all of the regression outcomes a common pattern can be seen in the risk factor associated with various types of censuses, revealing strong differentials which persisted even after controlling for other factors. The probability of reporting an age ending in zero and multiples of five increased systematically when we moved from non-standard types of enumerations (“other types”), to the reference category of the Commissions’ censuses, further to the *status animarum*, and finally to the Russian soul revisions. In different regressions, the likelihood that respondents surveyed in the soul revisions misreported their age was almost four times as large as it was among the respondents in the Commissions’ surveys, and was up to eight times as large as among the respondents in the highest quality records in our possession.<sup>55</sup>

These differences might be partly explained by looking at the different organizing principles of the enumeration process inherent to different types of listings. The census-taking efforts of the Commissions capitalized on more than one hundred years of experience in surveying people of the church administration. Local clergy, who were supposed to deliver information to the relevant agencies of the Commissions, were on average pretty familiar with the religious and everyday conduct of their flocks. Having access to birth and baptism registers, clerics were in a position, at least theoretically, to check and correct age statements provided by their “respondents”.<sup>56</sup> The age information provided in the *status animarum* (and the *Seelenlisten*) in our collection would not have been structured very differently, and the fact that the data we possess appear to be less reliable than the listings administrated by the Commissions is possibly due to the relatively early origins (17<sup>th</sup> century) of nearly 30 percent of them. It is not unreasonable to assume that the degree of control over the process of population enumeration was weaker in the pre-Enlightenment peri-

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of education, and their ability to understand and pursue the interests of the researcher will significantly affect the quality of data [on age]” (D.C. Ewbak, “Age”, 15). Also S. Szulc, *Wartość materiałów statystycznych dotyczących stanu ludności b. Królestwa Polskiego*, Warszawa 1920, 8.

<sup>55</sup> This pattern is well illustrated with traditional age heaping indexes. The Whipple Index for the “other” type of listings very closely approaches the “fairly accurate” standard of contemporary census microdata (114). In the Russian revision lists this value is almost three times as high (320), in the *status animarum* it is twice as high (237), and in the Commissions’ surveys it is almost 50 percent higher (168).

<sup>56</sup> T. Ładogórski, “Ocena statystyk śląskich w dobie absolutyzmu światłego (1741–1805)”, *Przegląd Zachodni* 1/2, 1952, 56–57.

od, especially if we take into account the absence of an additional controlling instrument in the shape of the interference of state administration during the surveying action in 1790–91.<sup>57</sup>

The excessive age misreporting in the Russian revisions also calls for a review of the prevailing administrative context of data collection. At the local level, the duty of conducting listings fell to the owners or administrators of estates (often supported by a deputy selected from representatives of local Polish or Lithuanian gentry);<sup>58</sup> that is, people who by definition would have been unlikely to have had the same degree of knowledge of the listed individuals as the local clergy. This was partly due to the enforced changes in ownership (especially after 1794),<sup>59</sup> and partly to the likelihood that the local subjects viewed them with suspicion. The traditions of drawing up estate inventories, which were established long before the final dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian state, mattered little in the context of the enumeration requirements imposed by Russian governors, as the vast majority of the old magnate, royal, and noble estate inventories did not collect data on age, only information of a different sort. Moreover, the 1795 revision was a complete *novum* on lands freshly incorporated into Russia after the third partition, and it was conducted at a time of political turbulence in an environment that was linguistically alien and unfamiliar with the Russian administration. This situation gave the local deputies responsible for conducting the listing substantial leeway with regard to the quality of the collected data, which resulted in significant deficiencies in the registration of populations.<sup>60</sup> In this context it is interesting to note that, according to Kabuzan's observations regarding the revision surveys,<sup>61</sup> on the territories of the former eastern Poland-Lithuania which was incorporated into Russia following the partitions

<sup>57</sup> B. Kumor ("Księgi "status animarum""") and R. Kotecki ("Rejestracja metrykalna") paid particular attention to the visible extension of the control of pastoral activities in church inspections of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in comparison to the control levels in the preceding century.

<sup>58</sup> See: M. Kędelski, "Spis", 103–104.

<sup>59</sup> There exists in literature a multitude of records registering the problem of the sequestration and the redistribution of confiscated properties during the reigns of Catherine the Great and Paul II, when such practices were used as a means of punishment against gentry found to be insufficiently loyal to the new Russian governors, or as a penalty for participating in anti-Russian political movements of the 1790s. See review in I. Rychlikowa, "Carat wobec polskiej szlachty na ziemiach zabranych w latach 1772–1831", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 98, 1991, no. 3, esp. 61–63.

<sup>60</sup> J. Sikorska-Kulesza, *Deklasacja drobnej szlachty na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1995, 9–15, 42; U. Legun, O. Petrenko, *Revizijnij*, 10.

<sup>61</sup> V.M. Kabuzan, *Narodonaseleniie*, 131–142.

(Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Right-Bank Ukraine's provinces), the underregistration rate remained at the highest level well into the 1830s. Of the overall number of persons omitted in the 5<sup>th</sup> Revision, nearly 50 percent were from territories of Lithuania and Belarus incorporated into Russia following the partitions of Poland. Data from the subsequent two revisions indicated underregistration rates ranging from 17 percent in the Minsk governorate to 28 percent in the Vilna governorate.<sup>62</sup> If, as Kabuzan argued,<sup>63</sup> there were more opportunities in these regions to avoid the listing than in other territories of the European part of Russia, then the mechanisms of control over the course of the enumeration process must have been decisively weaker in those areas, as well.<sup>64</sup>

Accordingly, it is necessary to explain the exceptionally high quality of age registration in the group of listings previously labeled "non-standard." Over 80 percent of the individuals listed in these registers were in the territory of region 7, and three-quarters of the population in the region were in these types of listings, including the inhabitants of the Gryf (Greiffenstein) dominion belonging to the magnate family Schaffgotsch from the Lower Silesian district of Lwówek. Listings for these localities were conducted on orders of the domanial administration in the years 1779–1805, but the actual responsibility for the census-taking fell to the governing bodies of the individual villages. There was a widespread belief among the representatives of the central administration of the Prussian state that the domanial authorities had a high degree of familiarity with the relationships among the villagers. To a large extent, this familiarity came from a close surveillance of local populations achieved through regularly compiled high-quality "souls' registers" (*Seelenlisten*) to meet the needs of particular dominions.<sup>65</sup> During nationwide conscriptions in Prussia, registers compiled by private administrators at the local level, such as the 1787 register, were consulted.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, 139–140.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, 142.

<sup>64</sup> On the insufficiencies of the technical basis necessary for the successful execution of the Russian census of 1897, see: D.K. Rowney, E.G. Stockwell, "The Russian census of 1897: some observations on the age data", *Slavic Review* 37 1978, no. 2, 217–227; R. Jasas, L. Truska, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės gyventojų surašymas 1790 m.*, Vilnius 1972, 15–16; G. Błaszczuk, *Żmudź w XVII i XVIII wieku: zaludnienie i struktura społeczna*, Poznań 1985, 112 also commented on the superiority of the statistics applied in the Commissions' listings over the Russian revision materials.

<sup>65</sup> Z. Kwaśny, "Struktura demograficzna ludności wiejskiej w kluczu Gryf w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku i na początku XIX wieku", *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, 21, 1966, no. 1, 103–123.

<sup>66</sup> T. Ładogórski, "Ocena statystyk", 71–72.

The presence of a stringent system of population registration is suggested also by the two remaining listings from the group discussed here. The register of the inhabitants of a Nowodworska domain in the Warmia region (region 1) was a remnant of nationwide surveys of Prussian populations. This register was part of the Prussian Cataster of 1772, a data source considered to be of high quality.<sup>67</sup> The listing of the Czacz parish population was conducted by the local church administration on the orders of the national authorities of the Duchy of Warsaw in preparation for the general listing of the population in December 1809 (known as the 1810 listing).<sup>68</sup> Overall, it appears that the extent of involvement of local and regional civil administration in these enumerations significantly improved the way in which they were conducted, making these listings better than those from other regions. In these cases, the very process of surveying people created additional apparatuses which led to greater precision in population registration, including age reporting.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of age heaping can be either treated as a source of distortion in age-specific demographic rates, or studied as a topic of interest in its own right. As regards the first possibility, it represents an insidious obstacle in census enumeration, and therefore requires to be carefully documented before being removed or at least minimized in order to carry out a meaningful demographic study of family and household histories. Perceived in light of the latter possibility, it may provide insights into a much wider terrain, allowing to investigate questions of basic numeracy and hence, too, likely patterns of the human capital development.<sup>69</sup> This paper sheds light on both these aspects of the age heaping dialectics.

Measuring numeracy across regions of the large patches of historical East Central Europe at the dawn of the “demographic *ancient regime*” is the first major contribution of this study. The CEURFAMFORM Database allowed us to estimate numeracy in several regions of what is today Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, and Lithuania. The application of age heaping-based numeracy estimates to this

<sup>67</sup> *Kataster* was a fiscal census of a very broad territorial scope which embraced the entire Prussian state, all of the rural settlements within those territories, and within them, all of the households (see more in S. Cackowski, “Pruski kataster”, *passim*; J. Bachanek, “Spisy ludności”, *passim*)

<sup>68</sup> S. Borowski, “Procesy demograficzne”, 100–103; on the listing I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warszawa 1976, 91–105.

<sup>69</sup> J. Baten, M. Szoltysek, “A golden age”.

newly available data set is performed here for the first time for such a large region of East Central Europe. The findings of the preceding sections revealed a strong attraction to preferred final digits in age reporting in the census microdata from the historical Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A wide range of factors were associated with age rounding, but the type of survey the age information was derived from appears to have been of critical importance. Enumeration in the Russian revision lists was by far the most important predictor of age rounding in our data. A person's age (i.e., being 35 years old or older) was considered less important than many other individual characteristics, including the person's residential and marital situation. The age heaping pattern of the head of the residence group was found to have been equally important, as individuals living in a household in which the head rounded off his age were more likely to have misreported their own age than their counterparts in living in a household in which the head had reported his age more accurately. Non-relatives in a domestic group and people living in a "no family" residence exhibited a stronger pattern of digit preference than individuals in other categories.

These findings are generally common to inaccurately reported ages in almost any country, even though the intensity of attraction for certain figures may not have been as pronounced as it was in our case. On the other hand, the comparisons above make clear that the indicators computed on the basis of our material were sometimes better than the data coming from other regions of pre-industrial Europe, and even from some contemporary developing countries. Although the powerful effects of age heaping in our populations imply that certain types of demographic analysis need to be performed with extreme caution with these data,<sup>70</sup> dismissing the listings discussed here on the grounds that they do not meet contemporary standards of data quality would be akin to a conscious refusal to engage in any explorations at all of historic populations. Keeping this in mind, this research has provided examples of data assessment and exploration tools that could be applied to other micro-datasets from pre-statistical times.<sup>71</sup> It also makes a strong argument in favour of including basic data quality assessments by means of age heaping analysis into the standard template of the census-like microdata publications by Polish historical demographers.<sup>72</sup> On a wider plan,

<sup>70</sup> See M. Szołtysek, *Rethinking*.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. G. Dalla-Zuanna, F. Rossi, M. Di Tullio, F. Leverotti, "Population and Family in Central and Northern Italy at the Dawn of the Modern Age. A Comparison of Fiscal Data from Three Different Areas", *Journal of Family History* 37, 2012, no. 3, 284–302.

<sup>72</sup> Recently: P. Guzowski, "Status animarum parafii Zabartowo z 1766 roku", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 33, 2014, 65–103; J. Juszcak, "Spis mieszkańców parafii Dusznó z 1809 roku", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 34, 2014, 61–88.

the age heaping analysis advocated here can prove a handy tool in the ongoing attempts at gathering, computerizing, and making publicly available historical census data which by virtue of their provenience are nearly always imprecise to some extent.<sup>73</sup>

Regarding the second aspect of the age heaping phenomenon, this paper warns against too hasty an acceptance of all economic history research which utilizes the age statistics of historical census or census-like microdata. While societal or regional differences in basic numeracy patterns may indeed be a product of the differentials in individual human agency and human capital formation, they may also reflect the effects of a plethora of societal factors. One of the central arguments of this paper is that different organizing principles of the enumeration process inherent to different types of population listings may have significant effects on the patterns of age (mis-)reporting, and these effects can be at least partly exogenous to actual numeracy or agency of individuals being surveyed. In other words, we suggest that researchers be constantly on the alert when focusing on early modern age heaping patterns, and that they evaluate very carefully whether they are not actually measuring the numerical abilities of the enumerators or their ability to estimate the age, rather than individual capabilities (i.e. 'quantitative numeracy'). This should by no means discourage us from delving into this fascinating terrain; rather, it should prompt us beforehand to pursue the most arduous task of our discipline, which at least since the time of L. Henry has been a careful evaluation of the data.

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<sup>73</sup> M. Szołtysek, S. Gruber, "Mosaic".



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## **SOCIOTOPOGRAPHY OF CRACOW FAMILIES AT THE END OF THE 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Studies into town-planning and population distribution in urban centres have recently gained much popularity among historians. Although many new volumes and articles in academic journals are being published, it has to be acknowledged that these works are only prolegomena to a more in-depth approach to the subject. Owing to insufficient historiographic knowledge, which forestalls attempts at providing a synthesis of the previous state of research with regards to greater numbers of urban centres, many of these texts have had to limit themselves to analyses of particular towns in specific historical periods.<sup>1</sup> Devoted to similar issues: the sociotopography of Cracow families at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the present paper aims at complementing the deficiencies

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<sup>1</sup> The state of research into the sociotopography of Polish towns is highly disappointing but several recent publications from the last twenty years allow us to hope that the situation will improve in the future. For further reference, see: R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992; J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Poznania*, Poznań 1997; K. Mikulski, *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo Torunia od końca XIV do początku XVIII w.*, Toruń 1999; M. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia (przestrzeń – podatnicy – rzemiosło)*, Wrocław 1997; K. Dyl, “Socjotopografia Torunia przed I wojną światową na tle rozwoju gospodarczego i ludnościowego miasta XIX i na początku XX w.”, *Rocznik Toruński* 28, 2001, 95–121; J. Gordziejew, *Socjotopografia Grodna w XVIII w.*, Toruń 2002; “Socjotopografia i urbanistyka Polski i Ukrainy w XIV–XIX/XX w. (zagadnienia porównawcze)”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 43, 1995, no. 1, 3–126; F. Leśniak, *Socjotopografia Krosna (1512–1630). Studia i materiały*, Kraków 2005.

in urban studies in reference to Cracow at a turning point in the history of this city, that is, at the twilight of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

## SOURCE BASIS

Source materials for the socio-economic history of Cracow from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are significantly more abundant than those documenting earlier decades which may have to do with efforts undertaken to reform the state in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A prominent part in the process had been played by the Civil-Military Commissions which commenced their activities from gathering important information on the condition of the state. One of the primary tasks was to catalogue the assets, list the citizens, and collect other detailed information necessary to administer the country. The results of these actions included, for example, a series of various censuses or CEB (census enumeration books) and cadasters, conducted also on the territory of Cracow.

Among demographic sources, the most substantial seems to be "*Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego i publicznego tudzież ludności w Mieście Wydziałowym Krakowie podług uniwersału Prześwietnej Komisji Policji dnia 15 X 1791 roku wydanego i schematu przyłączonego spisany*," a census of both real estates within the territory of the city, as well as of the populations inhabiting it. Though not nominal, the listing exhibits properties of a general census in that it acknowledges all population categories and is not limited only to proprietors, tax payers, or those subject to military service. It includes data on families of wealthy merchants and town councillors, on gentry, clergy, as well as tradeswomen, shoemakers, beggars and prisoners. Not everyone was listed by first name and surname, since individuals of a low social status were often registered summarily, just as wives and children were added to the husbands' entry. However, women who functioned independently, usually as widows, were listed by their first names, surnames and social status. In the case of maidens of noble origins, their full names were also usually recorded.

Supplementary to this source were the following censuses: "Population census 1791-92,"<sup>2</sup> "Population census 1795,"<sup>3</sup> "Population census 1796,"<sup>4</sup> "Konsygnacja realności miasta Krakowa z 1802,"<sup>5</sup> "Konsygnacja Kamienic w Krako-

<sup>2</sup> The National Archives in Cracow (further referred to as NAC), *Spis ludności 1791-92*, call number: KI-124, KI-125.

<sup>3</sup> NAC, *Spis ludności 1795*, call no. IT 551.

<sup>4</sup> NAC, *Spis ludności 1796*, call no. 550.

<sup>5</sup> NAC, *Konsygnacja realności miasta Krakowa z 1802 r.*, call no. Mag I 60.

wie i wsiów w Galicyi zachodniej. Rok 1808”,<sup>6</sup> “Księga nieposesjonatów”,<sup>7</sup> and “Krakau Stadt catastrum über den Militär Quartier Beytrag anzufangen vom 1797 Militär Jahre”.<sup>8</sup>

A separate category was constituted by cartographic sources; maps of Cracow were drawn upon the basis of the published version of the Senate’s town map by Ignacy Enderle of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> While preparing the maps, it was necessary to confront them with the original sheets of Enderle’s map because problems with adjustment of the reconstructed sheets arose. Since several years had passed between the year 1791 and the moment of the commencement of work on the Senate Plan, in the reconstruction of the borders between the parcels also of the published version of the Kollataj Plan of 1785 was used.<sup>10</sup>

## METHODOLOGY

The research relied on various computer technologies, which allowed for a broader application of the source material in spatial analysis. A base map was created on the basis of a 1959 version of the “Senate Plan” published by the Historical Museum of Cracow. First, the plan was scanned, and particular sheets registered in a local system of metric coordinates. Then, a manual digitalization of all parcels within the city walls was conducted, and the attached cadastre, *Grundbuch aller Besitzungen in der Stadt Krakau*, was included in the database. In compiling the maps a component of the GIS software was applied: MapInfo Professional, a tool used to analyse and create maps, which enabled the preparation of thematic maps, allowing for a spatial analysis of various phenomena.

In the process, several methodological problems arose, caused mostly by a poor quality of the published version of the “Senate Plan” which contained editorial errors in the numbering of plots and their sketching. Also, particular sheets of the plan would overlap with others, adding to the overall confusion. It has to be remembered, too, that owing to a lack of direct sources on the patterns of house numbering, the numbering of houses from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is not consistent with that used at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which

<sup>6</sup> The Library of The Polish Academy of Sciences (further referred to BPAU), *Konsygnacya Kamienic w Krakowie i wsiów w Galicyi zachodniej. Rok 1808*, manuscript 38.

<sup>7</sup> NAC, *Księga Nieposesjonatów*, call no. K1 195.

<sup>8</sup> NAC, *Krakau Stadt catastrum über den Militär Quartier Beytrag anzufangen vom 1797 Militär Jahre*, call no. Mag I 765, Mag I 760, Mag I 759.

<sup>9</sup> *Plan miasta Krakowa Ignacego Enderle z lat 1802–1808 tzw. Senacki wraz z wykazem realności miasta z początku XIX w.*, ed. by H. Münch, Kraków 1959.

<sup>10</sup> *Planta miasta Krakowa z przedmieściami 1785 roku zrobiona*, *Rocznik Krakowski* 48, 1977.

resulted in the necessity to reconstruct the numberings on the basis of the owners' names, several censuses, and consignations of old town houses from various time periods, a task both time-consuming and arduous. Moreover, the "Senate Plan" did not include some buildings which had been demolished during the time which passed between the 1791 population listing and the time of making up the mapping; these had to be reconstructed on the basis of the "Kollataj Plan."

All population listings were digitalized for the purposes of this research with the aid of the MS Access 2003 relational database; next, these data were conjoined with the base map of Cracow in the Geographic Information System (GIS).

### THE COMMUNITY OF CRACOW IN 1791

The issue of the population of Cracow has already been very well covered in the hitherto-created historiography of the city in Cezary Kukło's study on the population of one of the several town parishes, i.e. The Blessed Mother's Parish.<sup>11</sup> The work focuses, however, only on this one section of population; the present article, relying on additional sources, embraces the entire territory of Cracow within the city walls, with the exclusion of suburbs and the Wawel Castle.

The city population amounted to 9,860<sup>12</sup> people, inhabiting a territory of 5.77 km<sup>2</sup>, which means that the population density was quite high: around 1,709 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. Among the city dwellers there were slightly more men than women: the values, respectively, of 5,179 (52.5%) and 4,681 (47.5%). These figures, however, are only tentative and may not cover the entire number of the citizens of Cracow owing to some individuals' purposeful avoidance of censuses, especially at such an early stage of the organization of state administration.

The social structure of the population of Cracow according to groups presented in *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego i publicznego* (*The Description of Civic and Public Buildings*) consisted of a group of house proprietors with their spouses: 564 persons, including 45 single men and 39 single women. It made 5.7% of the entire investigated population, and after counting in also their offspring, the share of house proprietors in the total population number increases to 12.8%. A peculiar feature of the city was a very high percentage of servants: 31.7%, that is as much as 3,127 individuals of both sexes, and whereas in later periods it was

<sup>11</sup> C. Kukło, *Kobieta samotna w społeczeństwie miejskim u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej. Studium demograficzno-społeczne*, Białystok 1998.

<sup>12</sup> NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego i publicznego tudzież ludności w Mieście Wydziałowym Krakowie podług uniwersału Prześwietnej Komisji Policji dnia 15 X 1791 roku wydany i schematu przyląconego spisany*, call no. IT 155.

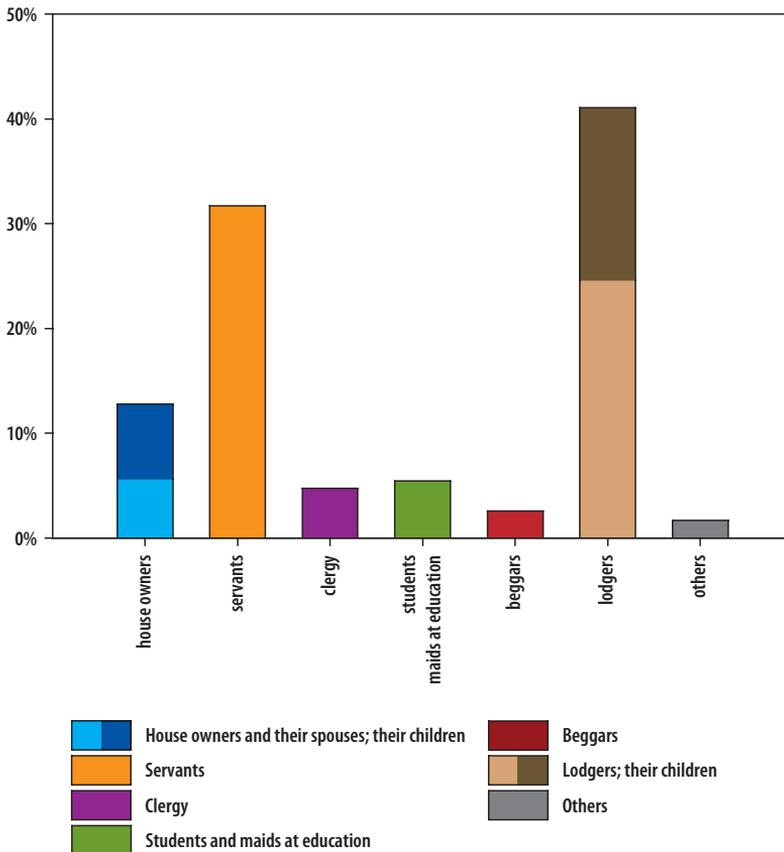
Table 1. Social structure of Cracow in 1791 according to source categories

Social group	Absolute numbers			%		
	M	W	In total	M	W	In total
House proprietors and their spouses	240	240	480	2.4	2.4	4.9
Widower or widow house proprietors	45	39	84	0.5	0.4	0.9
Children of house proprietors	287	414	701	2.9	4.2	7.1
Servants	1732	1395	3127	17.6	14.1	31.7
Clergymen	328	137	465	3.3	1.4	4.7
Students and maidens sent away for education	390	145	535	4.0	1.5	5.4
Lodgers	1206	1226	2432	12.2	12.4	24.7
Lodgers' children	785	832	1617	8.0	8.4	16.4
Beggars	65	187	252	0.7	1.9	2.6
Others	101	66	167	1.0	0.7	1.7
Total	5179	4681	9860	52.5	47.5	100.0

Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155. The author's own calculations.

definitely a female profession, in 1791 the majority was constituted by males (55.4%), although their dominance was not acutely pronounced. What surprises in a city of so many churches and monasteries is a relatively low percentage of clergymen which amounted to 4.7% (465 persons). Even students and maidens sent away for education constituted a more numerous group: 5.4% of the total population. Another substantial social group was made of lodgers, amounting to a quarter of the total population (24.7%), and after counting in their children, their share expands to as much as 41.1%. The analytical usefulness of this group is, however, very disputable, because it entailed also all other self-sustaining individuals with the exception of house proprietors. Thus, the group of lodgers, i.e. people renting flats, embraced both relatively wealthy families: merchants, goldsmiths, bladesmiths, furriers, as well as those whose income must have been rather low: daily-wage workers, seamstresses, as well as peddlers and vendors. The last specified group was beggars, and although those registered in the listing were not particularly numerous (252 people, i.e. 2.6%), still, even in such a small subpopulation gender inequalities were quite pronounced – the group was recruited mainly from women. There might have been two major reasons for that: first, women usually lived longer than men, reaching an age in which

Figure 1. Social structure of Cracow in 1791 according to source categories



Source: table 1.

they could provide for themselves only by begging; second, women's earning possibilities were rather scant owing to their poorer professional qualifications, which meant that job prospects open for women were usually as hired servants. The sad fate of women was complemented also by cases of women who, following their husband's death, did not actually have to beg, but their economic situation was extremely hard. In the sources, with regard to women's marital status the term 'widow' appears 113 times, whereas men were described as widowers only 4 times. It seems justified to read this not as a marker of marital status (surely the number of widowers was much higher than 4), but rather a very concise definition of an individual's material situation and social standing. Detailed data on social divisions according to source categories are presented in table 1.

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF CRACOW ACCORDING TO PROFESSIONS AT THE END OF THE 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

The main difficulty in conducting studies of social stratification of the population of Cracow lies in the question of grouping the population according to socio-professional structure. A major problem consists in classifying particular professions owing to frequently rather laconic source information, lack of entries on the amount of incomes, or dispersal within the professional group itself. Only in a few cases there appear entries which complement the historian's knowledge; most often these are additional descriptions of the professional group, for example, poor, or complementary phrases denoting origins, as in "poor Nuremberger merchant" [K.W.]. These occur, however, too rarely to be treated as representative of the standard of living scale. For instance, in the investigated source the expression "poor" occurred only 12 times, and often in quite surprising cases it described three merchants and one goldsmith, often automatically classified as representatives of social and financial elite. The other usages applied to bricklayers, shoemakers, one tavern owner, one tailor, and one carpenter, which appears more justifiable. Thus, it seems that this form of complementary description was resorted to only in the cases in which an individual's living conditions were distinctly lower than the average for a given social group. Quite significantly, such additional description virtually does not apply in the case of widows (only two examples), while it appears that this particular group quite frequently suffered from material difficulties.

Internationally, two historical classificatory standards of socio-professional groups prove of particular importance: the Booth-Armstrong Classification, and the HISCO. The former was originally devised by Charles Booth for the purposes of research into the living conditions and market place on London in the 1890s.<sup>13</sup> It gained wider interest among historians only after 1972 when W.A. Armstrong published his version of the system.<sup>14</sup> Ever since, the Booth-Armstrong Classification has been frequently used by historical demographers and economic historians, especially in analysing censuses. The classification consists of 12 major socio-occupation groups: I. Administration and free professions; II. Con-

<sup>13</sup> Ch. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., vol. I., London 1889; Idem, *Labour and Life of the People*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., vol II. (1891); Idem, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London 1892–97, 9 vols.; Idem, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London 1902–3, 17 vols.

<sup>14</sup> W.A. Armstrong, "The use of information about occupation" in: E.A. Wrigley, *Nineteenth-century Society. Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*, Cambridge 1972, 191–310.

struction; III. Trade; IV. Dependent individuals; V. Resources Acquisition; VI. Agriculture; VII. Crafts and Industries; VIII. Service; IX. Transportation and Logistics; X. Services for Industries; XI. Proprietorship; XII. Unspecified Occupations. Those major groups are further divided into 81 basic socio-economic groups. Polish historiography has hardly ever resorted to this classificatory system,<sup>15</sup> nor has any generally accepted local standard been created; as a result, Polish studies into historical socio-occupation structures cannot be in any viable way compared with those conducted by foreign scholars. Often the reason for this is the lack of more specific source information and the specificity of Polish research of socio-occupation studies which was not acknowledged during the formation of this classification, because it was fashioned originally to match English realities, and only later applied to comparative studies as well. The Booth-Armstrong Classification has also come in for criticism which paved the way for the creation of a new classificatory system used in comparative studies – the HISCO (Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations).<sup>16</sup> Also in this case critical voices arose, noting that while the classification represents the social status of a given individual fairly well, it fares much worse when applied to comparisons of economic structures.<sup>17</sup>

Among classification systems created by Polish scholars of socio-economic history a notable example is provided by Krzysztof Mikulski's system applied by the author to, for example, investigations of the socio-topography of Toruń.<sup>18</sup> The system is composed of eight major socio-occupation groups: A. Merchants, B. Food crafts (brewers, bakers, butchers), C. Textile and clothes crafts (clothiers), D. Animal produce processing crafts (tanners, furriers, shoemakers, vesicles, saddlers), E. Metal crafts (blacksmiths, locksmiths, gunsmiths, tinsmiths, cutlers, armourers, watchmakers, coppersmiths, braziers, bell-founders, goldsmiths), F. Wood crafts (coopers, wheelwrights, turners, carpenters), G. Construction and artistic crafts (bricklayers, brickmakers, glaziers, carpenters, potters, bookbinders, painters, carvers), H. Personal services (barbers, wig makers, pharmacists). As can easily be inferred, this classification relies on the type of

<sup>15</sup> The only case of application of this classification known to the author is a study by L.A. Zyblikiewicz, *Kobieta w Krakowie w 1880 r. Studium demograficzne*, Kraków 1999.

<sup>16</sup> M.H.D. van Leeuwen, I. Maas, A. Miles, *HISCO. Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations*, Leuven 2002.

<sup>17</sup> E.A. Wrigley, *Review: M.H.D. van Leeuwen, I. Maas, A. Miles, HISCO. Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations*, *The Economic History Review* 56, 2003, no. 1, 210–211.

<sup>18</sup> K. Mikulski, *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo Torunia od końca XIV w. do początku XVIII w.*, Toruń 1999.

Table 2. Population of Cracow in 1791 according to K. Mikulski's socio-occupation groups

Socio-occupation group	Absolute numbers	In %
A. Merchants	101	15.1
B. Food crafts	70	10.5
C. Textile and clothing crafts	88	13.1
D. Animal produce processing crafts	150	22.4
E. Metal crafts	82	12.2
F. Wood crafts	50	7.5
G. Construction and artistic crafts	115	17.2
H. Services	14	2.1
Total:	670	100.0

Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155.

material used by a given occupation group. Merchants and individuals providing personal services constitute a separate category. However, the system lacks grounds to account for the applied categorization, and singling out three extra-occupation groups (intelligentsia, 'others' and the plebs) does not serve the cohesion of the proposed solution. In the present analysis, this division is resorted to as a springboard for further analysis for a couple of reasons, mainly owing to attempts to maintain a comparability with hitherto performed research, as well as because of the existence of clear grouping criteria, well convergent with the trades enumerated in Polish sources of the modern period.

Owing to a large percentage of gentry, clergymen, students and household servants, the headcount of the reconstructed socio-occupation groups was not particularly numerous, covering only 670 individuals (see table 2). It has to be remembered, though, that these are only individuals directly performing a given occupation, without the inclusion of their spouses and children. Many persons were mentioned by first name and surname but their occupation was not provided, and so they were included in the lodgers category, which precluded their proper identification. Neither could the reconstructed community really include servants, as this would lead to this group's over-representation in the investigated population. It can be assumed that the data reflect the structure of professionally active population of Cracow at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the exclusion of servants and clergymen. The most numerous occupation group was constituted by families working in the animal produce processing crafts –

their share amounted to 22.4% of the entire population. Strongly represented were also people working in construction and artistic crafts (17.2%), merchants (15.1%), textile and clothing crafts (13.1%). Fewer people worked in metal crafts (12.2%), food crafts (10.5%) and wood crafts (7.5%), and individuals providing personal services were a rarity (2.1%).

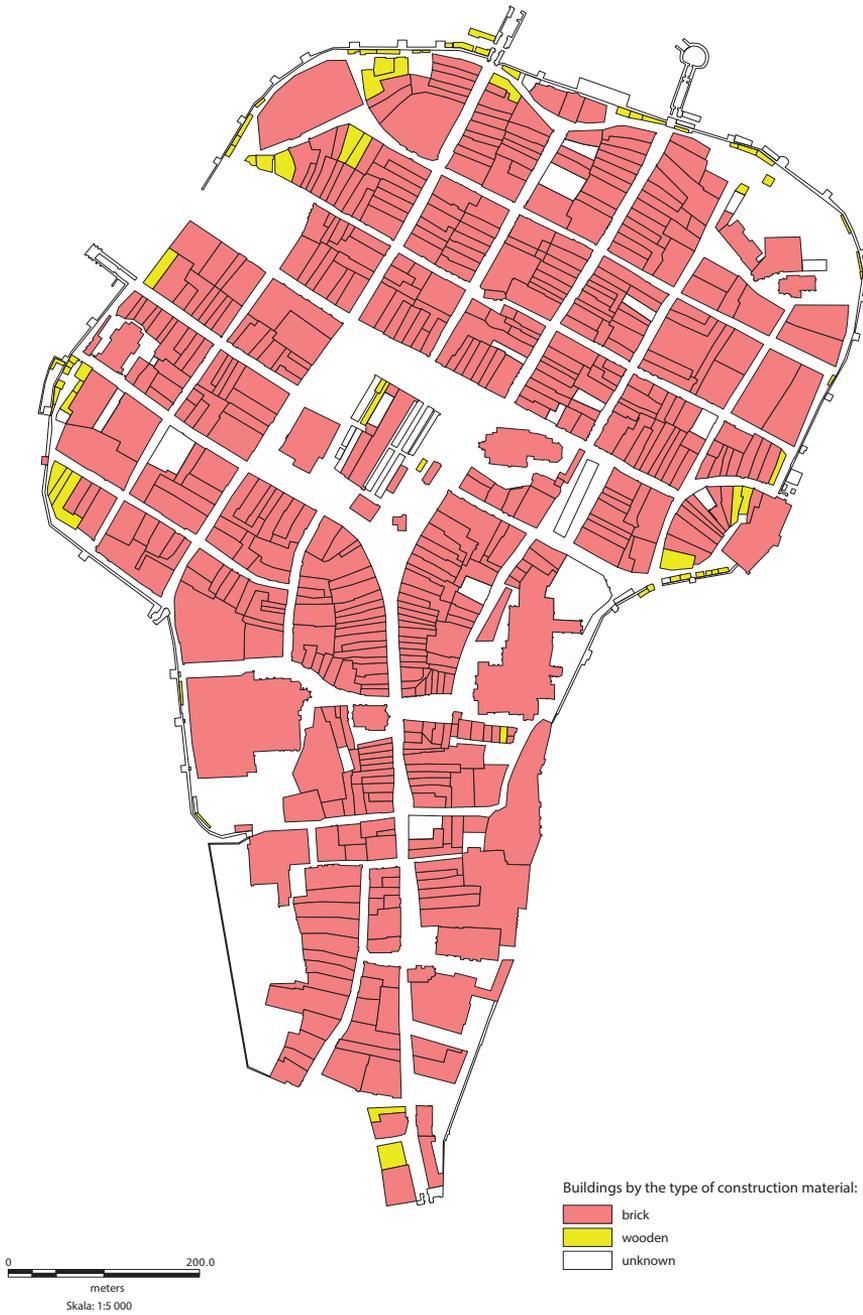
### THE BUILDINGS OF CRACOW

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Cracow was one of the largest cities of the Commonwealth, but still, not all of its buildings were made from durable brick or stone materials, even within the city walls, not to mention the suburbs. Wooden buildings occurred mainly along the city walls; often these were small homesteads literally leaning on the walls, occupied by the poorest segment of the population. They were to be found mainly in the northern part of the city, around the Florianska and Slawkowska Gates, but also in the neighbourhood of Grodek and the University quarter (See map 1). Real estates were characteristically divided according to social groups and type of construction material. Buildings owned by gentry were made of brick, clergy owned only two wooden buildings, whereas the bourgeois up to 80 which amounted to 21.5% (See table 3). These were usually very small buildings, the surface of which hardly reached several dozen square metres. The houses were in an appalling condition and during cleaning works at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many of them were demolished. Already in 1806 there were several noted cases of demolitions, sometimes complemented by remarks such “demolished with the walls” or “demolished for the prospect of widening the street.” Nevertheless, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century these houses were still occupied, and their inhabitants belonged to the poorest segments of urban population, which has to be borne in mind during an analysis of population distribution according to particular social groups.

Table 3. Buildings of Cracow in 1791 according to ownership category and type of construction material

Real estates	Absolute numbers			%		
	Brick	Wooden	Total	Brick	Wooden	Total
Gentry	84	–	84	100.0	–	100.0
Clerical	78	2	80	97.5	2.5	100.0
Bourgeois	292	80	372	78.5	21.5	100.0

Map 1: Buildings of Cracow in 1791 according to type of construction material



Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155.

A vital issue was the division of real estates in Cracow according to ownership type. Churches were excluded from the analysis because they performed liturgical, not residential purposes. As can be guessed, the majority of real estates (372, 59.7%) were owned privately by bourgeois, followed by gentry, possessing 84 buildings (13.5%), nearly the same number of real estates were owned by clergy (82, 13.2%), and the rest was divided into real estates for educational purposes as well as monasteries and hospitals (See table 4). This is, however, a division according to the number of owned real estates, which does not evaluate the sizes of the buildings or their value. A meticulous analysis of this issue is bound to be interesting, but it does not enrich the discussion of population distribution according to socio-professional groups. When compared against the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, it can be observed that the share of bourgeois ownership increased: then, the bourgeois owned 53.02% of the real estates, gentry 14.42%, clergy 26.1%, town council 3.71%, the University 2.47%.<sup>19</sup>

The spatial distribution of particular real estates according to type of ownership has been presented on Map 2. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Cracow there occurred peculiar conglomerations of plots belonging to gentry, clergy and the bourgeois, as well as, though to a lesser degree, of those for educational purposes, owned mainly by the University. The gentry's real estates were located in the western part of Cracow, both in the town square and along Bracka, Slawkowska and St. John's Streets.<sup>20</sup> The Roman-Catholic Church dominated in the city's southern part, mostly on Kanonicza Street, but very large plots were also occupied by the monasteries of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Barefoot Carmelites, Cistercians, and, to a lesser degree, by the convents of Franciscans and Dominicans. Despite the strong concentration in the south, Church's property was dispersed throughout the entire city, and, beside large monastery complexes, it also included old houses occupied mainly by parochial clergymen.

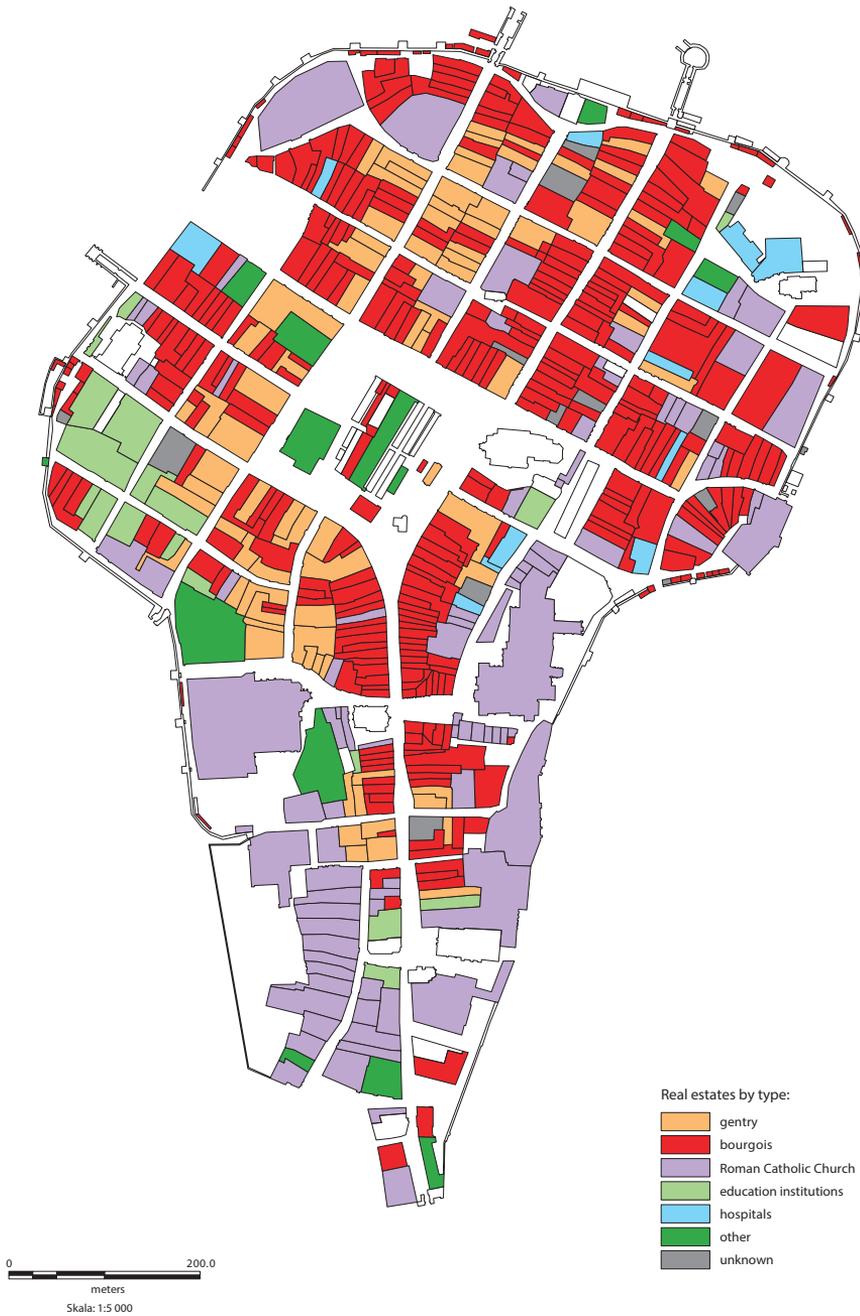
The bourgeois property was located along the main trading arteries: Florianaska Street and up to the middle of Grodzka Street, but it also covered the neighbourhood of Small Town Square, the Szczepanski Square, and Szewska Street.

Educational institutions were located mainly in the so-called University Quarter in Golebia, St. Anne's, and Jagiollonska Streets. Usually, these were buildings belonging to the University; outside this district there were also some sparse

<sup>19</sup> K. Follprecht, *Właściciele nieruchomości w Krakowie w 1655 r.*, Kraków 2001, 13.

<sup>20</sup> All street names are given in their present reading due to the uncertainty with regards to the naming of several street fragments in the past. For further information on street names at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century one might consult the published version of the *Senate Plan*.

Map 2: Real estates in Cracow in 1791 according to type of ownership



Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155.

schools. Hospitals were located in different parts of the city, although it can be observed that they were more widespread in the north-eastern parts of Cracow.

Table 4. Buildings of Cracow in 1791 according to type of ownership

Real Estates	Absolute numbers	%
Gentry	84	13.5
Clergy	82	13.2
Bourgeois	372	59.7
Educational	19	3.0
Monasteries	18	2.9
Hospitals	13	2.1
Others	16	2.6
Unknown	19	3.0
Total	623	100.0

Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155

## SPATIAL ANALYSIS

Spatial distribution of property in itself does not reveal much about the socio-topography of the city, just as the distribution of estates according to owners and their occupations does not yet provide a full picture of the distribution of population. It is only through a descent to the level of particular households, along with an analysis of occupations performed by particular individuals, that a proper interpretation of the research results is possible. It is caused by the fact that not always did a person or institution owning a real estate occupy it; very often, the owners rented the real estates to other persons who could perform any type of crafts or trade activity in them. Moreover, attention should be paid not only to the horizontal concentration of some occupational groups, which, owing to the character of their performed occupation, frequently inhabited one neighbourhood rather than any other (for example, tanners), but also to the vertical concentration which is not always taken account of by historians. The vertical concentration of occupational groups denotes the existence of individuals performing the same occupation or holding the same social status in one and the same real estate: quite frequently, two or more people of the same profession inhabited the same old house. It is not enough, however, to simply state that

a given neighbourhood manifests a concentration of occupational groups; it has to be stated, too, how strong the concentration is and whether the scholar can confirm it at first sight with the aid of some objective statistical metres. To this end, it appears well-suited to conduct not only the classical analysis of population distribution according to professional categories, but also to use the spatial analysis, which is a method from the borderline of statistics and geography.<sup>21</sup>

In the investigations two methods applied in spatial analysis were selected: K. Ripley's Function and the Nearest-Neighbour-Index (NNI). The former allows to verify the hypothesis on the existence of occupational groups, or on the lack of clusters of points and the distances between them; the latter determined the location and range of clusters. The method of detecting clusters, K. Ripley's Function,<sup>22</sup> is widely applied in the analysis of points distribution in space, and in this case it concerns the distribution of centroids of parcels inhabited by the singled out socio-professional groups. What is tested is the question whether this distribution is of Complete Spatial Randomness (CSR), with the use of methods for determining distances from points. A standard K function determines the number of additional points within the area with the radius  $d$ , measuring at the same time the various radius values, from the smallest distances to the maximal, on the basis of an adopted coordinate system, then compares them with the expected values according to Poisson's distribution. Since the function's distribution is not known, it can be approximated with the aid of the Monte Carlo method, through a generator of pseudo-random numbers, which additionally allows to outline the envelope at the level of 95%.

The general form of K. Ripley's Function is as follows:

$$K(d) = \frac{A}{N} \sum_i \sum_j \frac{l(d_{ij})}{N}, i \neq j$$

<sup>21</sup> The scope of the present endeavour does not allow for a full discussion of the methods of spatial analysis. Readers interested in learning more on this subject might consult the following publications: I. Gregory, P.S. Ell, *Historical GIS. Technologies, methodologies, and scholarship*, Cambridge 2007; S.A. Fotheringham, P. Rogerson, *Spatial analysis and GIS*, London 1994; R. Haining, *Spatial Data Analysis Theory and Practice*, Cambridge 2004; L. Anselin, "How (not) to lie with spatial statistics", *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 30, 2006, 3–6; D. Pfeiffer, *Spatial analysis in epidemiology*, Oxford 2008.

<sup>22</sup> See B.D. Ripley, "Modelling Spatial Patterns", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series B (Methodological)* 39, 1977, no. 2, 172–212; Idem, "Test of "Randomness" for Spatial Point Patterns", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series B (Methodological)* 41, 1979, no. 3, 368–374; Ph. M. Dixon, "Ripley's K" in: A.H. El-Shaarawi, W.W. Piegorisch (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Environmetrics*, vol. 3 Chichester 2002, 1796–1803.

Where:

$d$  – radius around each point,

$j$  – number of hits (points) within the radius  $d$

Processed K. Ripley's Function assumes the following form:

$$L(d) = \sqrt{\frac{K(d)}{\pi} - d}$$

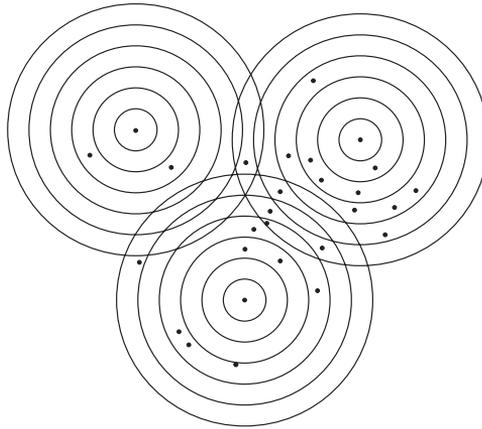


Figure 2: Method of calculating K. Ripley's function

The NNI was prepared by Clark and Evans in 1954 and was first used in the field of botany.<sup>23</sup> It consists in comparing the distance between the nearest points with the distance that should be expected in the case of a random distribution of points. If the observed average distance equals the distance in the random distribution, then the coefficient will amount to 1; if the observed average distance is shorter than the expected, then NNI will be lower than 1 indicating the clusters of points; if the NNI is higher than 1, then the distances are longer than it would result from only a random distribution.

The distance between the nearest points is determined according to the following algorithm:

$$d(NN) = \sum_{i=1}^N \left[ \frac{\text{Min}(d_{ij})}{N} \right]$$

<sup>23</sup> Ph. J. Clark, F.C. Evans, "Distance to nearest neighbor as a measure of spatial relationships in populations", *Ecology* 35, 1954, 445–453.

and the random distribution on the basis of:

$$d(ran) = 0,5 \sqrt{\frac{A}{N}}$$

Knowing these two values, the NNI might be calculated:

$$NNI = \frac{d(NN)}{d(ran)}$$

To conduct the analysis, a grouping used by professor K. Mikulski was applied for the purpose of accounting for the Polish specificity of the social structure of cities. In this case, grouping according to the Booth-Armstrong classification was not applied because it includes clergymen in the first group of “Administration and free professions,” which in the case of Cracow, with its large number of priests, nuns and monks, would blur the picture of the spatial distribution of population. In the case of the final category, “Personal services,” calculations were not conducted owing to a too small number of points. Generally, clusters were detected in virtually all socio-occupation categories, although they occurred with diversified intensity (table 5).

Table 5: Nearest Neighbour Index according to socio-occupation groups

Socio-occupation group	NNI
A. Merchants	0.65
B. Food crafts	0.61
C. Textile and clothing crafts	0.83
D. Animal produce processing crafts	0.69
E. Metal crafts	0.73
F. Wood crafts	0.78
G. Construction and artistic crafts	0.74
H. Services	–

Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155. The author’s own calculations.

The first analysed socio-occupation group consisted of merchants’ families which were the most affluent strata of population (map 3), with the exclusion of gentry owning estates in the city or temporarily residing in the city. The families had a tendency to aggregate, confirmed by a relatively low value of the

NNI,<sup>24</sup> amounting to only 0.65. The same conclusion might be derived from the analysis of L. Ripley's Function (figure 4), which throughout the entire investigated region exceeds 97.5 percentile, reaching its maximum around 140 meters, and this was the radius within which the largest numbers of merchants' families were dwelling. They inhabited the most prestigious districts of the city by the main streets, although not as many as could have been expected owned estates in the very market square. A decisively merchant wall of the Krakow market square was its northern side, later called the A–B line; distinct are also clusters of this group along the most important streets. Spatial analysis conducted on the basis of the hierarchical clusters method allowed to determine two main centres of Cracow commerce, which met the requirement of at least 10 points within the distance up to 100 meters. First of these, the larger one (22 points) was located at the beginning of Grodzka Street, in the very same place where merchant property was accumulated, which does not seem particularly surprising, since wealthy merchants very often were or became estate owners. The second cluster was at the beginning of Florianska Street, with 18 points. That does not mean that merchants' houses were nowhere else to be found; many were located halfway through Grodzka Street, at the beginning of Szevska Street, but a distinct trend was to locate the main seat close to the central point, i.e. in the vicinity of the Main Market Square along the Royal Tract. No merchants' houses were situated around Kleparz, which seems to suggest that the most important transactions were made in the city proper.

Starkly different was the distribution of families and other individuals dealing in the food crafts, which virtually did not exist in the discussed districts of merchant activity. It did not mean that this group lived in a dispersal – quite the contrary, this group exhibited even a greater concentration than merchants, with the NNI of 0.61. The L. Ripley's Function also reached very high values, pointing to strongest concentration within the distance of 94 meters, which indicates that the members of this occupational group lived yet closer to one another than those of the merchants'. It resulted from several factors: first of all, from the lesser affluence of families of butchers, bakers, and brewers, who could not afford to purchase estates located in the dead centre of the city. Also important was the tradition factor and practical issues related to inhabiting the butchers' quarter by these groups. Work performed by these groups, though indispensable, was often cumbersome for

<sup>24</sup> See B.D. Ripley, *Spatial Statistics*, New York 1981, 152–158; P.J. Diggle, *Statistical Analysis Spatial Point Patterns*, London 2003, 52–68; T.C. Bailey, A.C. Gatrell, *Interactive Spatial Data Analysis*, Harlow 1995, 88–90.

other citizens; thus, the concentration of units processing and selling foods was, at least sanitary-wise, very favourable. Such units sprang up mainly in the neighbourhood of Grodek, close to the city slaughterhouse, which was located to the east of the city walls.<sup>25</sup> Also significant were traditions of selling butchers' produce at Small Market Square, due to which many butchers tried to find permanent residence as close as possible to this place. Spatial analysis showed that the only cluster covering this population category was precisely there, in the mid-eastern part of the city, within the Mikolajska, St. Cross, and St. Thomas Streets. It does not mean, however, that the representatives of these crafts were not to be found elsewhere; it is only that in other places they did not compose statistically-significant clusters. They can be detected for example in the western part of the city, halfway through Szewska Street, and around Slawkowska Gate.

Among the three occupational subgroups making up the basic category, the most numerous were butchers' families (32), constituting also the most concentrated occupational group. They inhabited almost exclusively the neighbourhood of Grodek, maintaining only a very small distance between one another. In the remaining part of the city only two representatives of this craft were detected: one at the outlet of Szpitalna Street in a house by the city walls, and the other at the end of St. Anna's Street, also by the walls. Both lived in wooden houses, which seems to suggest they were not particularly well-off, but still, neither of them was described as "peon" or "apprentice." Thus, they must have been independent craftsmen, but living more frugally than their wealthier colleagues. In 1795 the latter house was most likely occupied only by the butcher's widow, since the entry reads: "house of Nowakiewiczowa, butcher-ess." The list does not acknowledge the presence of a husband, though. However, she could not have been a poor person, since she employed one peon, one apprentice and two maidservants, and lived with two children and one dependent woman.

The families of brewers readily inhabited the regions around Szewska Street, but their overall number amounted to only 21, and the group was not as concentrated as others, although it can be noticed that the families settled close to the city walls. The least numerous group was constituted by the bakers (only 17), who were scattered throughout the northern part of the city and did not, as a rule, live close to one another. There were also several buildings inhabited jointly by representatives of two trades, usually butchers and bakers (3 estates), or brewers and bakers (1 estate).

<sup>25</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place w ciągu dziejów, ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Kraków 1926, 62.

The next group consisted of representatives of textile and clothing crafts, who exhibited a degree of dispersal throughout the city. Their NNI amounted to 0.83, highest value among all socio-occupational groups. The L. Ripley's Function showed that the clusters occurred within a maximum distance of 70 meters, which seems to indicate that they did not share a uniform pattern of residence, but if they did live in each other's neighbourhood, then the distances between them were usually rather small. They could be encountered in virtually all parts of the city, except its southern fragment in which they penetrated only as far as Dominikanski Square. Still, a closer look at this group's spatial distribution revealed two clusters. Most craftsmen inhabited the beginning of Grodzka Street and the central fragment of Jagiellonska Street, but these were less populous clusters. It has to be borne in mind, though, that in terms of occupational profile, it was a very homogenous group, with a clear domination of tailors (85), and a few clothiers (3).

Families of craftsmen processing animal produce were most numerously represented in Cracow; in terms of wealth they were not homogenous and thus they inhabited various parts of the city. The group included furriers (10), glove-makers (7), leather-workers (13), shoemakers (112), tanners (1), and saddlers (7). The richest of them owned old buildings on Grodzka or Florianska Street, but just as many lived in wooden houses by the city walls. Despite these analytical issues, a certain concentration occurred also within this group. The NNI amounted to 0.69, which is less than in the case of merchants and foods craftsmen, but this value still testifies to a tendency to reside in one another's vicinity. L. Ripley's Function does not bring a clear-cut maximum, because the differences between the distances are relatively small. The attempt to extract clusters resulted in identifying four such points in the city. The biggest (16 representatives) was located in a quarter bound by Florianska and Szpitalna Streets, and St. Thomas's and St. Mark's Streets; the second in size was found in the area of Szczepanski Square, from where it was close to Garbary, that is the suburbs in which, taking advantage of the closeness of water, tanners had long since started to settle down. The third cluster was a consequence of settling in the same neighbourhood as butchers: on Mikolajska and St. Cross Streets. The final cluster was at Dominikanski Square. The most numerous in this group were shoemakers, particularly well represented in clusters 2 and 4. It has to be pointed out that choosing the same places of residence was sometimes dictated by analytical categories; furriers, for instance, inhabited the neighbourhood of Mikolajska Street for the same reason as butchers did, i.e. closeness to the source of material.

Families of craftsmen dealing with metal finishing readily inhabited the liveliest shopping streets, Grodzka and Florianska, exhibiting at the same time only a slight general concentration: the NNI in their case amounts to 0.73. It might, however, stem from the fact that this category entails 10 occupational groups the number of which is quite evenly distributed. Most numerous were goldsmiths (16), locksmiths (11) and blacksmiths (11), the other professions were less numerous, and included tinsmiths (6), watchmakers (6), armorers (6), gunsmiths (9), whitesmiths (6), braziers (6) and coppersmiths (5). Metal craftsmen were also quite distinctly removed from the central point of the Main Market Square, and lived at a considerable distance from this site. Even if they inhabited the same neighbourhood, their places of residence were spaced apart from each other. L. Ripley's Function in this case reached its maximum only at 121 meters. Two clusters were extracted; the larger of them, with 18 points, was found in the first part of Grodzka Street extending as far as All Saints' Square, the second, made of 12 points, was located on Florianska Street, from St. Thomas's cross-street to the City Gate. Owing to a substantial dispersal of categories, conclusions on their place of residence can only be inferred for the goldsmiths: as many as 9 of them lived on Grodzka Street in a relatively compact belt; others resided on Bracka and Golebia Streets. Interestingly, there were no goldsmiths in the northern part of the city; actually, they did not move beyond the line of Golebia Street.

Wood crafts did not call for particularly high capital expenditures and so their distribution in the city was rather dispersed. The NNI amounted to so much as 0.78; moreover, with the intended parameters no clusters were extracted. Most numerous were carpenters (30) and coopers (9). Representatives of other professions related to woodworking were significantly fewer: six cart makers, four turners, and one wheelwright. Ripley's Function for this group also had a different course than in other cases; it closely approximated the upper percentile of 97.5, reaching maximum within the radius of 174 meters. In part, it was caused by the fact that the investigated population was relatively small and consisted of only 50 persons. Therefore, the number of pursued points in this category was limited to 5 within the radius of 100 meters. The clusters extracted in this way may result in only a tentative image of the distribution of wood crafts: the largest cluster was in the southern part of the city on Grodzka and Dominikanska Streets, the second around Szczepanski Square, and the final one at the Florianska Gate. However, the standard deviation ellipse is so big that it is hard to arrive at reliable results. Carpenters, the largest subgroup, inhabited different neighbourhoods considerably removed from the Main Market Square,

but also in this case no rule can be discerned; spatial distribution appears to have been near to random.

The final analysed group is constituted by representatives of construction and arts crafts, which was dispersed at a more or less similar level as the wood crafts group (NNI 0.75). The number of craftsmen in this group was, however, over twice as big, amounting to 115 persons. It consisted of eight professional groups, among which the most numerous were bricklayers (27), followed by painters (26) and carpenters (24), and only then carvers (10), bookbinders (10), glaziers (9), and closing with potters (6) and printers (3). According to Ripley's Function, which in this case reaches its maximum at 103 meters, they were concentrated on a larger area. Construction and art craftsmen also lived in the second and even third line with relation to the Main Market Square, and wealth diversification among them must have been relatively high because some of them inhabited wooden houses in the north-western part of the city. In general, this part of the city was populated by bricklayers, constituting a compact group of 11 craftsmen. Larger concentration occurred on Dominikanska Street: 17 points (also here places of residence of 4 bricklayers could be found), and between Szczepanski Square and Reformacka Street: 11 points. Representatives of remaining trades, painters and carpenters, did not manifest any tendencies to residing in one another's neighbourhood, and bookbinders no longer lived around the University, as they still used to in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup>

Investigating the clusters of various socio-professional groups raises yet another very interesting question: the issue of the centre of the Cracow of that time. It may well have been expected that since the time of the charter the central place of the city would be the town square and its neighbourhood. In a sense it is so, as it was at the Cracow Main Market Square that trade flourished and most transactions were made. However, the city's production centre was located elsewhere. Thus, the question of how to determine and verify its setting remains vexing. It appears that the best way to find this area is to overlay all ellipses of standard deviations and then determine their intersection (Map 10). The results of this analysis are quite striking – the intersection of the largest number of clusters (four clusters) lay in place of today Dominikanski and All Saints' Squares. It is this part of Cracow that was recognized as the original pre-charter city centre, first by Henryk Münch,<sup>27</sup> and more recently, the view was corroborated by Jerzy Wyrozumski, who observed that owing to the change in the function of Okół

<sup>26</sup> K. Follprecht, *Właściciele...*, 19–20.

<sup>27</sup> H. Münch, "Kraków do roku 1257 włącznie", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 3, 1958, no. 1, 20–21.

(the oldest settlement), “urban life, and thus crafts-trade functions, had to move towards the north, along the axis of Stozek Pradnik, which was delineated by the present-day Grodzka Street, in the direction of All Saints’ Square. It is here that in a natural way the first Cracow urban settlement developed”.<sup>28</sup> More surprising yet is that despite the passage of several centuries, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the crafts centre was still in the place of the original city centre. This only stresses the unique persistence of social historic memory with regards to urban functions of particular parts of the city.

As seen, the question of what constituted the actual central point of the city at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is not altogether easy to solve. Was it then the Main Market Square that marked the prestigious reference point, as some scholars claim, for whom living around this particular place was a proof of material status and wealth level? In order to verify this hypothesis, buffer analysis<sup>29</sup> was conducted, embracing the area from the centroid of the Main Market Square, stretching into seven equidistants with radiuses growing with each 100 meters. Next, the number of socio-occupation groups in particular buffers was calculated (table 6). Thus, the first equidistant included only a small percentage of population because it covered exclusively the area of the Main Market Square, the length of the side of which amounts to nearly 200 meters. Much more interesting is equidistant 2; within its reach as much as 50% of merchants made their residence, all of whom were quite affluent; there were also substantial numbers of craftsmen producing textiles and clothing (32.6%), and the remaining groups were considerably less numerous. The largest number of people inhabited the third equidistant which also decided about the relatively even distribution of population within it. This zone was the most diversified in terms of social structure; it was inhabited both by merchants (31.4%), foods craftsmen (30.9%), animal produce processing craftsmen (38.4%), and metal finishing craftsmen (45%). The other groups were also well represented. A radical change occurs in the fourth equidistant in which the number of merchants decreases to 10.8%, whereas the share of representatives of foods crafts grows significantly up to 52.9%. Within this category slightly over 60% of population lived 400 meters and more away from the centre of the Market Square, similarly as the representatives of categories D (48.3%), F (45.8%) and G (41.4%), which allows us to assume that the further away from the city’s central point, the less affluent the inhabitants of

<sup>28</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Cracovia mediaevalis*, Kraków 2010, 162.

<sup>29</sup> The term “buffer analysis” is not fully accepted in Polish cartographic terminology; instead, the term “equidistant” should be applied but the word is virtually non-existent in the GIS.

the neighbourhood. The observation applies most accurately to the category of merchants, who tried to live in the vicinity of the Market Square, whereas opposite process occurs in the case of foods crafts, animal produce processing crafts, and wood and construction and art crafts. Quite well balanced in this regard are textile and clothing crafts, and personal services; however, in the case of the latter, owing to their low number, the calculations are not entirely reliable.

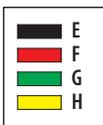
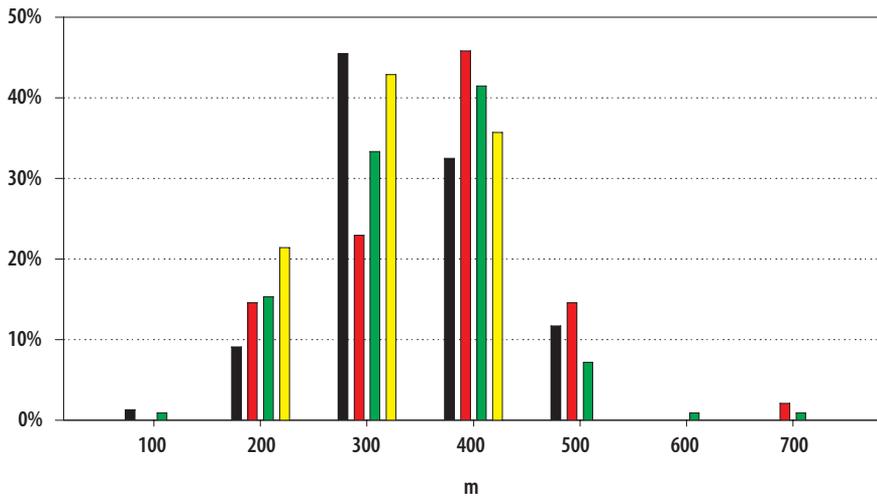
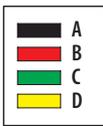
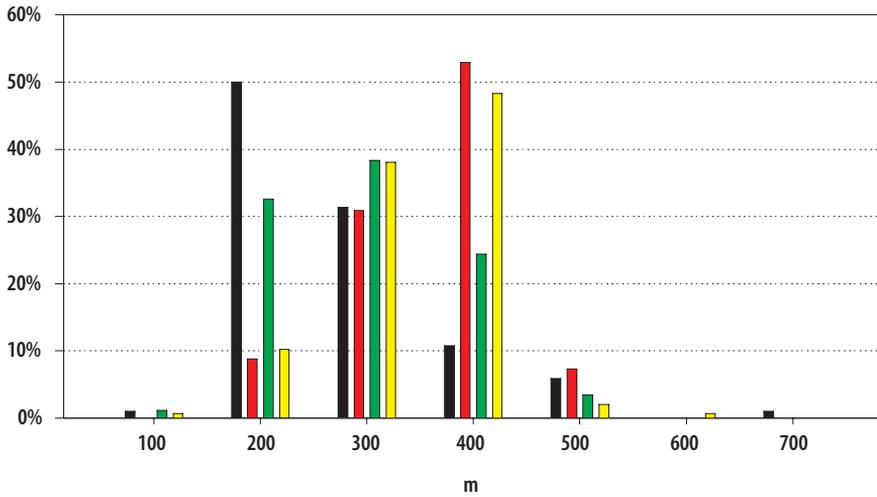
Table 6: Equidistants according to socio-occupation groups in Cracow in 1791

Equidistant	Radius (m)	Socio-occupation group							
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	100	1.0	0.0	1.2	0.7	1.3	0.0	0.9	0.0
2	200	50.0	8.8	32.6	10.2	9.1	14.6	15.3	21.4
3	300	31.4	30.9	38.4	38.1	45.5	22.9	33.3	42.9
4	400	10.8	52.9	24.4	48.3	32.5	45.8	41.4	35.7
5	500	5.9	7.4	3.5	2.0	11.7	14.6	7.2	0.0
6	600	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0
7	700	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.9	0.0
Total	X	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

For denotations of socio-occupation groups see table 2.

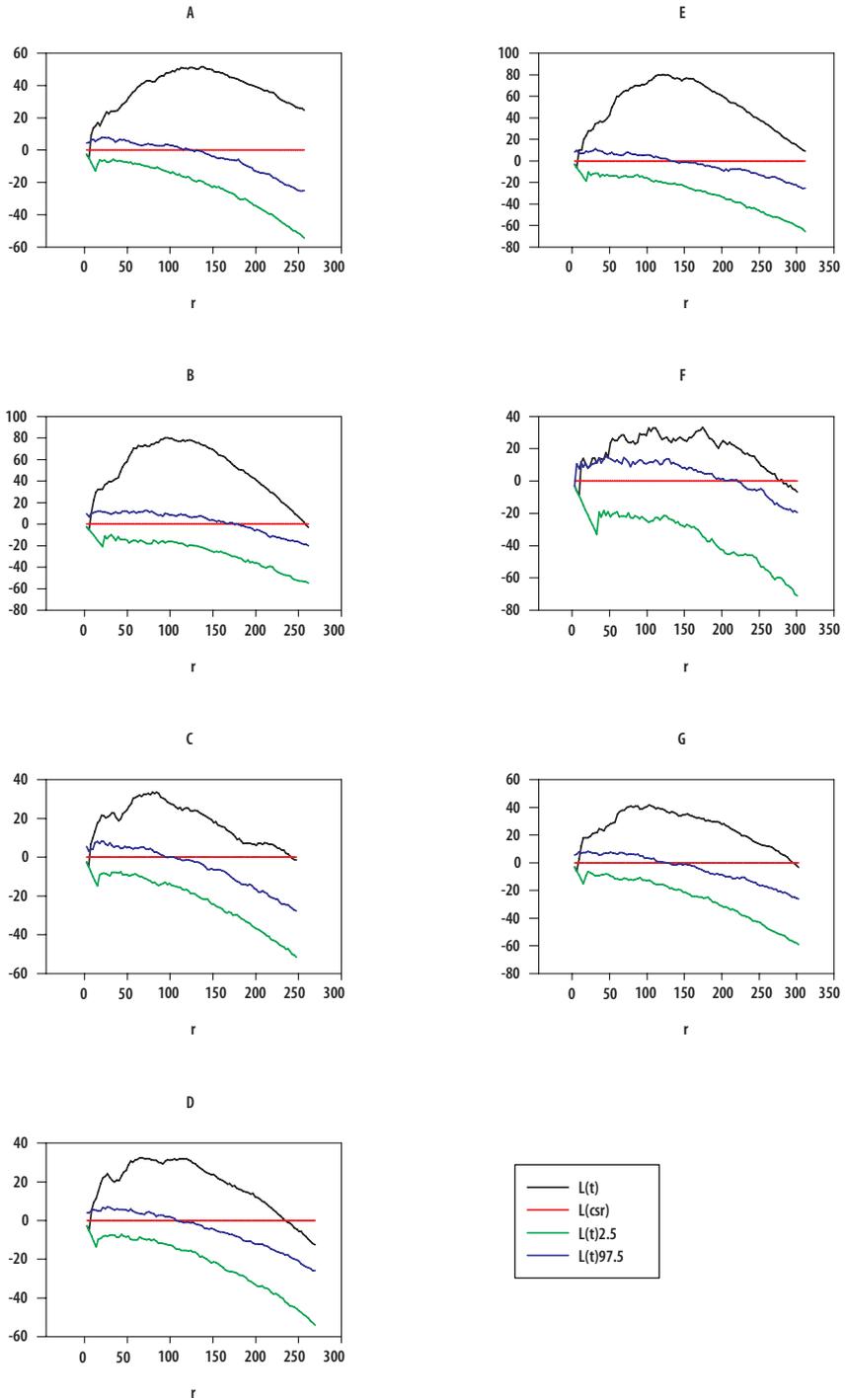
Source: NAC, *Opis zabudowania obywatelskiego...*, reference number IT 155. The author's own calculations.

Figure 3. Equidistants according to socio-occupation groups in Cracow in 1791



Source: table 6.

Figure 4: L. Ripley's function according to particular socio-occupation groups



Map 3: Spatial distribution of merchants in Cracow in 1791



Map 4: Spatial distribution of food crafts in Cracow in 1791



Map 5: Spatial distribution of textile and clothing crafts in Cracow in 1791



Map 6: Spatial distribution of animal produce processing crafts in Cracow in 1791



Map 7: Spatial distribution of metal crafts in Cracow in 1791



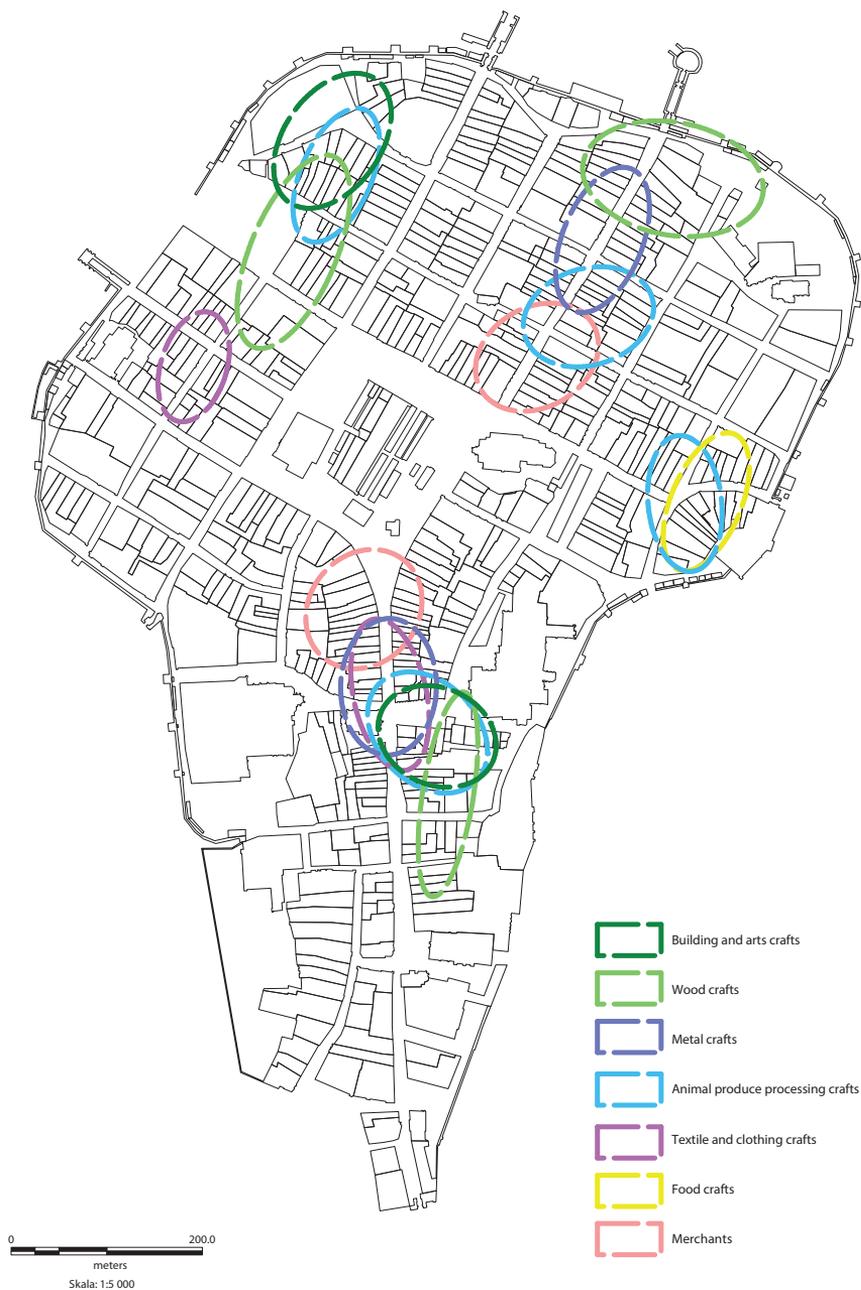
Map 8: Spatial distribution of wood crafts in Cracow in 1791



Map 9: Spatial distribution of building and arts crafts in Cracow in 1791



Map 10: Ellipses of standard deviations of all socio-occupation groups  
in Cracow in 1791



## CONCLUSION

For the research of Cracow population at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it is vital to determine its structure according to source and analytical categories. Particularly interesting proves the confirmation of a very high percentage of household servants, reaching nearly 32%. Gender structure was different from what became common in later times because at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century still the percentage of men (52.5%) predominated over that of women (47.5%), which stemmed from the fact that there were more male servants than female ones; moreover, the mortality rate among women at childbirth was still very high, and, finally, part of female population might have been under-registered in population censuses.

The analysis of spatial distribution of particular socio-occupation groups showed in nearly all categories a tendency to form clusters, that is to live close to other representatives of a given group. The NNI and L. Ripley's Function, applied here to investigate the issue further, allowed to determine the intensity of this phenomenon, and the distances within which it took place. Greatest concentration occurred among animal produce processing craftsmen, especially butchers; the least clustered were textile and clothing crafts, whose distribution was more spatially dispersed throughout the city. The remaining groups exhibited an intermediate degree of clusterization.

It has to be remembered that grouping, though indispensable for analytical purposes, might not be conducive for revealing clusters owing to the existing and still quite pronounced separation of occupation groups. The locations of clusters were detected with the use of the Nearest Neighbour Hierarchical Spatial Clustering (NNH), then, the clusters were transposed onto maps in the form of ellipses of standard deviations. In the case of wood crafts, this procedure led to the modification of the number of units to 5 owing to a low number of the population. The number of clusters generally oscillated between 1 (foods crafts), 2 (merchants, textile and clothing crafts, metal finishing, construction and art crafts), 3 (wood crafts), and 4 (animal produce processing crafts). No second-degree clusters were detected, which is due to a relatively small area and low number of data, and on the other hand, to the separation of clusters of craftsmen performing the same occupations.

Through overlaying ellipses of standard deviations and determining their intersections, an effort was made to pinpoint the craft centre of the then Cracow. Thus obtained area is to a large degree identical with the original centre of Cracow, which not only confirms the conclusions reached by medievalists but

also testifies to the permanence of this place as the city's central point. While the Main Market Square is the trading centre, the production centre remains the area of the present-day All Saints' and Szczepanski Squares. This observation does not apply to one important socio-occupation group, the merchants, who preferred to inhabit houses lying close to the central trading point.

In order to investigate this issue, the buffer analysis was applied, acknowledging that the centre of the city was the centroid of the Main Market Square, and determining the course of further zones within the radius of 100m. The analysis confirmed the existence of a strong representation of merchants in the second zone (50%) which indicated that this group inhabited estates closest to the centre and as the distance from the centre grew, their numbers dwindled radically. Spatial distribution of crafts is drastically different; their share increases as distance grows, with the exception of group C (textile and clothing crafts) which is characterized by a relatively even spatial distribution in the following equidistants.

Research into the socio-occupation structure of historical societies continues to pose severe difficulties owing to problems with the availability of source material and its quality. Denotations of performed occupation are very often laconic, and a lack of further information on income impedes grouping into particular categories. Lack of a uniform standard used in Poland in this type of research and investigations also poses problems. Each grouping, by assigning diversified professions into one category, always blurs social divisions; the alternative in this case becomes publishing research results in an electronic form, not only as PDF or DJVU files, but most of all relying on the WebGISystems in spatial analyses, which enables to freely group and depict information as digital maps available through an internet browser. Unfortunately, academic publications presented in this form are still regarded less serious than those rendered traditionally; thus, presenting research results in this way should be rather moderate.

The author is well aware that the above-presented research results are but a prolegomena to investigations of the sociotopography of Cracow families in the modern era. Recently, the issue has been experiencing a rise in interest, mostly due to the publication of source materials from the National Archive in Cracow and a few studies devoted to this subject.

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## **THE CRACOW FAMILY IN THE TIMES OF FRANZ JOSEF**

Research the results of which have been presented below, was primarily aimed at reconstructing the structure of the families of the citizens of Cracow, as well as at pinpointing the changes which took place within it during the reign of Emperor Franz Josef, up until today recalled with sentiment on the lands of the old Austrian partition as the ‘benign emperor.’ His reign lasted 68 years, from the Springtime of the Peoples in 1848, halfway through the Great War (1916). Nearly the entire time span of his rule is marked by Galician autonomy, gradually extended ever since 1860–61. This is also the period during which the population of Cracow begins to experience, in quite a violent way, especially in the 70’s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, modernization processes characteristic of societies entering the industrial era, despite an almost total lack of industry in the town. Of course, the complexity of the issue means that it deserves a more thorough analysis but even now, on the basis of observation of changes occurring in an average number of families and households, such a hypothesis might be proposed.<sup>1</sup>

The source basis for the present investigations has been provided by common population census of the Habsburg Monarchy, more precisely, the original pages of successive census of the town’s population<sup>2</sup> for the years 1857, 1869, 1880, and

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<sup>1</sup> See: L.A. Zyblikiewicz, “Dziecko w rodzinie krakowskiej w II poł. XIX wieku. Studium demograficzne”, *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace Historyczne*, no. 135, 2008, 129–147.

<sup>2</sup> For information on particular population census in the Habsburg monarchy see: L.A. Zyblikiewicz, “Powszechne spisy ludności w monarchii Habsburgów” in: *Celem nauki jest człowiek... Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej ofiarowane Helenie Madurowicz-Urbańskiej*, Kraków 2000, 387–400; Eadem, *Kobieta w Krakowie w 1880 r. Studium demograficzne*, Kraków 1999, 24–37. Cf. K. Bromek, *Rozwój demograficzny regionu Krakowa w okresie od 1869 do 1950*, *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace Geograficzne*, no. 9, 1964;

1890.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, in the census of 1900 and 1910 the census questionnaires did not survive, only the collective summaries which, while giving data for particular individuals, do not include information on separate families. This constitutes an obvious obstacle in analysing the situation of families since hardly ever was the researcher able to reconstruct kinship ties between particular persons (and even then only among nuclear families), and no guidelines existed which could facilitate a successful ascribing of each person to a particular family and household.<sup>4</sup> The surviving questionnaires provide a wealth of source material: the 1857 census embraces 32,748 persons on 7,976 cards,<sup>5</sup> the 1869 census ca.

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Ch. Durdik, "Bevölkerungs- und Sozialstatistik in Österreich im 18. und 19 Jahrhundert" in: H. Helczmanowski (ed.), *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungs- und Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, München 1973, 239; T. Gąsowski, "Austriackie spisy ludności z lat 1869–1910", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 13, 1981, 37–48; K. Klein, "Die Bevölkerung vom Beginn des 16. bis zum Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (mit einem Abriß der Bevölkerungsentwicklung von 1754 bis 1869)" in: *Beiträge*, 48–49; J. Ladstätter, "Wandel der Erhebungs- und Aufarbeitungsziele der Volkszählungen seit 1869" in: *Beiträge*, 267 and further; W. Winkler, "Statistik in der Welt – Statistik in Österreich" in: *Beiträge*, 13–14; K. Zamorski, *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji. Ludność Galicji w latach 1857–1910*, Kraków–Warszawa 1989, 4 and further.

<sup>3</sup> The National Archives in Cracow, Set no. 85/0, entitled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1857*, books of the census and additional census, call numbers S. 67–83; set no. 86/0, entitled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1870* (wrong date – the date of physical collection of data in the first days on 1870 was assumed, instead of the date of the critical point of the census, i.e. 31 December 1869 r.), books of the census, call no. S. 87–101; set no. 87/0, entitled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1880*, books of the census, call no. S. 108–132, 365; set no. 88/0, entitled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1890*, books of the census and additional sheets, call no. S. 135–177.

<sup>4</sup> The term "household" refers to a group of people living in one flat (house), and forming an economic community. It can also embrace individuals temporarily staying outside the place of residence but economically linked to the household (e.g. children staying at a residential house or dormitory in a different city for their studies but supported financially by parents). For a household to come into being neither blood nor kinship ties between individuals constituting it are required. See: J.Z. Holzer, *Demografia*, Warszawa 2003, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 50; M. Kędelski, J. Paradysz, *Demografia*, Poznań 2006, 15. Cf. also M. Kopczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1998, 7 and further.

<sup>5</sup> According to official results of the census, published in *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Ost- und West-Galizien nach der Zählung vom 31. October 1857*, Wien 1859, part: *West-Galizien (Krakauer Verwaltungsgebiet)*, 4–5, in 1857 Cracow's population amounted to 41,086 inhabitants, including 33,182 *de iure* citizens who were present at the time of the census. Only their cards survived until today, with several destroyed in the last 150 years owing to which data for 434 persons are missing. There were also 7,904 individuals living in Cracow without the citizenship right.

36,500 persons on 9,265 cards,<sup>6</sup> the 1880 one 63,063 on 10,122 cards,<sup>7</sup> and the 1890 one ca. 75,000 person on 13,738 cards.<sup>8</sup> In general, each card denotes a single household and family, although there are some ‘households’ (usually institutions) which had been registered on several or even several dozens of cards: hospitals, prisons, convents, shelters which, not being families *sensu stricto* – were not included here as subjects of the present analysis.

Information from the census cards were presented in the form of computed databases, with the first and third census (1857 and 1880) analysed exhaustively, and the second and fourth (1869 and 1890) with the aid of statistical sampling.<sup>9</sup>

## THE POPULATION OF CRACOW

### Structure of the town’s population according to gender and age

The number of Cracow’s population in the investigated time period drew radically, nearly doubling in just 33 years, and women were certainly no minority in its ranks (see: table 1). In 1857 their share in the overall population amounted to 52.6% and was growing steadily throughout the entire investigated period, reaching 54.1% in 1890. The town’s feminization ratio also increased, rising from 111 in 1857 to 119 at the time of the last analyzed census. The direct effect was a surplus of marriageable women, especially once account has been taken of the 15–49 age group, i.e. the “parents class” according to Gustav Sund-

<sup>6</sup> According to official results of the 1869 census (*Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Galizien nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869*, Wien 1871, 2–4) the population of Cracow in 1869 amounted to 49,835 inhabitants, including 36,293 persons with right of belonging, present at the time of the census (only their cards are stored until today), and 13,542 foreign persons (*Fremde*).

<sup>7</sup> According to results of the census published in *Oesterreichische Statistik* (Bd 1., 2. H., Wien 1882, 166–167) the population of Cracow in 1880 amounted to 66,095 inhabitants, including 6,311 active army officials and *aktive Landwehr* who were not subject to census. Discrepancies between the official data and the results of investigations conducted on the basis of census cards were discussed in: L.A. Zyblikiewicz, *Kobieta*, 43–44.

<sup>8</sup> According to *Oesterreichische Statistik* (Bd. 32, H. 1., Wien 1892, s. 31) the population of Cracow amounted to 74,593 inhabitants, out of whom 5,471 individuals were exempt from the census duty owing to performing active military service.

<sup>9</sup> C. Frankfort-Nachmias, D. Nachmias, *Metody badawcze w naukach społecznych*, Poznań 2001, 191–217. Very interesting examples of representative studies based on sources of the history of Polish lands are provided by M. Kopczyński, *Podstawy statystyki. Podręcznik dla humanistów*, Warszawa 2005, 61 and further).

barg's classification, which in Cracow embraced from 51 to 59% of citizens. The feminization ratio in this subpopulation amounted to 116 already in 1857, reaching 121 in the following census. In the "grandparents class" (50 and more years of age) the same ratio was 114 in the first census, in 1869 falling to 108, and in 1880 and 1890 reaching the values of 130 and 157, respectively. It needs to be remembered, though, that the "grandparents class" included only 13 to 15% of the town's entire population, and thus high feminization ratio in this age group should not come as much of a surprise.

Table 1. Population of Cracow according to gender in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890 (percent share)

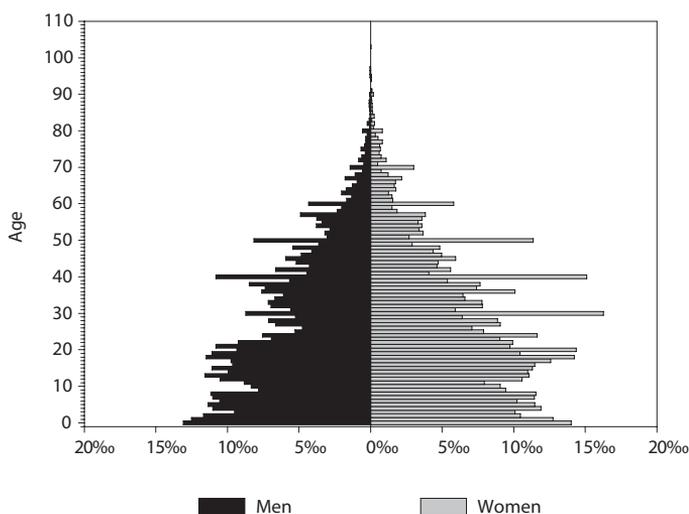
Year	Men	Women	Together
1857	47.4	52.6	100.0
1869	47.2	52.8	100.0
1880	46.9	53.1	100.0
1890	45.9	54.1	100.0

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

The age and gender structure of the population of Cracow in 1857, presented in the form of age pyramid (see: diagram 1) at first glance closely resembles Sundbarg's model of progressive population; however, after a closer scrutiny, substantial variations might be discerned: the "children class" constitutes slightly over 32% of this population (in the model 40%), the "parents class" nearly 55% (and not 50%, as in the model), whereas the "grandparents class" 13% (in the model 10%). The findings seem to undermine the law of the age structure balance formulated by the Swedish demographer according to which the "parents class" always constitutes half of the population, and only the proportions between the remaining classes are subject to change. Sundbarg's law, as it turns out, does not fare well in the case of metropolitan towns the major characteristic of which is that they draw large numbers of people migrating in pursuit of job opportunities. At that time Cracow undoubtedly was such a metropolitan centre in the western part of Galicia, especially for districts in direct vicinity.

In order to determine the share of immigrants in the town's population in 1857 and 1869 recourse must be taken to the findings of official Austrian statistics, which relied exclusively on the criterion of legal belonging (*swojszczyzna*). Since it was very difficult to change one's legal *swojszczyzna*, usually a part of the

Diagram 1. Age pyramid for the population of Cracow in 1857



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857. The author's own calculations.

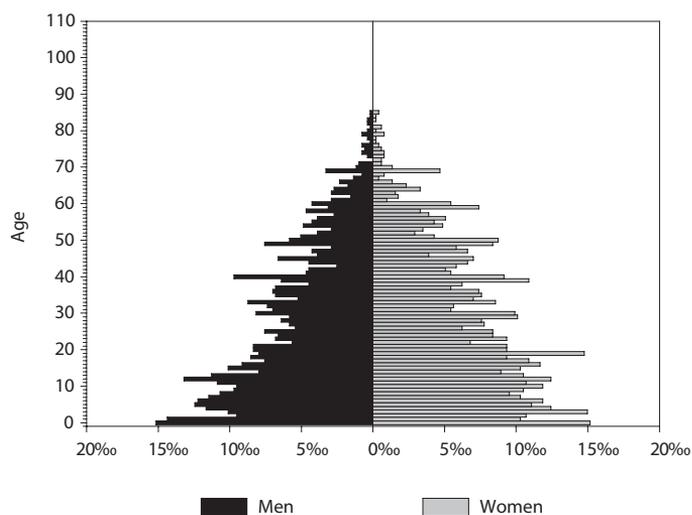
population, even if born in a given district, formally retained alien *swojszczyzna*, inherited after the father.<sup>10</sup> A slightly better, though still imperfect, criterion for the analysis of migratory movements is the place of birth; however, it was only in the 1869 census that this criterion had been acknowledged, the 1857 census had not yet made any mention of it. Unfortunately, the surviving cards refer only to populations with a legal belonging to Cracow (the *de iure* population); a full possibility to make use of both criteria appeared only in later years.

While analysing the *swojszczyzna* law, it can be assumed that in 1857 every fifth citizen of Cracow (19%) was “foreign” (*Fremde*), and 81% of the population was of the *de iure* category. In 1869 the foreign population constituted 27% at the moment of list taking which allows for an assumption that no less than every fourth inhabitant of Cracow had come from outside of the town.

The structure of the town's population in 1869 (see: diagram 2) manifests a slightly less progressive character than at the time of the previous census. The share of women increases – feminization ratio grows to 112, and in the “parents class” – even to 121. The share of the “children class” also grows in comparison to 1857, reaching 35%, the share of the “parents class” falls to a nearly model-like level of 51%, whereas the share of the “grandparents class” increases radically

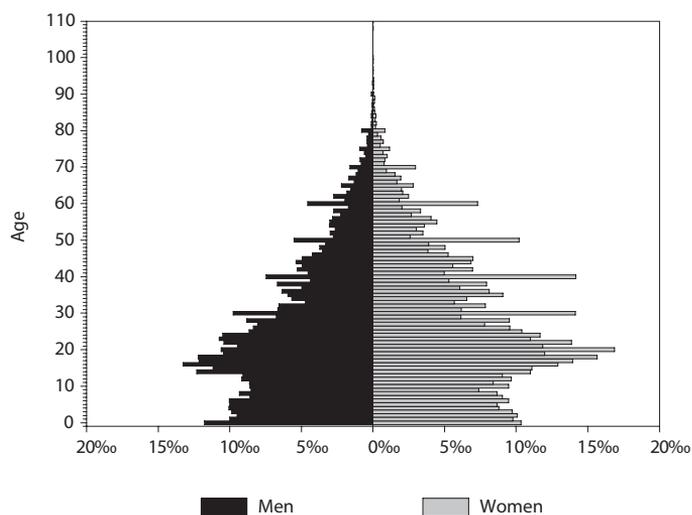
<sup>10</sup> L.A. Zyblikiewicz, *Kobieta*, 79–80.

Diagram 2. Age pyramid of the population of Cracow in 1869



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1869. The author's own calculations.

Diagram 3. Age pyramid of the population of Cracow in 1880

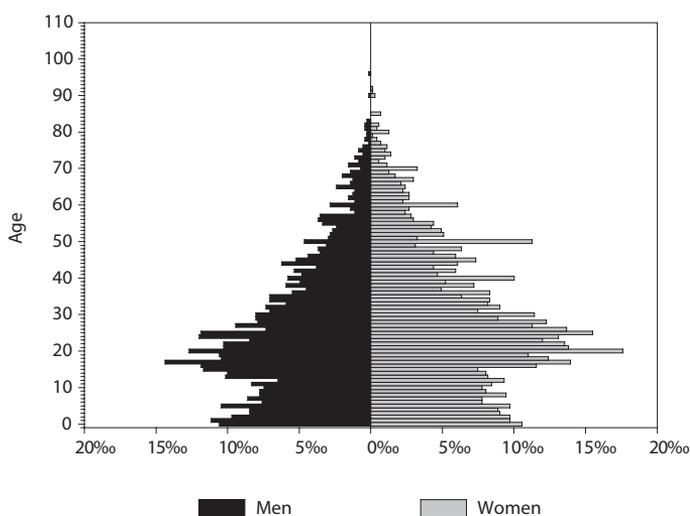


Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1880. The author's own calculations.

and reaches 15%. It may be assumed that throughout the time period of 12 years between the two census, the developmental dynamics of the town's population slightly decreases.

In 1880 the population of Cracow had yet a different structure than in the years of previous census (see: diagram 3). The age pyramid, already quite broad at its basis, expands substantially in the 15–29 age group, with every third citizen belonging to this age category. This must have been a direct result of intense immigration, regardless of whether we apply the birth (48.2%) or the belonging (45.5%) criterion, nearly half of the town's citizens were of migrant origins, with a prevalence of women (53%). In the entire population of Cracow, for 100 men there were 114 women, although the same feminization ratio in the “children class” amounted to only 96.

Diagram 4. Age pyramid for the population of Cracow in 1890



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1890. The author's own calculations.

In 1890, the age pyramid for the population of Cracow seemingly resembles that from before ten years; the basis of the 1890 is only slightly narrower but the share of the “children class” fell to 27%. The broadest part of the pyramid embraces population in the 15–29 age group the share of which grew to 35%, and the share of the entire “parents class” (15–49 years of age) reached nearly 60% of the overall population. The feminization ratio amounted to 119, its highest value in the entire investigated time period. Also at its highest was the share of

migrant population: in 1890 there were more foreign-born citizens (55.5%) without the *swojszczyzna* privileges (55.6%) than indigenous Cracovians enjoying the full right of belonging to the municipality (44.5% and 44.4% respectively).

### Denotative structure of the population of Cracow

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Cracow was divided into two main denominations: Roman-Catholicism and Judaism; followers of all remaining creeds made up for an insignificant part of the town's citizens, and their share in the overall population not once during the investigated years exceeded 2% (see diagram 5). In 1857 the Roman Catholics constituted nearly 60% of citizens, whereas the Jews almost 39%; in the year of the following census the predominance of the Roman Catholics fell to less than 56%, and the share of the Jews increased to 43.5%. In the next 11 years the denotative structure of the citizens of Cracow underwent a major change: in 1880 Roman Catholics made up for 65.5%, and in 1890 67.5%. Simultaneously, the share of the Jews decreased to less than 33% in 1880, and 30.5% 10 years later.

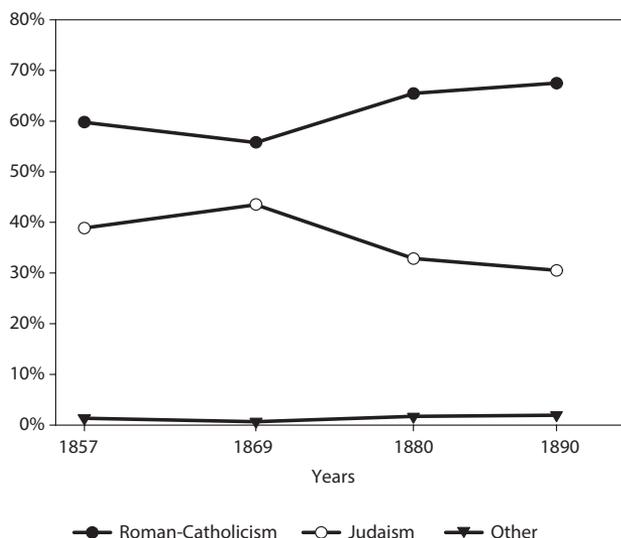
The difference between 1869 and 1880 could in no way stem from increase in birth-rate as it would rather result in a faster development of the Jewish population, among whom significantly greater numbers of births and lower death rates were noted. The data derived from the census cards of course did not allow us to formulate such a hypothesis, but the findings of contemporaries are unequivocal in this regard: "The number of births among Christians remains lower than the number of births among Jews, and the difference, except for last year's values, amounts to 4–5%. If from the total number of births in Cracow we excluded the births of persons whose mothers came to Cracow only for their deliveries, the difference would further grow to the advantage of the Jews because during those three years foreign women arriving to Cracow to deliver their children at one of the town's hospitals were exclusively of the Roman-Catholic faith. After excluding foreign births, the number of liveborns in Cracow falls to 29.95 in 1887, 30.6 in 1888, and to 31.6 in 1889; among the Christians to 27.7, 28.4, and 30.5 respectively, and among the Jews 35.4, 36.2, and 35.1, which means that Jews the have the edge of 5–8%".<sup>11</sup> And, further: "[in 1887] per 1,000 local Christian citizens 26.45 dies, and per 1,000 local Jewish citizens 21.09".<sup>12</sup>

It is however hard to expect that the noted population growth from less than 50,000 to 60,000 within just 11 years could occur otherwise than through immi-

<sup>11</sup> *Statystyka miasta Krakowa*, vol. III, Kraków 1892, 21.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. II, Kraków 1889, 47.

Diagram 5. Denotative structure of the population of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

gration. Due to both legal regulations and governmental and urban administration, the majority of migrants were recruited from among Roman Catholics because the inflow of Israelites from outside of Cracow was strictly limited by the authorities.<sup>13</sup> In 1880 among the people living in Cracow but born elsewhere, Roman Catholics constituted nearly 83.9% and Jews – only 14.3%; in 1890 – 81.4% and 16.6% respectively. In 1880 indigenous Cracovians were in 48.9% Roman Catholics and in 50.4% Jews; ten years later the same values amounted to, respectively, 51.0% for Roman Catholics and 48.3% Jews.

Evaluating the immigration rate on the basis of two criteria: the place of birth and belonging yielded very similar results with regard to the entire population, which could incline to decide to rely on only the better available criterion of the two. However, the analysis which takes into account the denotative structure

<sup>13</sup> Jewish population could only settle in an assigned part of Kazimierz which was regulated by the 1817 *Statut urządzający starozakonnych w Wolnym Mieście Krakowie i Jego Okręgu*, still valid also after the incorporation of the city into Austria. Jews who wished to live outside the assigned territory had to prove their knowledge of either Polish and German in both speech and writing, and had to declare that they had rejected the traditional Jewish dress. Cf. J. Demel, *Stosunki gospodarcze...*, 487 and further; W. Najdus, "Rodzina i domownicy rzemieślnika polskiego w latach 1772–1918 na podstawie materiałów małopolskich" in: J. Leskiewiczowa (ed.), *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1991, 25.

produces distinctly different outcomes. In both 1880 and 1890, there were nearly as many locally-born Roman Catholics as Jews, and the right of belonging befall to 54% of the former and nearly 45% of the latter. It also needs to be noticed that among the Cracow-born Jews present in the town in 1880 only 13% did not have the right of belonging, whereas among the locally-born Roman Catholics as many as 24% were not granted belonging. For a person from outside of Cracow obtaining the right of belonging was very difficult regardless of his/her denomination; only one in four newcomers could count on this, whether a Roman Catholic (25.4%), a Jew (25.7%), or a follower of other faiths (28.1%). During the following decade obtaining the right of belonging became yet more difficult; in 1890 only every fifth foreign-born citizen possessed the right of belonging, and even among persons born in Cracow, one in fourth could not obtain it (32.3% Roman Catholics and only 15.4% Jews).

Table 2. Age structure of the population of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890 (Roman Catholics and Jews)

Age groups (classes)	Roman Catholics				Jews			
	1857	1869	1880	1890	1857	1869	1880	1890
0–14 (children)	29%	30%	24%	24%	38%	40%	38%	34%
15–49 (parents)	56%	52%	62%	62%	53%	49%	50%	52%
50 and over (grandparents)	15%	18%	14%	14%	10%	12%	12%	14%

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

A comparison of two most numerous denotative groups (see table 2) confirms the hypothesis that the growth rate of the Roman Catholic population was to a large degree a consequence of immigration, quite intense already before 1857, even more so in the following 12 years, and finally mass influx in later years until 1890; the growth of the Jewish population, in contrast, was predominantly due to the birth-rate: throughout the investigated years, the Jewish population remained of a strongly progressive character, only slightly less so in 1890.

### The Cracow Families

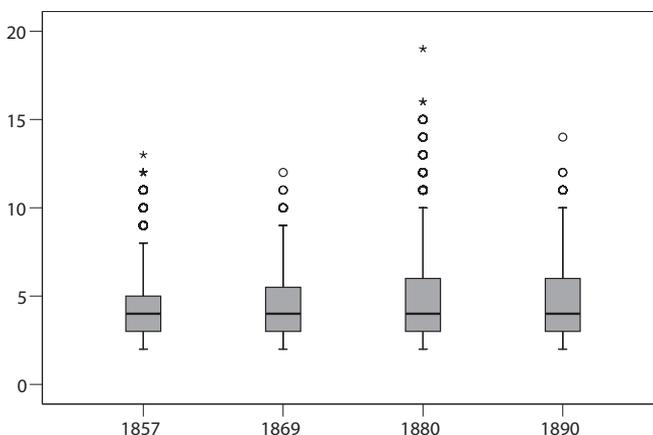
The object of the present analyses is the population of complex demographic units, i.e. families existing in Cracow in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century understood as co-residing teams of persons connected only by kinship and

propinquity ties. Thus, both households, in which the major unifying factor was economic dependency, and single persons residing without relatives were excluded from the study.

### Family size

An average Cracow family from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century consisted of 4 persons (diagram 6). Throughout the entire investigated time span, families of 2–4 members constituted ca. 60% of population of our interest (in 1857 – 63%, 1869 – 60%, 1880 – 55%, and 1890 – 59%). Large families composed of 7–9 individuals were relatively rare but their share grew gradually, and in 1857 they constituted 11% of the entire population of Cracow families, in 1869 13%, in 1880 up to 16%, whereas in 1890 their share fell slightly to 14%. An interesting phenomenon is linked to the change in the share of very large families of 10 and more members. In the first two investigated years their share was minimal (1%), and the largest families counted 12–13 members (in 1857 10 such families were noted among the overall number of over 6,606 families). In 1880, the share of families of ten and more members grew radically, reaching the level of 3%, and the largest of them counted 19 (the Mikucki family) and 23 (the Szancer family) members. In the year of the following census, the situation was quite similar: families of 10 and more members constituted 2.4% of the overall number of Cracow's families.

Diagram 6: Sizes of Cracow families in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

## Denotative structure of the families

Families living in Cracow in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were very homogenous in terms of faiths professed by their members; mixed-creed families had only a very slight share in the population: 1–3% (see table 3).

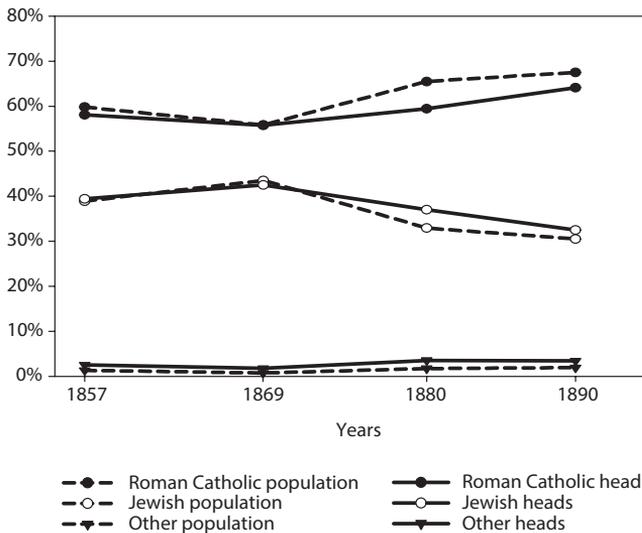
Table 3. Homogenous and mixed-creed families in Cracow in 1857, 189, 1880, and 1890

Year	Homogenous families	Mixed-creed families
1857	97.7	2.3
1869	99.2	0.8
1880	96.8	3.2
1890	96.7	3.3

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

Thus, for the purposes of the present analysis it might be assumed without the fear of making a substantial mistake that the faith declared by the head of the family was automatically the creed professed by the remaining members of the family.

Diagram 7. Cracow families in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890 according to the faith declared by the head of the family



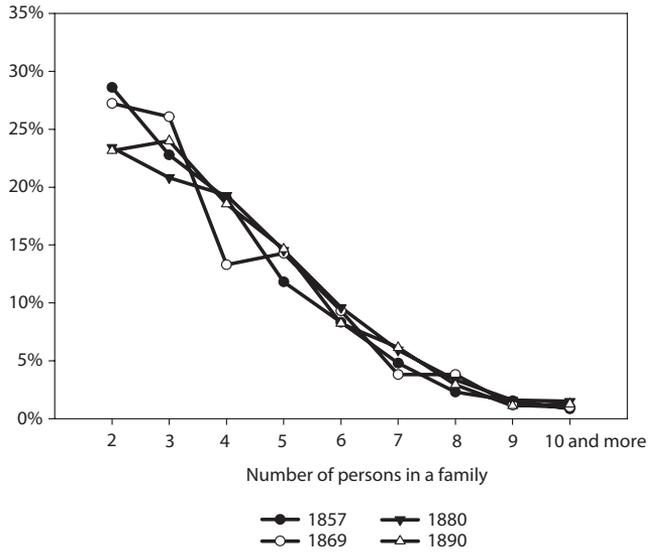
Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

Throughout the entire investigated time span, the share of families whose members were Roman Catholics, Jews, or followers of other faiths closely reflected the share of followers of each creed in the overall population of Cracow (see diagram 7). In the years of the first two census discrepancies in this regard do not exceed 1.5 percentage point in each of the denotative groups. Slightly larger divergences were noted in 1880 in which the share of Roman Catholics among household heads was 6 percentage points smaller than the share of the Roman Catholics in the overall population of Cracow. A reverse situation occurred among the Jews: there were more heads of families (37%) than overall population (32.9%). In 1890 the values again very closely resembled one another in the groups of Jews and followers of other faiths, whereas the share of Roman Catholics was still over 3 percentage points higher than the share of Roman Catholic families.

The followers of two most numerous faiths in Cracow formed families different from one another in terms of size (see diagram 8 and 9). Among families of the Roman Catholics a very high share (44–53%) became a part of the least numerous families, composed of 2 or 3 people. The share of so small families among the Jews was significantly lower (26–36%). Every third Cracow family, both Roman Catholic and Jewish, was made up of 4 or 5 persons (28–33%), whereas the share of large families of 6 and more members was distinctly lower among the Roman Catholics (18–22%) than among the Jews (31–43%).

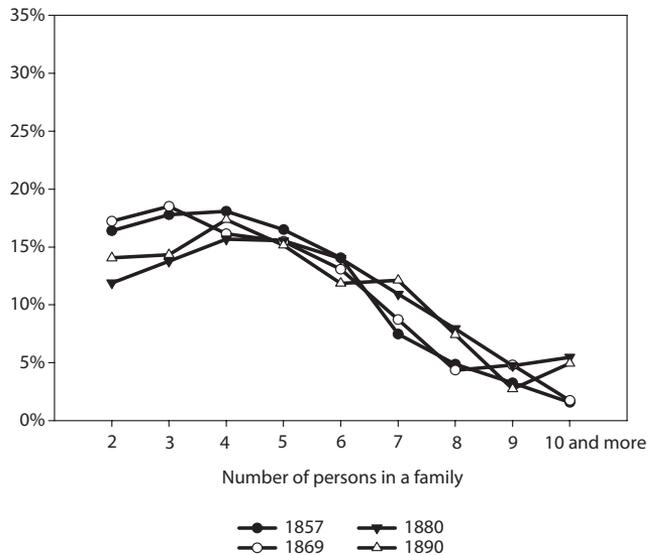
Also statistical analysis (see diagram 10 and table 4) confirms the existence of significant differences between the families whose members belonged to the two largest denotative groups. An average Roman Catholic family was smaller by one person than a Jewish family; in 1857 and 1869 the median of family size for Roman Catholics was 3 and 4 for Jews, whereas in 1880 and 1890 4 and 5 respectively. Moreover, the most widespread model of a Roman Catholic family was a small, usually two-person family, and it was only in the year of the last investigated census that the three-person family began to prevail in this denotative group. Among the Jews, by contrast, four-person family was most frequently noted, and only in 1869 did a slightly smaller, three-person family, dominate.

Diagram 8. Sizes of Roman Catholic families in Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



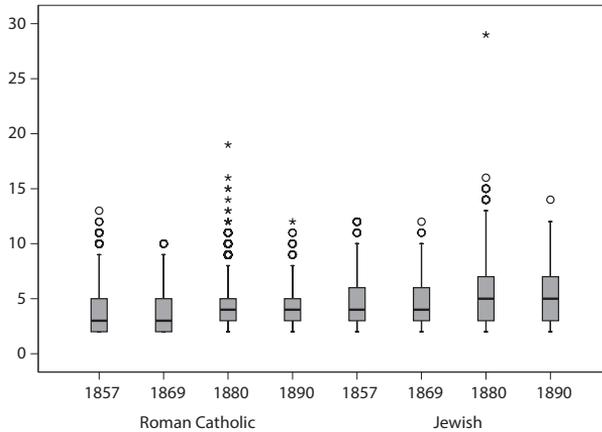
Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

Diagram 9. Sizes of Jewish families in Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

Diagram 10. The sizes of Roman Catholic and Jewish families of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

In the case of both religions, population distributions were right-handedly asymmetrical, with positive values for slant in each of the investigated years, although a slightly stronger emphasis among the Roman Catholics might be discerned. Differences occur with regards to the average family size – in 1857 Roman Catholic families were more homogenous (leptokurtic distribution), whereas the size distribution of Jewish families was exactly in line with the standard (mesokurtic). In 1869 concentration around the average among the Roman Catholics was visibly weaker than 12 years earlier; among Jewish families the distribution evolved into the platykurtic type, i.e. slightly more dispersed than in the assumed standard distribution. The most significant change occurred between the years 1869–1880 when the size distribution of both Roman Catholic and Jewish families became distinctly leptokurtic, and kurtosis value for the latter group increased to 2.87. Research conducted for the year 1880 proves that during the previous decade serious changes took place in the structure of all Cracow families which on average became larger and more compact in terms of the number of members. The process, though very interesting from a research point of view, cannot as yet be fully explained in reliance exclusively on the analysis of families, without acknowledging the question of migration to Cracow in the 1870's. Unfortunately, hitherto expert literature lacks a monograph on the problem of the origins and roots of the city's population which further hinders the interpretation of the phenomenon.

Table 4. The sizes of Roman Catholic and Jewish families of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890

Family size	Year	Average	Standard deviation	Standard error	Kurtosis	Slant	Median	Dominant	Percentiles		
									25	50	75
Roman Catholic family	1857	3.85	1.82921	0.030	1.09	1.123	3	2	2	3	5
	1869	3.91	1.86213	0.076	0.48	1.009	3	2	2	3	5
	1880	4.15	1.96004	0.027	1.79	1.111	4	2	3	4	5
	1890	4.05	1.86315	0.070	0.91	1.031	4	3	3	4	5
Jewish family	1857	4.62	2.02676	0.040	0.00	0.663	4	4	3	4	6
	1869	4.68	2.12832	0.099	-0.18	0.654	4	3	3	4	6
	1880	5.34	2.46243	0.043	2.87	0.970	5	4	3	5	7
	1890	5.09	2.31139	0.121	0.09	0.654	5	4	3	5	7

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. The author's own calculations.

Table 5. Results of Student's t-test

Year	Levene's of the equality of variances		T-test of the equality of averages						
	F	Significance	t	Df	Bilateral sig-nificance	Difference of averages	Standard error for difference	95% confidence interval	
								Upper limit	Lower limit
1857	56.651	0.000	-15.934	6438	0.000	-0.773	0.049	-0.868	-0.678
1869	12.222	0.000	-6.244	1059	0.000	-0.767	0.123	-1.008	-0.526
1880	207.453	0.000	-24.820	8658	0.000	-1.188	0.048	-1.282	-1.095
1890	26.900	0.000	-8.011	1078	0.000	-1.045	0.130	-1.301	-0.789

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. The author's own calculations.

Differences between the Catholics and the Jews were not limited to only the size of an average family; they differed predominantly in distribution. In order to verify the hypothesis of the significance of these differences a Student's t-test was conducted, assuming a null hypothesis stating the lack of such differences. The calculations confirmed the significance of the difference of the average size of the family among the Catholics and the Jews (see table 5). Since statistical significance by itself does not reveal much about the scale of the existent differences, it has been decided to calculate the values of Cohen's<sup>14</sup>  $d$  and  $U_1$  for the investigated populations (See table 6). The results legitimize us to conclude that during the entire investigated period the size of the effect remained consistently low, increasing steadily only in the following decades. The distributions of the two populations in 1880 failed to coincide with one another in 36%, whereas in 1869 the difference in distributions was only 27%. It can thus be stated that the diversification of family sizes in successive investigated years between the two groups not only increased in a statistically significant way, but could also have a vital impact on the mutual perception of the separateness of the two groups.

Table 6. Cohen's  $d$  and  $U_1$  for the average size of Roman Catholic and Jewish families of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890

Year	D	$U_1$
1857	-0.41	0.28
1869	-0.39	0.27
1880	-0.55	0.36
1890	-0.52	0.34

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. The author's own calculations.

### Family types

The vast majority (ca. 80%) of Cracow families in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were formed by married couples (See table 7 and diagram 11). In each investigated year families composed of both parents and a child/children and possibly further relatives constituted almost 2/3 of all families living in Cracow. Only one in six families was composed of a childless married couple and, rather infrequently (2.0–3.8%), further relatives.

<sup>14</sup> J. Cohen, *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*, Hillsdale NJ 1988, 20–23.

In 1857 single parenthood was an experience that became part of nearly every fifth household head (19.2%); in the following years the share of families formed by a single mother or father decreased to 17.8% in 1869 and 14.3% in 1880, only to increase again in 1890 to 15.4%. In the vast majority of cases single parenthood was the result of widowhood which affected four-times more frequently mothers than fathers. The share of widows and widowers raising their children fell considerably in the following years: in 1857 it amounted to 16.58%, in 1869 to 14.63%, in 1880 12.3%, and in 1890 it again grew slightly to 13.06%.

A marginal phenomenon (less than 1%) was single parenthood of maidens which does not, however, mean such a minimal share of extra-marital births<sup>15</sup> but rather the impossibility (or unwillingness) of mothers to keep their children. In 1880, among 12 families of this type only 3 mothers could be regarded as originating from lower social classes (two seamstresses, one washerwoman), the others were owners of workshop, recipients of capital pensions, or property holders which meant that they could pay less attention to public opinion since the lack of 'good reputation' could not seriously affect their material circumstances.

What might initially come as a surprise is the emergence of families in which a bachelor is a single father. In 1880 8 such cases were noted (out of nearly 9,000 families), among which there was a family composed of a single property owner (man), his illegitimate son (whom he had formally acknowledged as his child), and the son and daughter of his late partner from her previous legal marriage. The remaining 7 families are only formally cases of single fatherhood – in reality a woman lived with each of these families who was in all likelihood the mother of the children and was involved in a consensual relationship with the children's father.

<sup>15</sup> Cf.: "W stosunku do ogółu żywo urodzonych było ślubnych 56,5[%], nieślubnych 43,5[%]. Nieślubnych bardzo wiele. Pomiędzy chrześcijanami stosunek nieślubnych wynosił w 1885 r. 29,6[%], a u żydów olbrzymią cyfrę 72,6[%], czyli prawie ¾ urodzonych. W r. 1886 stosunek ten uczynił u chrześcijan 30,4[%], u żydów 71,3[%]. Wiadomo, że ta niestosunkowo wysoka liczba nieprawych urodzeń pochodzi z niestosowania się żydów do przepisów ustaw cywilny; w każdym razie oznacza to stosunki społeczne niezdrowe i należałoby obmyśleć środki zaradzenia takiemu fałszywemu stanowi rzeczy" ("Among live born children legitimate offspring constituted 56.5 [%], illegitimate 43.5 [%]. Great numbers of illegitimate children. Among Christians the proportion of illegitimate children in 1885 amounted to 29.6 [%], whereas among Jews – the enormous 72.6[%], which is nearly three quarters of all children born in that year. In 1886 the proportion was 30.4[%] among Christians and 71.3[%] among Jews. It is known that this exceptionally high number of illegitimate births among Jews resulted from the Jews' failure to observe the rules of civil law; in any case, this means that social relations are unhealthy and due action should be taken to fight such a negative status quo"); *Statystyka Miasta Krakowa*, vol. II, Kraków 1889, 40.

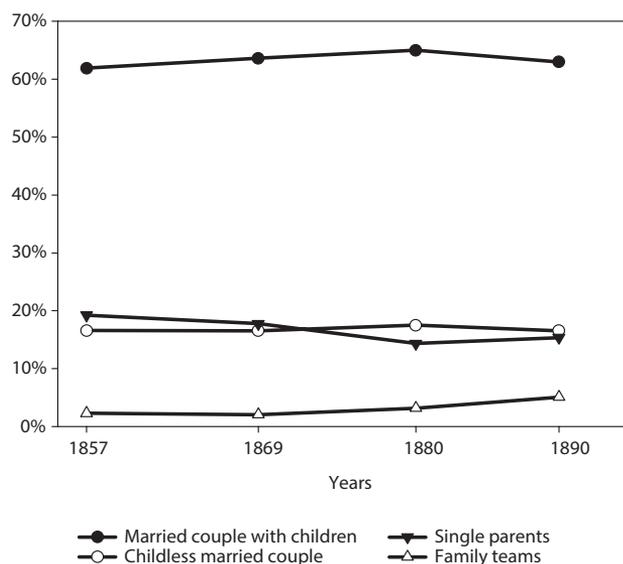
Table 7. Types of Cracow families in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890

Family type		1857	1869	1880	1890
Married couple	With children	61.88	63.61	64.99	62.97
	Childless	16.59	16.57	17.49	16.55
	Total:	78.47	80.19	82.48	79.52
Single parents	Widow	13.03	11.39	9.79	11.45
	Widower	3.54	3.24	2.60	1.61
	Maiden	0.79	0.56	0.14	0.45
	Bachelor	0.12		0.04	0.18
	Divorced/separated woman	1.24	2.13	1.39	1.16
	Divorced/separated man	0.45	0.46	0.36	0.54
	Person of an unknown gender and marital status	0.05			
	Total:	19.22	17.78	14.33	15.38
Family teams in which the head is:	Bachelor	1.00	1.11	1.38	2.33
	Widow	0.58	0.65	0.94	1.25
	Maiden	0.45	0.28	0.57	0.89
	Widower	0.11		0.18	0.27
	Divorced/separated man	0.09		0.04	0.27
	Divorced/separated woman	0.06		0.09	0.09
	Person of an unknown gender and marital status	0.02			
	Total	2.30	2.04	3.20	5.10
Overall	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. The author's own calculations.

It is worth noting the increasing share of family teams in 1880 and 1890, which were groups of co-residing persons related either by blood or by relationship but to a more distant degree than within nuclear families. The increase in the share of this type of families was probably linked to the growing inflow of migrants to the city; surely for at least some of them the most obvious option was to reside with distant relatives or kin who had already been living in Cracow. Indirectly, this thesis might also be corroborated by the fact that among Jewish families family teams were a marginal phenomenon whereas their share among Roman Catholic families was gradually more noticeable, and between the first and the last census grew from 3.1% to 7.1%.

Diagram 11. Types of Cracow families in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

This, however, is not the most significant difference. It emerges when we consider the share of particular family types in the subpopulations of two most numerous denotative groups (See table 8 and diagram 12). The share of married couples among Roman Catholic families was substantially lower than among Jewish families, and in the years of following census the gap widened further: in 1857 it amounted to 8.3 percentage points, in 1869 8.4, in 1880 10.9, and in 1890 13.3. It is also worth noticing that among married Roman Catholic couples every fourth (24–27%) was childless at the time of the census, whereas among married Jewish couples the percentage was only 14% in each of the investigated year. Moreover, birth rate among the Jews was visibly higher than among Roman Catholics, which has already been mentioned earlier.<sup>16</sup>

It might be assumed that among Roman Catholic couples some kind of birth control method was applied which did not occur among Jewish couples. This very fact might point to an earlier emergence of heralds of demographic revolution within the first subpopulation. Most probably the birth control method used by the Roman Catholics was later entry into sexual relationships than among the Jews, although the thesis is hard to prove owing to a widespread Jewish practice

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Footnote 11.

Table 8. Basic types of Roman Catholic and Jewish families of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890

Year	Married couples		Single parents		Family teams	
	RC	J	RC	J	RC	J
1857	74.9	83.2	22.1	15.6	3.1	1.2
1869	76.6	85.0	20.3	14.4	3.1	0.7
1880	78.2	89.1	17.3	9.9	4.5	1.0
1890	74.5	87.9	18.3	10.5	7.1	1.7

Key: RC – Roman Catholics, J – Jews

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. The author's own calculations.

of ritual marriages, officially unrecognized and thus also unregistered by the administration. Usually such relationships were legalized only much later, after many years of cohabitation, which explains why the age of the Jews at a formally noted marriage was much higher than that of the Roman Catholics.<sup>17</sup> According to contemporary testimonies: “Among Roman Catholics there are more people entering the state of matrimony at a younger age than among Jews, and the difference is particularly pronounced for women. This should be attributed to the fact that indeed ritual marriages, entered at a very young age and according to civil law null and void, are widespread among the Jews. Thus, it appears that the average age at marriage among Jews is higher than among Christians, contrary to a commonly known fact that in reality Jews marry earlier”.<sup>18</sup>

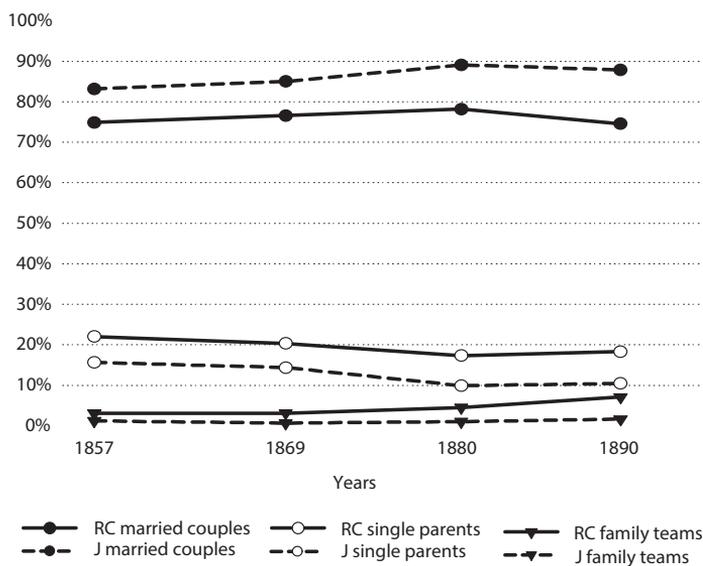
Single parenthood occurred much more frequently among the Roman Catholics than among the Jews. Among the former, the share of families in which only one parent took care of the children amounted to ca. 20% in the first two investigated years and ca. 17.5% in the next two years; among the Jews the values were, respectively, ca. 15% and 10%. In both denotative groups single parents were mostly widows and four times less frequently widowers. Unmarried single parents who were already a very rare phenomenon among the Roman Catholics, among the Jews were virtually non-existent.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The issue of ritual marriages had already been analysed for the city of Lviv during an approximate time. Acknowledging substantial similarities between Cracow's and Lviv's social circumstances – both were metropolitan cities with their own statutes – it appears safe to assume that also in this regard their situation looked similar. Cf. K. Wnęk, L.A. Zyblikiewicz, E. Callahan, *Ludność nowoczesnego Lwowa w latach 1857–1938*, Kraków 2006, 135 and further.

<sup>18</sup> *Statystyka Miasta Krakowa*, vol. II, 33.

<sup>19</sup> It has to be noted that data from official statistical records are based on formal-legal status according to which a substantial part of Jewish marriages was deemed non-existent,

Diagram 12. Basic types of Roman Catholic and Jewish families of Cracow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Key: RC – Roman Catholics, J – Jews;

Source: Databases of Cracow's citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880, and 1890. The author's own calculations.

## CONCLUSION

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century an average Cracow family consisted of 4 persons, and was usually of the nuclear type, composed of two parents and two children. It existed in a strongly feminized population the considerable part of which was made up of migrant populations. Until 1869 only every fourth Cracovian was an immigrant, following 1880 every second, and 80% of them were Roman Catholics. In 1869 Roman Catholics constituted only 56% of citizens, Jews 43%, but in 1880 the proportions amounted to 66% and 33% respectively.

In terms of family structure, the city hosted two separate populations. Average Roman Catholic families were smaller by one person than Jewish fami-

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and partners living in such relationships were treated as single. In turn, data collected on the basis of census cards take account of the factual criterion – if individuals subject to census claimed that they were married, they were thus treated during analysis. Therefore, if reference is made to the formal criterion, the share of bachelors and maidens among Jews would be very high which however would in no way correspond to the actual status quo.

lies, and in the case of the former only three out of four families were formed by a married couple, and every fourth of these was childless. Among Jewish families, over 80% (and in 1880 even almost 90%) were married couples out of which only 14% did not have children. Thus, it may be assumed that during the investigated period the Roman Catholic population already applied birth control methods, most probably entering into marriages later than the Jews, and longer or even lifelong celibacy of a part of the population.

The existence of differences between average sizes of families formed by the two most numerous denotative groups was fully confirmed by the statistical test (Student's t-test); however, in later years these discrepancies became gradually more pronounced: the largest change in Cohen's size of the effect occurred between 1869 and 1880.

Throughout the entire investigated time span it might be observed that the age and gender structure of the population of Cracow, the share of migrant populations, average sizes of Cracow Roman Catholic and Jewish families, or the sizes of the differences between them experienced greatest transformations between 1869 and 1880 which might be perceived as the first signs of modernization processes which heralded the dawn of the demographic revolution. The corroboration of this thesis, though, should be searched for in sources other than population census.