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THE RESTITUTION OF GARBARY, CRACOW'S LARGEST SUBURB, AFTER THE DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY THE INVASION OF ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN HABSBURG IN 1587

RESTITUCJA GARBAR, NAJWIĘKSZEGO KRAKOWSKIEGO PRZEDMIEŚCIA, PO ZNISZCZENIACH W CZASIE NAJAZDU ARCYKSIĘCIA MAKSYMILIANA HABSBURGA W ROKU 1587

Abstract

This paper presents an outline of the history of spatial transformations of Cracow's largest suburb in the years 1587–1655. So far, this topic has not been given due attention and the published works only present the history of Garbary up to the invasion of Archduke Maximilian Habsburg in 1587. However, the siege of Cracow by supporters of the representative of the House of Habsburg, who aspired to the throne, closed an extremely successful stage in the history of the suburb, and the liquidation of existing buildings forced its residents to undertake a quick and intensive reconstruction. Furthermore, the paper contributes to further research into the suburb's development at the end of the 16th century and in the first half of the 17th century, thus filling a considerable gap in research on the development of the urban system of Cracow.

Keywords: Garbary (Tanner's Suburb), Cracow, suburbs, urban planning, history of spatial development

Streszczenie

W niniejszym artykule przedstawiono zarys historii przemian przestrzennych największego krakowskiego przedmieścia w latach 1587–1655. Tematowi temu nie poświęcono dotąd należytej uwagi, a opublikowane prace przedstawiają historię Garbar jedynie do najazdu arcyksięcia Maksymiliana Habsburga w roku 1587. Tymczasem oblężenie Krakowa przez zwolenników habsburskiego pretendenta do tronu zamknęło niezwykle pomyślny etap w dziejach przedmieścia, a dokonana wówczas likwidacja zabudowy zmusiła jego mieszkańców do szybkiej i intensywnej odbudowy. Artykuł stanowi również przyczynek do dalszych badań nad zabudową przedmieścia pod koniec XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia, wypełniających istotną lukę w aktualnym stanie wiedzy o rozwoju urbanistycznym krakowskiego zespołu miejskiego.

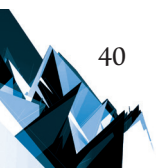
Słowa kluczowe: Garbary, Kraków, przedmieście, urbanistyka, historia rozwoju przestrzennego

The 16th century was a particularly favourable period in the history of Cracow. Before 1587 the city was safe from warfare and it did not suffer any unrest in the times of the first and second interregnums in the years 1572–73 and 1574–76. As the capital city of a powerful country, Cracow constituted a political and economic European centre – a place where celebrations of a definitely supraregional character were held, where royal coronations, weddings, and funerals took place, where events attended by the most prominent dignitaries of the state were held, such as the homage paid by the City Council to Sigismund I in 1507, the arrival of Duke Konstanty Ostrogski in 1514 after the battle of Orsha, the ceremony of the installation of the City Council and the arrival of Queen Bona in 1518, the Prussian Homage in 1525, the arrival of Hetman Jan Tarnowski in 1535 after the battle of Obertyn, the reception of Sigismund Augustus in 1543, the arrival of Henry of Valois and his reception of the homage of the Cracow townspeople in 1574, the festive arrival preceding the coronation of Stephen Báthory in 1576, or the wedding of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski in 1583.

Cracow in the 16th century was also an arena where transformations in the economy and production system manifested themselves earlier and more visibly than at the rest of the country [5, p. 20]. As a supraregional centre of trade and craftsmanship, as well as one of the important economic centres in Central Europe, from at least the 15th century Cracow was a wealthy city that constantly improved its standing. The population increased considerably and the city itself changed radically, although the changes did not relate to its territory, which was limited by the city walls. Year after year, the city became more and more beautiful, with exquisite new additions: modern palaces were erected, Gothic tenement houses were reconstructed and combined into bigger complexes [see e.g. 13, pp. 85-98], a new edifice of the town hall was erected, the Cloth Hall was radically rebuilt after a fire, and the Market Square was rearranged and its surface levelled.

The residents of Krakow were very fond of the arts of the Renaissance and the architectural developments they inspired in the transformation of the city's skyline. Thanks to the presence of a royal court and a university, the city quite quickly earned the status of a supraregional cultural centre and the most important artistic, social, and scholarly centre in the country. The Renaissance prosperity of Cracow was particularly clearly visible during the reign of the last representatives of the Jagiellonian dynasty, which was aptly grasped by Jan M. Malecki, who wrote: "The times of Sigismund, often referred to as the golden age in the history of Poland, were also a golden age in the history of Cracow, particularly in all circles of its culture, in the royal court, the bishop's court, at the university, amongst townspeople, and in the Jewish ghetto" [5, p. 155].

The golden age of prosperity acted as leverage for development, not just for Cracow, but also for towns adjacent to the city (Kazimierz and Kleparz), its suburbs, semi-rural settlements, and *iuridicas*, which were situated outside the city walls. Despite institutional differences, they were in close economic relationships with Cracow, creating a fragmented, mutually complementary, and largely harmoniously functioning urban system. The dynamic pace of its transformations in the 16th century was not slowed down by street riots, which were quite frequent at the time, religious unrest, and rebellions of the common people; nor was it hampered by numerous natural disasters: floods in 1515, 1528, 1533, 1534, 1542,



1570, fires in 1504 (Kazimierz), 1509 (Stradom suburb), 1522 (Stradom), 1523 (Cracow, Stradom), 1528 (Cracow and Kleparz), 1530 (Cracow), 1535 (Kazimierz), 1539 (Kleparz), 1546 (Kazimierz, Cracow), 1555 (fire of the Cloth Hall), 1556 (Kazimierz), and plagues in 1508, 1515, 1543, and 1555–1556 [5, pp. 41–43].

Amongst the suburbs surrounding Cracow, a leading role was played by Garbary (Tanners' Suburb), referred to as the suburb "in front of the Szewska Gate", or later on as Piasek. It was the oldest and largest *iuridica* located in the vicinity of Cracow – a settlement with its own separate administrative and judicial structures, located in the direct vicinity of the city or within its territory, but excluded from the city's jurisdiction under a royal charter or a foundation act authorised by the ruler. It occupied an area to the west of the city walls, between today's streets of Straszewskiego, Podwale, Dunajewskiego, Łobzowska and Słowackiego and Mickiewicza avenues, and the rear limits of the plots in the northern frontage of today's Piłsudskiego street (near Jabłonowskich street)¹.

In contrast to numerous *iuridicas* administered by the nobility, the governor, and the church, Garbary was a municipal *iuridica*, a type encountered much less frequently. It was founded in the location of early medieval gardens on the outskirts of the city and was a place of craftsmen's workshops and other services and production. Nevertheless, as early as the mid-14th century, Cracow City Council transferred most of Garbary's rights to the suburb's residents, allowing it to achieve a considerable degree of independence.

This initially small settlement of craftsmen very soon transformed into a specialised production complex; in the 16th century it obtained the status of the best-developed *suburbium* of Cracow and one of the most important production centres in the region of Małopolska². The production infrastructure was developed on a scale which was unprecedented at the time; the layout of the suburb was intensified and densified, and the population growth could be stopped even by the plagues that raged in 1543, 1555, and 1571, which were particularly severe for the suburb [29, p. 23], [5, p. 43]. Therefore, there were no harbingers of a rapid fall after two hostile invasions, seventy years apart: the siege of Cracow by the troops of Archduke Maximilian Habsburg in 1587 and the Swedish invasion in 1655.

On 12 December 1586, Stephen Báthory died in Grodno. During a stormy period of the third interregnum, after several months of disputes, the divided nobility led a double election during the assembly held in Wola near Warsaw. On 19 August 1587, supporters of the chancellor and the Great Crown Hetman proclaimed a Swedish prince, Sigismund Vasa, a king, and on 22 August the dignitaries focused around the Borowski brothers elected Archduke Maximilian Habsburg, Emperor Rudolf II's brother, as king. A civil war started in which it was not the military forces of individual sides that were to decide who would take the

¹ One of the few cartographic documents depicting the area of the tanners' *iuridica* is a city map by Józef Kromer from 1784. See: *Wymiar geometryczny miasta Krakowa z przyległościami dopełniony w roku 1783 przez Józefa Kromera Geometrę Przysięgłego...* The original was lost but a copy made by J. Czech in 1792 is in the National Archives in Cracow, Cartographic Collections, ref. No. II-18 (former ref. No. II-7c).

² More on the foundation, functioning, architecture, and spatial development of Garbary in the first centuries of its existence. See: [25–29].

throne, but the effectiveness, promptness, and accuracy of decisions made by representatives and supporters of the candidates.

Similarly to the previous interregnums, a key role in the dispute over the crown was to be played by Cracow. Kazimierz Lepszy quite aptly described it when he wrote: "Whoever was seen in the splendour of the crown by the dignified walls of Cracow cathedral could be certain of the support of thousands of noblemen passionate about politics" [19, p. 9]. This time, however, there were fears of a military intervention. Therefore, the city authorities prepared the capital for defence as effectively as they could, considering their financial capacity. The armament was completed as early as the spring of 1587, and in July of the same year repairs of the fortifications were launched: first the Szewska Gate, then sections of the city walls, the Floriańska Gate, and the Grodzka Gate. Cannons were renovated and retrofitted, gun powder and cannon balls were gathered. Nearly all entrances to the city were closed, leaving only the Floriańska gate (from the north) and the Grodzka gate (from the south) open for use [19, pp. 13, 17].

On 24 August 1587, on behalf of the king-to-be, envoys of Sigismund Vasa pledged *pacta conventa* – contracts drawn up by the election assembly. This, however, did not calm the municipal authorities of Cracow, who reckoned with the risk of a military invasion by the other candidate. These fears were shared by Chancellor Zamoyski, an avid advocate of the Swedish prince. The tense internal situation and the vicinity of the Habsburg empire prompted him to urgently convene the assembly of the Małopolska nobility and to set off for Cracow, which he reached on 8 September. It was a very prescient decision, as several days later, on 27 September, Maximilian pledged *pacta conventa* in Olomouc and set off for the capital too.

On 29 September, Zamoyski received an oath of allegiance from the townspeople, and on 9 October preparations for the defence of the city began: houses adjacent to the city fortifications were knocked down and cannons were mounted on the walls [5, p. 158]. On 14 October, Maximilian's troops reached Zielonki; the next day they quartered in Tonie, and then, awaiting reinforcements from Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, they settled in the Cistercian Abbey in Mogiła. It was then that Garbary faced the threat of a complete planned liquidation for the first time. According to the strategy adhered to at the time, in the face of danger defenders were to knock down the buildings of the suburbs, which shielded the attackers and made fighting them difficult. Nevertheless, Hetman Zamoyski, who was in charge of the defence of the city, decided to leave them be, hoping that having fortified the *suburbium* he could use it as an additional shield for the city.

This concept, however, did not save Garbary. On 24 November 1587, Maximilian's army attacked Cracow from the west, setting fire to the suburban buildings. The chronicle of the Cracow townspeople of 1575–1595 (*Kronika mieszczanina Krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595*) reads: "On the day given above, at 1 o'clock at night, Garbary was set on fire and the entire suburb was ablaze. The fire was horrible, huge, like in Sodom and Gomorrah, nobody could remember such a huge, severe, horrible fire like that one. At the time of the fire there was such a strong wind that a man could not stand up but was knocked down by it. A man could not see another man, they did not know what to do, as they had to beware of the fire and of the enemy, who was on the alert. St. Mary's church in Piasek was burnt down – fire took it over from all

sides, and it finally caught fire; many beautiful buildings were destroyed and tenement houses burnt down completely. Vaulted chambers, granges, beautifully arranged gardens – everything was looted over one day. And on the third day, everything turned to ash” [15, pp. 46–47]³. After heavy fighting in the area of the Carmelite monastery, caused by the betrayal of city residents of German descent⁴, the attack on the city was fended off. But the situation “in front of the Szewska gate” was not back to normal for a long time. Over subsequent days Polish city residents murdered 50 German tanners there and 23 more were beheaded under a ruling of the city authorities; on 26 November 1587, the few surviving buildings were burnt down, both as an act of revenge and in fear of a new assault. On 29 November Maximilian started to retreat towards Silesia, and on 9 December Sigismund Vasa arrived at the capital city. A period of peace commenced that was unfavourable for Cracow, during which the city was slowly but surely losing its political and economic significance.

The destruction of the times of the Habsburg invasion was the greatest calamity suffered by Garbary thus far. Nevertheless, the suburb residents who survived the turmoil quite quickly started its reconstruction. Krystyna Pieradzka writes that the layout of the *suburbium* was not changed then [29, p. 27]; it is known, however, that certain plots were demarcated anew, giving rise to disputes which continued until 1597⁵.

There is no doubt as to the road layout, which remained unchanged. Besides the then streets of Garncarska⁶, Szeroka⁷, Czarna⁸, and Półwie⁹, in the period of restitution the streets of Krupników¹⁰, Różana¹¹, Mała¹², and Grzebiennicza¹³ were maintained, and a tax register from 1601 mentions a road “from the stone mill towards a wide street” that is today’s

³ The history of the warfare related to the invasion of Archduke Maximilian Habsburg is also extensively described in [19, 41].

⁴ During the attack, tanners who supported Archduke Maximilian hid two German troops in the suburb, which attacked the rear of the Polish army during a pretended retreat of the Habsburg troops

⁵ E.g. in 1597 a dispute was recorded in Garbary relating to inappropriate demarcation of a plot belonging to Wojciech Kawalec. See: *Quartaliensium Recognitiones Et Divisiones...*, manuscript, National Archives of Cracow, Early Files, ref. No. 1377, p. 646, item 647; [16, part III, pp. 232–233].

⁶ A road in the place of today’s Krupnicza street, mentioned for the first time in the first half of the 15th century. See e.g.: [18, p. 346; 38, p. 86].

⁷ A road which largely coincides with the eastern section of today’s Karmelicka street (between Plant Park and the Carmelite monastery), mentioned under this name for the first time in 1392. See e.g.: [17, p. 190, item 1541; 38, pp. 70–71].

⁸ A road after the extension of the then Szeroka street, largely coinciding with the western section of today’s Karmelicka street (between the Carmelite monastery and Słowackiego and Mickiewicza avenues), mentioned for the first time in 1326. See e.g.: [23, p. 83, item 815; 38, p. 71].

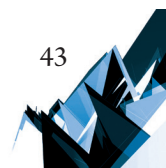
⁹ A road in the place of today’s Łobzowska street, perhaps derived from the local section of a route to Silesia from before the town’s incorporation. See e.g.: [40, p. 176; 38, pp. 96–97].

¹⁰ A road in the place of today’s Garncarska street, mentioned several times in 1470–80. See e.g.: [42, p. 694; 38, pp. 53–54].

¹¹ A road of an unknown layout, most probably oriented towards the west, mentioned for the first time in 1485. See e.g.: [42, p. 694].

¹² A small alley, parallel to the city walls, the precise layout of which has not yet been defined, mentioned for the first time in 1431. See e.g.: [29, pp. 40–41].

¹³ A road in the place of or in the direct vicinity of today’s Rajska street, initially nameless, mentioned for the first time as Grzebienna street in 1560. See e.g.: [29, p. 41; 42, pp. 693, 704].



Garbarska street [1, pp. 56–57]; [29, p. 29]; [16, part III, pp. 165–166]; [16, part IV, pp. 23, 229]¹⁴. At the end of the 16th century we also encounter information on tracts within the area of Krupniki¹⁵, Kawiory¹⁶, and Rybitwy¹⁷, most probably referring to the former streets of Rybacka¹⁸, Pańników¹⁹, and – perhaps – the western section of the then Garncarska street, separating the settlement of groats makers from the old Jewish cemetery [29, p. 29]; [1, p. 57]; [16, part IV, pp. 14–15]²⁰.

The lack of any essential changes in the suburban traffic layout is also confirmed by the list of buildings offering accommodation to visitors arriving at the coronation assembly of Władysław IV Vasa, drawn up in 1632 (*Rejestr gospód w Krakowie*). It mentions the then streets of Różana, Garncarska (today's Krupnicza street), Grzebienna (today's Rajska street), Szeroka and Czarna (today's Karmelicka street), "a street called Tasemberk, running from St. Mary's church in Piasek to the Biskupie" (today's Garbarska street), "behind St. Peter's" (the then Półwsie street, today Łobzowka street), the roads "in Czarna Wieś", "in Rybitwy behind the gate of St. Ann's", and "in Kawiory", as well as Pańska street, which is a certain mystery, located within the triangle of today's Dunajewskiego, Karmelicka, and Garbarska streets or in the place of today's Asnyka street or Basztowa street [34, pp. 89–103].

¹⁴ See also: *Quartaliensium...* p. 598, item 587; p. 674, item 672; p. 809, item 871; *Acta scabinalia suburbii Cerdonum...*, manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, Files of Cracow Iuridicas, ref. No. Jur. IV-12, pp. 851, 965; *Acta scabinalia suburbii Cerdonum...*, manuscript, *ibid.*, ref. No. Jur. IV-13, p. 505, *Quartuale Figulorum* (ca. 1590), manuscript, *ibid.*, Early Files, ref. No. 2556, pp. 24, 36; *Quartuale Slawkoviense anni Domini 1601*, manuscript, *ibid.*, ref. No. 2566, pp. 166–174.

¹⁵ The name of the area of today's Garncarska street, derived from the colony of craftsmen producing groats, established there most probably at the turn of the 14th century. See: [18, pp. 336–337].

¹⁶ An area within the limits of the tanners' *suburbium*, at least from the second half of the 16th century, coinciding with the territory of Krupniki and different from the area referred to using this name in the 19th and 20th century; most probably there was a Jewish cemetery located in tanners' Kawiory or in its direct vicinity, situated close to today's Krupnicza and Czysa streets, mentioned many times in the years 1311–1460. See e.g.: [23, p. 20, item 167; 42, pp. 693, 694; 29, p. 45].

¹⁷ The name of the settlement of Pobrżeże, mentioned since 1436, a village built for the Vistula fishermen, confirmed in the sources for the first time in 1315; after 1375 residents of Pobrżeże ran the so-called Fish Guard (*Stróża Rybna*), a company of a considerable size, engaged in the storage of fish intended for sale, located in the area of the western part of today's Humberta, Krupnicza, or Czysa streets, perhaps in the place of today's Mickiewicza avenue and the edifice of the AGH University of Science and Technology. See e.g.: [18, pp. 315, 322, 337; 29, pp. 38, 56].

¹⁸ A road within the territory of tanners' Rybitwy, nowadays of an unspecified location, perhaps located in the vicinity of today's Czysa street or Mickiewicza avenue. See e.g.: [29, p. 39]; cf.: *Acta dominorum scabinorum ante valvam sutorum...*, manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, Files of Cracow Iuridica, ref. No. Jur. IV-4, p. 205; *Exactio sacrae regiae magestatis anno 1553. Quartale Figulorum...*, manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, Early Files, ref. No. 2510, p. 26

¹⁹ A road within the territory of tanners' Kawiory – Krupniki, today's location unknown, leading towards the grassland and suburban meadows, perhaps in the place of today's Wenecja and Piłsudskiego streets, or the western section of Krupnicza street. See e.g.: [40, p. 181]

²⁰ See also: *Quartaliensium...* p. 668, item 667; cf.: *Przedmieście wiertelu garnczarskiego*, manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, Early Files, ref. No. 2562, pp. 3–20; *Quartuale Figulorum* (ca. 1590), manuscript, *ibid.*, ref. No. 2556, p. 37; *Acta scabinalia suburbii Cerdonum...*, manuscript, National Archives of Cracow, Files of Cracow Iuridicas, ref. No. Jur. IV-12, pp. 870, 981.

As some properties were demarcated anew, the dimensions of several suburban plots were recorded in the municipal documents. The preserved descriptions suggest that they had irregular, often polygonal or trapezoidal shapes [e.g. 16, part III, pp. 26–27, 117, 136–137]; [e.g. 16, part IV, pp. 18, 62–64, 250]²¹. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that the plots were ever demarcated in a modular or repetitive way, and the layout of their limits was determined by certain permanent land development elements, roads, and the river bed of the Młynówka Królewska river, sometimes referred to as the Rudawka river, which intersected the *suburbium*²².

The suburban water network was not in very good condition. In 1598, a heavily damaged dam that was used by a smithy was recorded before the Upper Mill [16, part IV, pp. 31–32]²³, and in 1604 the fact that wastewater was drained from plots of land, privies, and pigsties to a branch of the Młynówka river, which supplied water to the municipal pipeline, was noted [16, part IV, p. 176]²⁴. Most probably some major renovation works were undertaken on this waterway only in the 1630s [4, p. 164].

Although the reconstruction of the suburb was progressing swiftly and most damage was noted in 1588 [16, part II, pp. 219–220, 221, 222–223, 224–225]²⁵, we can read about areas destroyed by the fire (ruins and empty, unkept yards) in documents even from the first decade of the 17th century [e.g. 16, part IV, pp. 136–138, 222, 253]²⁶. Simultaneously, tax registers from the years 1591–1632 imply that a considerable number of the residential and production buildings of the *iuridica* was restored as early as in the last years of the 16th century. The structure of the development did not change then, and in the years 1613–1614 nearly 90% of houses registered in the city records were located to the south and west from the then Szeroka street (today Karmelicka street).

In comparison to previous years, the development density did not change a lot in the vicinity of the city walls and at Różana street (ca. 16–18% tanners' plots), in Kawior, which was also known as Krupniki, (17–21%), and at Grzebiennicza street (8–12%); it was reduced, on the other hand, in the area of "Dębny" Mill (4–5%) and in Rybitwy (ca. 6%). A certain density of houses was recorded at the then Garncarska and Szeroka streets (27–32%) and in Czarna Wieś²⁷ (13–17%); nevertheless, it is worth remembering that after 1598 no structures

²¹ See also: *Quartaliensium*... p. 486, item 482; p. 560, item 547; pp. 567–568, item 561; pp. 670–671, item 670; pp. 692–693, item 709; p. 825, item 892.

²² Młynówka was built under a privilege granted to Cracow-based Dominicans by Leszek the Black in 1286 – more on the project and associated structures in [14, pp. 25–33; 4, pp. 138–172; 32, pp. 19–29; 33, pp. 7–16; 26, pp. 142–143].

²³ See also: *Quartaliensium*... pp. 677–678, item 681; the Upper Mill was located in the place of today's building at 3 Łobzowska street.

²⁴ See also: *Quartaliensium*... pp. 769–770, item 823.

²⁵ See also: *Quartaliensium*... p. 380, item 387; p. 381, item 389; pp. 382–383, item 391; pp. 384–385, item 394.

²⁶ See also: *Quartaliensium*... p. 743, items 784, 785; p. 804, item 862; p. 828, item 896.

²⁷ A settlement located between Pobrzeże and Czarna street along the axis of today's Czarnowiejska street, mentioned for the first time in 1358; due to its complicated ownership-related situation (the village was administered by Cracow governors, but a considerable part of the land belonged to the city, private owners, and church institutions), Czarna Wieś was not incorporated into the administrative limits of Garbary and in subsequent centuries it remained administratively separate. See e.g.: [21, pp. 439–441; 18, p. 323].

were demarcated on Czarna street and in the area of St. Peter's church, as these were recorded in the registers of the neighbouring areas²⁸.

The lack of any radical changes in the structure of the suburban development is also confirmed in the register referred to above, which in 1632 mentions a total of 245 properties in Garbary and Czarna Wieś [34, pp. 89–103]. In the following decade this number slightly increased: tax registers from 1642 mention 244 developed plots in the suburb (including 228 houses, 3 mansions, 9 tenement houses, and 4 gardens), but these numbers do not take Czarna Wieś into account²⁹.

At the turn of the 16th century, the suburban residential and production development was still not particularly diverse in terms of the materials and technologies applied. A vast majority were wooden buildings with a log frame or half-timbered structure; brick or mixed buildings were a true rarity. The initially small number of suburban "tenement houses" slightly grew over time: in 1601 only one such building was recorded in Garbary³⁰, and in 1609 there were already eight of them³¹.

Documents dating back to the period of restitution also seem to point to the fact that the houses built after the defeat of Maximilian Habsburg largely repeated the layouts developed in the previous decades. A typical suburban house from the years 1587–1655 was, therefore, at least a 2-storey double- or triple-bay building, with one or two rooms at the front, chambers at the back, and several rooms on the first floor. A very distinctive element was a hallway that frequently connected to the kitchen; it led to a utility and production yard with a well, surrounded with numerous workshops, sheds, stables, and other utility buildings [e.g. 16, part III, pp. 136–137]³².

Most probably one of the first types of structure reconstructed after the Habsburg invasion was suburban religious buildings. After the disasters that had affected their church, the Carmelite Friars residing in Garbary not only rebuilt it very soon, but also spared no efforts to

²⁸ See: manuscripts in the National Archives in Cracow, Early Files: *Quartuale Figulorum* (ca. 1590), ref. No. 2556, pp. 17–39; *Przedmieście wiertelu garnczarskiego* (1598), ref. No. 2562, pp. 3–20; *Quartuale Slawkowiense anno Domini 1598*, ref. No. 2563, pp. 54–57; *Quartuale Slawkowiense anno Domini 1598*, ref. No. 2564, pp. 118–129; *Quartuale Figulorum...* (1602), ref. No. 2568, pp. 81–155; *Quartuale Figulorum...* (1602), ref. No. 2569, pp. 79–155; *Figulorum quartuale 1607*, ref. No. 2571, pp. 31–51; *Quartuale Slawkowiense anno Domini 1607*, ref. No. 2572, pp. 137–161; *Exactio quartualis Figulorum...* (1609), ref. No. 2575, pp. 89–159; *Quartuale Slawkowiense* (1609), ref. No. 2576, pp. 75–82; *Exactio contributionis vulgo szosz dictae pro anno Domini 1612. Quartuale Figulorum*, ref. No. 2578, pp. 24–27; *Quartuale Slawkowiense anno Domini 1612*, ref. No. 2579, pp. 169–196; *Quartuale Figulorum* (1613), ref. No. 2581, pp. 70–157; *Quartuale Slawkowiense anni Domini 1613*, ref. No. 2582, pp. 51–58; *Slawkowiense. Exactores duplicis contributionis szosz appelleatae...* (1613), ref. No. 2583, pp. 48–53; *Exactores simplae quintuplicis... Quartale Figulorum* (1614), ref. No. 2588, pp. 93–166; *Exactores simplae quintuplicis... Quartuale Slawkowiense* (1614), ref. No. 2589, pp. 32–36; cf.: [25, pp. 159–160, 164–165].

²⁹ See: manuscripts in the files of the National Archives in Cracow, Early Files: *... Exactia pozwolona... Quartuale Figulorum* (1642), ref. No. 2614, pp. 14–28; *... Exactia pozwolona... Quartuale Slawkowiense* (1642), ref. No. 2616, pp. 19–25; cf.: *Regestrum Figulorum 1642*, *ibid.*, ref. No. 2615, pp. 21–48

³⁰ *Quartuale Slawkowiense anni Domini 1601*, manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, Early Files, ref. No. 2566, p. 170.

³¹ *Exactio quartualis Figulorum...* (1609), manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, Early Files, ref. No. 2575, pp. 94–96, 128, 129.

³² See also: *Quartaliensium...* pp. 567–568, item 561; cf.: [25, pp. 158–159, 163–164].

set up a filial monastery within the perimeter of the city walls, near St. Thomas's church in the place of the former Arian church³³.

At the end of the 16th century, the tanners' St. Peter's church was restored³⁴; according to the documents recording the visitation of the Cracow Bishop, Jerzy Radziwiłł, for the year 1599, it was built with half-timbered technology [1, pp. 111–113]³⁵. Despite its rather small size, it was an extremely important building for the *suburbium* residents, as services were officiated there in German [31, p. 113, item. 40]. Manuscripts of Ambroży Grabowski contain also a laconic mention, based on an entry in the tax register, relating to an attempt to establish an unspecified nunnery in Garbary in 1609; nevertheless, nothing is known about it besides its hypothetical location³⁶.

At the end of the 1630s, another religious complex was erected in Garbary: a church and a monastery of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance. Representatives of this religious community came to Cracow in 1642 or at the beginning of 1625 in search of a founder and a location for a new seat that was close to the bishop's court³⁷. The monks quite quickly narrowed down their search to the suburbs; the elements that were decisive in this respect were the better availability of land and the limitations imposed by a royal decree of 1624. Eventually, they chose Garbary, where on 16 January 1625 a plot of land with a garden was purchased. According to their records, it was a plot accommodating a wooden and a brick building that was situated in the vicinity of the city walls in the area of today's Kapucyńska and Podwale streets [24, p. 17].

In the purchased houses the monks soon set up a private chapel, living spaces, a refectory, and a small infirmary; in mid-1626 they also commenced efforts to set up a chapel that was open to the public. On 13 December 1627, the monks were granted a royal foundation privilege, and in the second half of 1628, on the grounds extended by an adjacent plot, the foundations for individual parts of the complex were laid³⁸. For financial reasons the construction was delayed considerably and only the presbytery was built before 1638, while the entire complex was completed within the following two years³⁹.

³³ The transfer of valuable archives and library collections to the branch of the monastery within the city limits protected them against destruction during the Swedish deluge. See: [5, p. 282].

³⁴ A small church from the early 16th century, located in the place of today's monastery and church of Resurrectionist Fathers at Łobzowska street, disassembled in 1801. It was a filial church of St. Stephen's church at Szczepański square, and it was surrounded by a public cemetery, a precursor of the municipal necropolis in Cracow; more on this complex. See e.g.: [42, p. 694; 40, p. 176; 29, p. 53; 27, pp. 157–158].

³⁵ Cf.: [35, p. 115].

³⁶ A. Grabowski, *Kraków i okolice (zbiór notat i wiadomości do opisu miasta Krakowa)*, vol. III, manuscript, National Archives in Cracow, ref. No. 29/679/9 (former ref. No. E 17), p. 727.

³⁷ More on the religious community of Franciscans of Primitive Observance in Małopolska and the history of their first monastery in Garbary. See: [24, pp. 13–35].

³⁸ According to the author, due to the lack of funds it was decided to build the monastery first, and only later the church. See: [24, p. 20].

³⁹ *Descriptio authentica erectionis duorum conventuum in Civitate Cracoviensi*, manuscript in the collections of the Archives of the Province of Franciscans of Primitive Observance in Cracow, p. 3; *Monimentum seu archivum Conventus Civitatis Metropolitanae Cracoviensis ad S. Casimirum 1625–1753*, manuscript, *ibid.*, p. 29.

The tanners' *iuridica*, rebuilt after the destruction of 1587, survived in the form described above for sixty years. In 1652 the *suburbium* residents were decimated by a plague, but what proved to be a true calamity was the siege and the subsequent occupation of Cracow by the Swedish army. Even before the arrival of the enemy, on 25 September 1655, Stefan Czarnecki, who was in charge of the defence of the city, ordered that all the buildings located to the north and west from the city be burnt down. Garbary, Biskupie, and Kleparz fell victim to the fire; even Cracow itself faced the threat of the flames – the fire raging outside the city walls also consumed the nunnery of the Dominican Sisters in Gródek, the church of the Franciscan Friars, the municipal pipeline, the furriers' tower, a part of the bishop's palace, and the attics of Wawel castle. Only quick firefighting action saved Collegium Maius⁴⁰.

Over subsequent months the remains of the old buildings were used in the construction of barricades and disassembled to get fuel; the few buildings that survived were plundered and burnt down. In September 1656, under a decree of the Swedish governor, Paul Wirtz, the final liquidation of the suburban development was ordered as it constituted a potential shelter for attackers. According to Janina Bieniarzówna and Jan M. Małecki, "on 13 November 1656 Smoleńsk, Retoryka, Wesola, Podbrzezcie, Błonie, Czarna Wieś, Krowodrza, Zwierzyniec, and Łobzów were burnt down. (...) Ruins of suburban churches were smashed as they could have offered shelter to attackers, thus completing the work of destruction begun by Czarnecki in September 1655. Church walls, e.g. of the Carmelites in Piasek, were demolished by means of battering rams brought there especially for this purpose" [5, p. 384].

After capitulation, announced on 25 August 1657, and after the Swedish army abandoned the city, the suburbs of Cracow were in a deplorable condition. Ludwik Sikora writes that to the west of the city walls only two little houses survived in Podzamcze, "in Piasek not even one house was left out of several hundred, all that was left of the mill and the Carmelites' monastery was a heap of debris" [37, p. 119]. The technical infrastructure was razed to the ground; roads and waterways were devastated; mills, fulling mills, baths, and the municipal pipeline were utterly destroyed. The layout of the *iuridica* returned to the one from the times before the incorporation, and the political economic, and social conditions of the 17th century offered no hope for a quick reconstruction.

After the retreat of the Swedish troops Garbary never regained its former glory; nevertheless, the liquidation of its development carried out in the years 1655–1657 did not bring an end to the history of the suburb. Although its development changed radically after the retreat of the Swedish army, it still constituted an attractive location for craftsmen's workshops, wayside inns, religious buildings, suburban residences, gardens, and orchards. Less than a half of the suburban development was recovered from the damage, and the area "in front of the Szewska Gate" had to wait until the mid-19th century for another period of prosperity.

⁴⁰ An extensive description of the history of the Swedish deluge is presented by Ludwik Sikora in his work. See: [37].

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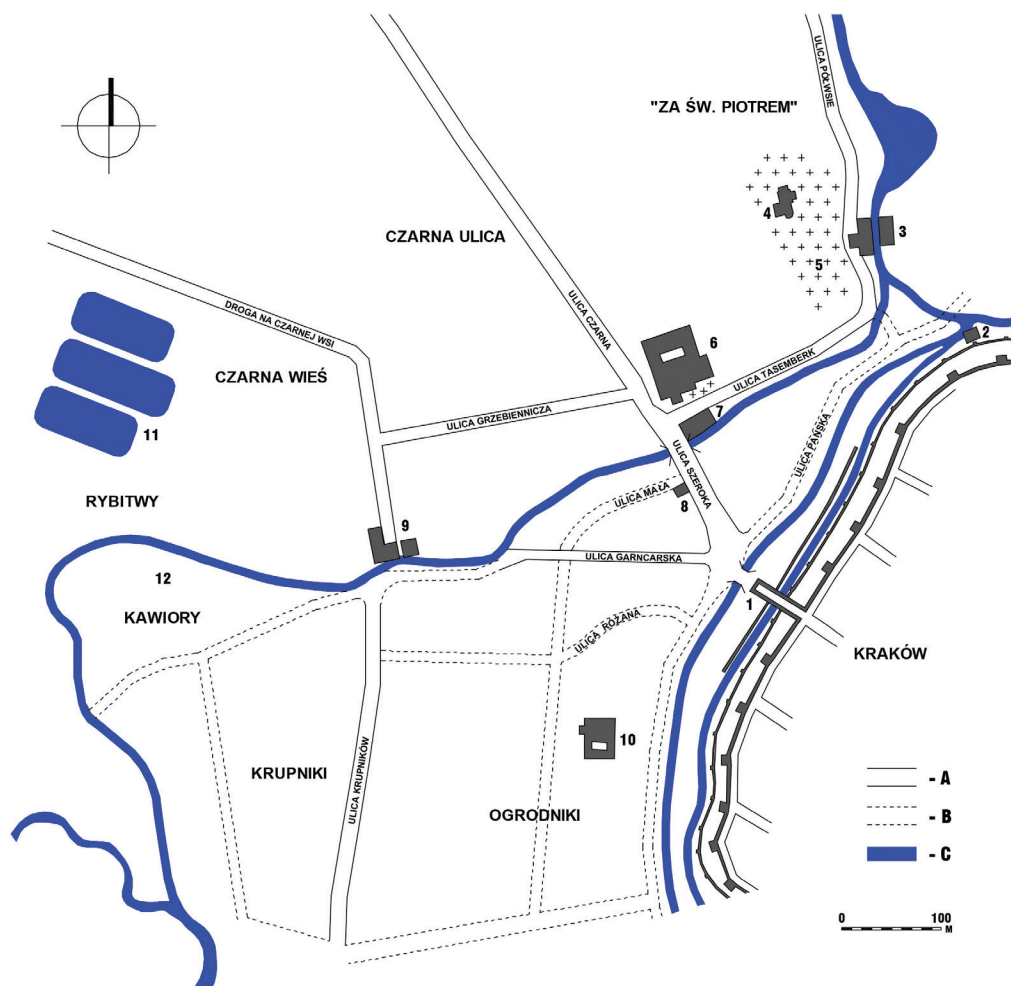


Fig. 1. Garbary in the years 1587–1655: A – streets with a layout confirmed in the sources; B – streets with a hypothetical layout, not confirmed in the sources; C – waterways and bodies of water. More important buildings and development elements of the suburb: 1 – “Szewska” Gate; 2 – water pipeline; 3 – Upper Mill; 4 – St. Peter’s church; 5 – public cemetery; 6 – Carmelite Fathers’ church and monastery; 7 – “Dębny” Mill; 8 – town hall of the *iuridica*; 9 – Lower Mill; 10 – church and monastery of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance; 11 – probable location of the Fish Guard; 12 – probable location of the old Jewish cemetery (prepared by K. Petrus)



Fig. 2. Current road grid within the area of the former tanners' *iuridica* (prepared by K. Petrus)