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SANDOMIERZ AS THE CENTRE OF THE VITICULTURE FROM THE MIDDLE AGES UNTIL THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Stanisław Sarnicki, who praised the richness of the noblest fruits in the gardens of Sandomierz, also noted that “vineyards are cultivated here (*vineae istic coluntur*)”¹. For the sixteenth-century writer the vineyards were a landmark of the city where the centuries-old tradition, dating back to the twelfth century, allowed for the high level of development of this branch of agriculture². Among the crucial factors were the favorable weather conditions and the introduction of terraces for grapevine cultivation. Also, the growing demand for wine for liturgical purposes and consumption encouraged the establishment of vineyards in the Middle Ages.

In Poland, the tradition of grapevine cultivation and production of wine was developed mainly by religious orders. The same must have applied to Sandomierz since the earliest sources mention two vineyards which belonged to the Dominican

¹ S. Sarnicki, *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae cum divisione eiusdem veteri et nova. Adiecta est vera et exquisita Russiae inferioris descriptio, iuxta revisionem commissariorum regionum. Et Livoniae iuxta Odoporicon exercitus Polonici redeuntis ex Moschovia, Cracoviae 1585* [page numbering not included]: *Sedomiria. [--] Vineae istic coluntur. Pomaria ubique patent, ita ut putes undiq[ue]; sylvas circumstare. Tanta ibi est copia nobilissimarum frugum.*

² M. Kwapieniowa, *Początki uprawy winorośli w Polsce*, “Materiały Archeologiczne” 1959, vol. 1, p. 368, 377, 390; Z. Morawski, *Rozwój i upadek winiarstwa w Polsce (XII–XVI)*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 1978, vol. 26, p. 62, 65, 68; F. Kiryk, *Sandomierz w czasach Długosza*, in: *Jan Długosz w pięćsetną rocznicę śmierci. Materiały z sesji (Sandomierz 24–25 maja 1980)*, ed. F. Kiryk, Olsztyn 1983, p. 24; M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta Sandomierza*, Warszawa 1879, p. 127–129; F. Dąbrowski, *Geneza i początki komandorii joannitów w Zagości*, in: *Między Wisłą a Pilicą. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 3, ed. B. Wojciechowska i L. Michalska-Bracha, Kielce 2002, p. 23, 26–28; A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Pożywienie, napoje*, in: *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, vol. 2: *Od XIII do XV wieku*, ed. A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 267. For a wider perspective on viticulture in the Kingdom of Poland see: J. Tandecki, *Uprawa winorośli i handel winem w średniowiecznym Toruniu*, “Rocznik Toruński” 1978, vol. 13, p. 199–215; A. Czachorowski, *Ogrodnicy i winogrodnicy w średniowiecznym Toruniu*, in: *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, vol. 1 [Studia Polonica Historiae Urbanae, vol. 1], Toruń 1996, p. 71–76; U. Arnold, *Zakon krzyżacki. Z Ziemi Świętej nad Bałtyk*, Toruń 1996, p. 235–274.

Convent of St. James. One of them was located near the monastery, in front of the Parish Church of St. Paul, and was connected to a brewery and a garden. In the Middle Ages, the whole complex was leased and earned an annual rent of 2 *grzywny*³. The Dominicans received it at the time of Prince Leszek II the Black from Isaac, vicar of the Parish Church of St. Paul, in exchange for other land plot which they had got earlier from the widow of Streszek, Duke's dignitary. The exchange was confirmed by Prince Ladislaus I the Short on 20th December, 1290⁴. The vineyard was adjacent to the second monastic grapevine garden, connected to an orchard, also located in the vicinity of the monastery. According to *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz it was cultivated by the monks themselves and the obtained wine was used for liturgical purposes⁵. However, there is no specific information regarding the date of acquisition of the vineyard by the Convent of St. James.

Although since the early Middle Ages cultivation of grapevine remained primarily a matter of ecclesiastical institutions, in Sandomierz also burghers possessed vineyards, which is confirmed in a source from 1321. At that time, at the local collegiate, king Ladislaus I the Short and his wife Jadwiga founded the Canonry of the Queen's Ring in honor of St. Valentine and St. George⁶. The assets of the canonry consisted of rents from the vineyards, gardens and houses of Sandomierz and 4 *grzywny* from customs. Those revenues had previously been intended for princesses and queens who got married. Every house which had one chimney had to pay 1 *grosz*. A house with two chimneys paid 2 *groszy* and every fishing house paid 1 *grosz*. Also, the owners of gardens and vineyards were obliged to pay the Canon 1 *grosz*, and those who possessed a large area of farmland paid 2 *groszy*. In total, the Canonry received from rents 5 *grzywny* annually⁷. The foundation document mentions vineyards which had already existed, hence we can conclude that the people of Sandomierz had began

³ *Grzywna* or *grivna* was a measure of weight, mainly for silver, and a currency commonly used throughout medieval Central and Eastern Europe, particularly in the Kingdom of Poland, Kingdom of Bohemia, and Kievan Rus'. *Grzywna* was an equivalent of 48 *groszy*. *Grosz* was a Polish mediaeval coin. Since 1367, the *Krakow grosz* was 3,2 grams of silver, an equivalent of 12 *denarius*.

⁴ *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, vol. 1, pub. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1876, p. 139 (no. 119). Further confirmed by King Sigismund II Augustus on 28th January, 1564, J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 3, in: *Joannis Długossi Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 9, pub. A. Przedziecki, Cracoviae 1864 (further: *LB*), p. 455.

⁵ *LB*, vol. 3, p. 455.

⁶ D. Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz – Kościół i miasto*, Kielce 2012, p. 103.

⁷ *LB*, vol. 1, p. 371–372; Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej (the Archives of the Sandomierz Cathedral Chapter, further: AKKS, a deposit in the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, further: BDwS); AKKS 569, p. 1–1v., 84; *LR*, p. 397–398; AKKS 570, p. 82–83; Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Krakowskiej (the Archives of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, further: AKKK), *Acta Visitationis Capitularis* (further: AVCap.), 18, p. 481–482. To fulfill this obligation, the councilors imposed an additional tax on the owners of vineyards and gardens called 'St. Martin's penny' (*grossus S. Martini*); AKKS 582, p. 27v.–29, 48v.–49v.; *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1564–1565*, pub. W. Ochmański, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1963, p. 83–84.

to cultivate grapevine earlier, perhaps at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

It is interesting that also the Benedictines from the Holy Cross Abbey possessed vineyards in Sandomierz. They received the first one in 1364 from Jan Sykut, Canon of Sandomierz, who later became a Benedictine himself. It was located along one of the Dominican vineyards⁸. In 1442, the Holy Cross Monastery received the second vineyard, located next to the first and adjacent to the vineyard of a burgher, Marcin Suchy. The vineyard was offered by Stanislaw, son of Bębenek from the suburbs of Sandomierz, who professed the vows. Therefore, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, during the visit to the abbey in 1447, modified the distribution of goods (from 1427) establishing the Abbot's part and the monks' part. He ordered the monks to give one barrel of wine per year to the Abbot, however, the monks did not have to fulfill this obligation if the crops were bad and there was not enough wine for liturgical purposes. In 1555, Bishop Jakub Uchański again modified the distribution, returning to the original arrangements from 1427. Then the monks received the whole wine from the Sandomierz grapevine garden and were not obliged to share with the Abbot⁹.

One of the two vineyards which belonged to the monks of the Holy Spirit dated from the fourteenth century¹⁰. It was located by the stream Piszczele and was called Tuskowska or Radłużyńska. The monks of the Holy Spirit received it from Mikołaj Kempa, burgher of Sandomierz. The donation was approved by the assessors' office in Kielce in 1394. The vineyard was exempted from all duties for the city and its tenant was obliged to pay an annual rent of 2 *grzywny* for the monks and half *grzywny* (24 *grosze*) for the poor of the Holy Spirit hospital. The second vineyard was located opposite St. Paul's Church and was connected to a garden. It was a donation from the famous Oszanka, townswoman of Sandomierz, but the exact date remains unknown. It brought the monks an annual rent of 9 *skojców* (1 *skojec* = 2 *groszy*)¹¹.

In the fifteenth century, in addition to the second Benedictine's vineyard, many other Church institutions of Sandomierz possessed their wine gardens. Among them were the Vice-Curator and acolytes of the Altar of St. Innocents at the Collegiate Church, acolytes of the Altar of St. Cross and Corpus Christi at the Parish Church of St. Peter and the parish priest of St. Paul. According to *Liber beneficiorum* the vineyard which belonged to the Vice-Curator of the collegiate church dated from the Middle Ages. He was responsible for supplying the Collegiate Church in bread and

⁸ M. Derwich, *Benedyktynski klasztor św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze w średniowieczu*, Warszawa–Wrocław 1992, p. 302; *idem*, *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego dóbr i dochodów dziejściennych benedyktynskiego opactwa św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze do 1819 r.*, Wrocław 2000, p. 174.

⁹ *Zbiór Dokumentów Małopolskich* (further: ZDM), part 8, pub. S. Kuraś, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1975, no. 2414; M. Derwich, *Benedyktynski klasztor*, p. 343, 218, 535; *idem*, *Materiały*, p. 174–175.

¹⁰ *LB*, vol. 3, p. 52–53, 55; Archiwum kościoła św. Ducha (the Archives of the Holy Ghost Church, further: AKSD), Akta Rady Opiekuńczej, p. 68–69; M. Buliński, *Monografia*, p. 352.

¹¹ *LB*, vol. 3, p. 52–53.

wine for masses, care of the sacristy, liturgical vessels and vestments, keeping order in the temple and celebrating masses together with his college. The Vice-Curator was equipped with the vineyard along with an orchard and a house due to his obligation to provide wine for Church celebrations. The vineyard was called Kawiary and was located between the Jewish cemetery and the fields of *wójt*¹² of Sandomierz (in the suburbs, near St. Wojciech Church). It was exempted from all taxes for the King and the city¹³.

Three altars of the collegiate Altar of St. Innocents also possessed a vineyard which had previously belonged to Bernard the fisherman. They received it in 1478 from the founders of this benefice, Dzierśław of Rytwiany, Castellan of Krakow and *starosta*¹⁴ of Sandomierz, and his brother, Jan of Rytwiany, *wojewoda* of Krakow and Castellan of Sandomierz. Interestingly, the acolytes did not have to stock up on wine from this vineyard because the founders also endowed them with an annual rent of 5 *grzywny* from the bath located beneath the castle of Sandomierz. The rent was intended for the purchase of wax to the altar lamp, wine and host for the masses celebrated by the first acolyte who acted as a preacher¹⁵. For this reason, the vineyard was leased to Sandomierz burghers for a specified annual rent¹⁶.

Similarly, the parish Altar of St. Cross and Corpus Christi (known as Brozmanowska) derived income from the lease of their own vineyard connected to a garden and a house. This complex was located in the vicinity of Sandomierz castle. On February 24, 1445, Bishop of Krakow, Zbigniew Olesnicki, officially approved the altar in St. Peter's Church¹⁷. In 1469, Ambroży, the founder of the altar and a plenipotentiary of acolyte John, appeared before the *wójt* and councilors of Sandomierz and confirmed that he had leased his garden with the vineyard and the house to Mikołaj Szerszeń and his son Jan the Younger. The leaseholders were required to pay 60 *groszy* of annual rent to the current acolyte and his successors. However, in case the tenants did not renovate and care about the property, the acolyte, as the heir, reserved the right to lease the property to someone else¹⁸.

It is difficult to establish the number of vineyards which belonged to St. Paul's parish due to the imprecise data provided by Jan Długosz. He noted that their property included a vineyard adjacent to the field and house of the parish priest. Its grapes were to be used to produce wine for St. Paul's Church. The first record related to the vineyard dates from 25th March, 1442, when Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki approved the decision of Parish Priest Michał, called Golisneme (Gotisneime), to let the vine-

¹² *Wójt* was a hereditary head of a town who remained under the overlordship of the town's owner, that is the King, the Church or a nobleman.

¹³ *LB*, vol. 1, p. 387; *LR*, p. 393.

¹⁴ *Starosta* was an administrator of particular crown lands.

¹⁵ D. Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz*, p. 140.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 144–146.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 183.

¹⁸ AKKS 581, p. 23v.–24.

yard and garden of St. Paul's Church out on an emphyteutic lease (for hereditary use) to burgher Jakub Złotowski and his heirs. In return, they were to pay an annual rent of 1 *grzywny* to the parish priest and serve eight days of socage a year on this land. Parish Priest Michał wrote the document on parchment in his house near St. Paul's Church on 11th November, 1441, in the presence of several witnesses¹⁹. In addition to this vineyard *Liber beneficiorum* mentions an arable field, six crofts²⁰ and Paweł Trestka's²¹ vineyard, however, without clarifying whether the burgher was the owner or a leaseholder obliged to pay rent to the parish priest of St. Paul's. The latter interpretation seems more probable as in the sixteenth century the priest let out on lease eight vineyards connected to gardens or orchards. This in turn suggests that in addition to the 2 vineyards, also the 6 crofts were completely or partially planted with grapevine.

In the Middle Ages, the sources confirm 10 vineyards which belonged to Church institutions and an unspecified number of those belonging to burghers. The source database to the history of Sandomierz in the sixteenth century is much better preserved and allows to show the vine-growing issues in more detail. Having confronted the tax data from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century with the information from municipal books and various Church institutions, we managed to verify the number of vineyards in Sandomierz. However, the figures might be slightly inaccurate as it is impossible to determine all owners of a particular vineyard. The vineyards are recorded in the sources under different names or without names and only the location is given (most often it is very general – the outskirts of Sandomierz). While the book of tax called *szos*, from the years 1552–1564, lists twenty five wine gardens, other sources recorded thirty eight. The situation is similar in the light of the tax register from the years 1587 to 1594, according to which there were fifteen vineyards while ten others were not mentioned. According to the tax sources from the beginning of the seventeenth century, we can confirm the existence of seventeen grapevine gardens while the Church and municipal documents let us conclude that there were twenty eight²².

Disparities in the above data within specific suburbs might stem from the imprecise supplementing of data in the tax records. When a vineyard was connected

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 806, p. 962–967; Archiwum kościoła św. Pawła (the Archives of St. Paul's Church, further: AKSP) *Volumen iurium et privilegiorum ecclesiae S. Pauli Antiquae Civitatis Sandomiriensis Parochialis* [no signature], p. 36–41; *Zbiór dokumentów katedry i diecezji krakowskiej* (further: ZDKDK), part 2: 1416–1450, pub. S. Kuraś, Lublin 1973, p. 373–374 (428); ZDM, part 2, p. 378–381 (no. 586).

²⁰ A croft (Lat. *hortulania*) was a garden with a house inhabited by the owner or more frequently by the tenant.

²¹ *LB*, p. 314; F. Kiryk, *Kościół i parafia św. Pawła, w Sandomierzu w okresie staropolskim*, in: *Ecclesia-cultura-potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, ed. P. Krasa, A. Januszek, A. Nalewajek, W. Polak, Kraków 2006, p. 108.

²² D. Burdzy, *Winnice Sandomierza od średniowiecza do czasów nowożytnych*, in: *Powrót do tradycji winiarskich ziemi sandomierskiej. Materiały konferencyjne*, red. J. Suszyna, Sandomierz 2014, p. 79. In this article I gave an incorrect number of vineyards in the comment below the table.

to a house, an orchard, a garden, a field or a brewery, the *szos* collector sometimes recorded only one component of the property while omitting the vineyard. Moreover, when a vineyard belonged to the clergy and was exempt from taxation, it was recorded without payment annotation or completely ignored. Despite the problems with the exact number of vineyards in Sandomierz we can see that their number decreased in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. This process also affected other Polish cities which dealt with viticulture and to a much greater extent. There were various reasons for this situation, primarily the lack of profitability of wine production from local vineyards due to the increasing import of Hungarian wines of much better quality. Secondly, the demand for wine decreased as it was drunk mostly by the elite (the royal court, magnates, wealthy nobility, higher clergy). Among the townspeople most popular alcoholic drinks were beer and booze. The richer stratum also drank different kinds of mead. Thirdly, some historians believe that the climate on Polish territories cooled at that time, which obviously hindered the cultivation of grapevine²³. Although the first symptoms of those adverse changes did appear in the sixteenth century, it should be emphasized that the grapevine gardens in Sandomierz were cultivated until the 50s of the seventeenth century.

The vineyards were situated in three suburbs where they bordered with gardens, orchards, fields, manors, homesteads and farm buildings (granaries, malt houses, tannery, mill, city brickyard). To the south, outside the city walls, was the Fishermen's suburb (Rybitwy), which stretched towards the castle and reached down to the banks of the Vistula and Wisłęka. The second suburb stretched between the roads to Opatów and Zawichost, hence it was called Opatowsko-Zawichojskie. The area to the west of the city, between the Vistula and the road to Opatów was known as the Krakow suburb. It was also known as the Old City or St. Paul's suburb as it was home to the Parish Church of St. Paul.

The sources suggest that the best conditions for cultivation of grapevine were in the Krakow suburb while there were less vineyards on the Zawichojsko-Opatowskie suburb and only one in Rybaki (Rybitwy). It could seem paradoxical, since the latter suburb was located on the south side, the sunniest and most convenient for the cultivation of grapevine. It stretched towards the castle and reached down to the banks of the Vistula and Wisłęka. It was the floodplains of the Vistula River which

²³ There is a lack of consensus among the researchers dealing with climate change over the centuries; W. Kula, *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej*, Warszawa 1963, p. 654–660; A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa-Żaboklicka, T. Zarębska, *Przemiany środowiska geograficznego*, in: *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, vol. 3: *Od XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, ed. A. Weckowa i D. Molenda, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 27.

The influence of climate cooling at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is much better perceptible. According to the historians, the longer lasting and more snowy winters led to the abandonment of grapevine-growing except Silesia and Lubuskie region. However, they did not notice Sandomierz where grapevine was still cultivated; compare: B. Baranowski, *Przemiany środowiska geograficznego Polski*, in: *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, vol. 4: *Od połowy XVII do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. Z. Kamińska i B. Baranowski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 13.

was washing out the rampart of the city. It made a perfect location for the fish ponds which belonged to the townspeople. Slightly above there were granaries, a tannery, a workshop of the saddlers' guild, orchards, gardens and cottages²⁴. In contrast, the Krakow suburb covered the west area of the city, between the Vistula and the road leading towards Opatów, and part of it was the Świętopawelskie Hill which gently sloped southward and was *sui generis* "covered" by the castle hill and the collegiate hill. Therefore, most of the medieval vineyards were located in the vicinity of the Monastery of St. Jacob and the Parish Church of St. Paul. The Zawichojsko-Opatowskie suburb created relatively good conditions for grapevine gardens, especially on the hill around St. Wojciech Church, which was a quiet area, adjacent to the hill on which the town was situated within the walls. However, the area was not extensive, therefore there were not as many vineyards as in the Krakow suburb²⁵.

It is difficult to determine the size of the Sandomierz vineyards, most probably each of them had a different acreage. We can only confirm information on the one which belonged to the Order of the Holy Ghost and which covered an area of three cornfields! (it was approx. 54–72 hectares)²⁶. It is impossible to verify this piece of information recorded by an inspector in 1604, however, it indicates that some vineyards might have covered considerable space. For the second vineyard we only know the width. In 1563, the city councilors passed a neglected and not cultivated field to a tailor, Maciej Branwicki, to establish a vineyard in the Krakow suburb. The new vineyard was to be located near the grapevine garden of the tailors' guild. It was 11 cubits wide on one end, then narrowed to 2 cubits wide and extended towards the fork in the road and the vineyard called Kajmkowska which belonged to the mentioned tailor Maciej. The length was not reported because on one end the vineyard was adjacent to the path leading to the top of the hill and to the winery Matthias, while on the other there was the public road from the monastery Church of St. James to the Church of St. Paul. The whole commonalty of Sandomierz agreed to pass the land to Maciej for an annual rent²⁷. Most probably, Maciej combined the two wineries in one because the sources recorded him as the owner of 'the great vineyard' (*vinea magna*)²⁸.

The owners were particularly concerned about the state of a solid fence around their vineyards. The lease contracts usually contained recommendations to upgrade or build a new fence, preferably of oak. Among those obliged to introduce such improvements were Stanisław Wojciech Albinowicz who rented a vineyard from Wojciech Łuczkwicz (contract of 1552)²⁹, Mikołaj Gomółka who rented a vineyard

²⁴ Perhaps that is why the views of Sandomierz from that time do not include grapevine terraces on its slopes. Instead we can see trees, most probably fruit trees.

²⁵ See more: D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 80–83.

²⁶ AKKK, AVCap. 18, p. 542.

²⁷ AKKS 575, p. 245–245v.: *Donatio no[n]nichil areae ad vinea[m] Mathiae Branwyczki sarctoris in suburbio S[ancti] Pauli per d[ominos] consules facta.*

²⁸ D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 82.

²⁹ AKKS 571, k. 89v.–90; see more: D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 88.

from the acolyte of the altar of Bishops St. Stanislaus and Nicholas at the St. Peter's Church (contract of 1573)³⁰ and Marcin Kozłowski who rented the mansioners' vineyard (contract of 1619)³¹.

The owners of Sandomierz vineyards paid great attention to the nurture of their grapevines³². The ledger of the Dominican monastery at St. James's Church recorded payments for lay people who undergirded shoots on 29th May, 1589³³. The lease and lien contracts contained a condition to renew damaged vineyards and to properly care and concern for the existing ones. Helena Dąbrowczanka, who received in use the Motylkowa vineyard in 1555, was required to plant new seedlings and look after them in order to be able to enforce the repayment of her money from the guardians of the orphans of the late Dorota Motylkowa. After the deadline of the lien (5 years) she was obliged to return the vineyard to the children undamaged and well-groomed³⁴. In 1560, Helena Dąbrowczanka leased her vineyard to Walenty Koczy and committed him to secure the grapevines against winter freeze by covering them with earth and digging out at the right time in the spring³⁵.

Much more detailed information on the proper maintenance of the grapevine garden comes from a contract of 1606. At that time, the vicars leased their vineyard with the garden and the orchard to one of the fraters, Deputy Dean Maciej z Bednar, for a period of three years. The lessee was to pay an annual rent of 26 *grzywny*, however, due to damage caused by the Zebrzydowski rebellion (*dla spustoszenia przez rokosz*), the council decided that Maciej could spend 6 *grzywny* of this sum on the reconstruction and revitalization of the garden with the vineyard. Furthermore, he was to fence the area with oak planks, especially where the neighbour would not want to do that. There is a very interesting fragment of the contract about the steps which the tenant should take to renew the vineyard:

At least sixty cuttings of good, various fruit once a year; and where the cuttings thicken with no opportunity to grow further, replant as many [płonki³⁶ – D.B.] as possible. [...] When [the priest – D.B.] tenant will be selling goods of the orchard, the garden and the vineyard, he has to be a diligent caretaker, repair the damage so there is no devastation, and especially no graft and tree breaking³⁷.

³⁰ AKKS 811, p. 252–253; see more: D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 86.

³¹ AKKS 817, p. 99–100; see more: D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 99.

³² The authors of the Old Polish herbaria wrote about the establishment and cultivation of vineyards; for a wider perspective see: A. Suchecka, T. Giergiel, *Właściwości lecznicze wina i uprawa winorośli według renesansowych zielników*, in: *Powrót do tradycji*, p. 22–72 (appendix with the records from the herbaria by Piotr Krescentyn, Stefan Falimirz, Marcin of Urzędów).

³³ BDwS, G 817, p. 97: *Laicis q[ui] ligaba[n]t vinu[m] gros[sos] 6*.

³⁴ AKKS 571, p. 204–204v.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 431–431v.

³⁶ Płonka – is a grapevine seedling, *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 24, Warszawa 1996, p. 427. This term frequently appears in the sources in relation to the Sandomierz vineyards, which may suggest that this way of spreading grapevine was more popular than by cuttings.

³⁷ AKKS 815, p. 98–100.

In 1619, the mansionaries checked the condition of their two vineyards which had been leased to Marcin Kozłowski five years earlier. It turned out that he neglected both fields, however, the priests did not deprive him of the right to lease and only extended the conditions. The burger was obliged to repair the fences, particularly the one running along the river in the valley, in the vineyard which once belonged to the mansioner of Chęciny. He had not looked after the vineyard (“no wine did he produce”) hence he was obliged to hill and cover the grapevines for the winter, and to crop them where needed³⁸. Empty spaces were to be planted with seedlings, no less than sixty. The same went for the other vineyard and the orchard behind St. Paul’s Church where he was to repair the cottage as well. Moreover, he had to pay an annual rent of 20 *grzywny* for Chęciński’s vineyard and 12 zlotys for the other vineyard³⁹.

Most of the townspeople took care of their vineyards themselves, however, at the castle vineyard a winemaker (*vineator*), Walenty Wróbel (Wróbnik), was employed. A very interesting record comes from 1555 when the city councilors rented to him a land plot for building development in the Krakow suburb in return for an annual rent of 12 *groszy*. In 1557, the winemaker became citizen of Sandomierz but there is no record of his origin and parents⁴⁰. A year later the sources mention him as the winemaker at the castle vineyard⁴¹ which was located near the Opatowska Gate and neighboured the houses of Wawrzyniec Kobiałka and Benedykt the wagoner⁴². In the vineyard there was a house where the winemaker might have lived.

At vintage time, the municipal authorities heard a limited number of cases in order to facilitate harvest. Usually, the work in the vineyards coincided with the harvest, therefore, municipal institutions suspended their activity or limited the number of cases. The decision was taken, among others, in 1567 and 1579⁴³. Similarly, in the seventeenth century, the Official of Sandomierz announced a limitation *propter ferias vindemiarum* for a period of one and a half months (in 1641 and 1653)⁴⁴.

The burgers of Sandomierz mostly harvested the grapes themselves, or, similarly to Church institutions, resold others the right to harvest. A good example was the contract signed on 19th August, 1560, under which Helena Dąbrowczanka sold Walenty Kocza the right to harvest fruit in her vineyard. He had to pay 10 *grzywny* and was obliged to secure the vineyard for the winter⁴⁵. However, in 1562, there was a dispute between Balcer Zwolski, nephew of the late Helena and the Parish Priest

³⁸ On cutting grapevine see: A. Suchecka, T. Giergiel, *Właściwości*, p. 48–49.

³⁹ AKKS 817, p. 99–100.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 572, p. 1, 21v.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 571, p. 342v.–343.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 447v.

⁴³ Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach, Oddział w Sandomierzu, Akta miasta Sandomierza, sygn. 7 (State Archives in Kielce, further: AmS), p. 19v.–20 (limitation from 15th July until 26th August, 1567); AmS 8, p. 557v. (limitation from 5th until 25th August, 1579).

⁴⁴ AKKS 820, p. 232; 825, p. 24–24v.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 571, p. 431–431v.

of St. Peter's Church, and Walenty Kocza. Allegedly, the latter appropriated the right to pick fruit from the garden and vineyard, as well as demolished and appropriated the house located there. Kocza claimed that he had received two chambers for the service for Helena. Despite his explanations, the assessors forbade him to collect fruit from the vineyard and granted the right to the parish priest⁴⁶.

According to the sources, with the approach of vintage the owners hired townspeople to guard their vineyards, which led to various conflicts. In 1546, Dorota Wasowna from the suburbs sued Stanisław, a collegiate school teacher, as he beat her in a vineyard called Luczkowska, for which she demanded 10 *grzywny* compensation. The defendant explained that he had been guarding the vineyard, and threw the townswoman out because she was picking grapes illegally. Dorota explained that she had acquired the right to harvest. Therefore, the official referred the case for investigation but the judgment remains unknown⁴⁷. In 1566, Dorota Rabiejowa brought an action before the Official against Jan, Parish Priest of St. Paul. Although Dorota had purchased the right to collect grapes in Jan's vineyard, she suffered many losses and wrongs from his servants, and therefore demanded compensation. When the Parish Priest denied the allegations, the Official referred the case for further investigation⁴⁸.

Supposedly, wine was manufactured in burgers' houses, or in vineyard buildings and cellars. The liquor was kept in barrels or was poured into bottles. It is confirmed in the lease contract (1597) of the vineyard which belonged to the Order of the Holy Ghost. Among the terms of the lease, Andrzej Pełka and his wife Elżbieta Dorazowa were obliged to restore the vineyard buildings and cellars (called dungeons)⁴⁹.

The information about bottled wine comes from a record about a dispute which took place in 1546. At that time, Jan Gosh, with his wife Jadwiga, appeared before the Official as the guardians of Wojciech Kobiernicza, Jadwiga's nephew, against Mikołaj, Parish Priest of St. Paul, his assistants and service. The couple accused them of illegal actions in the garden and vineyard called Galibkowska, situated in the suburbs. The property secured the orphaned Wojciech Kobiernicza and was managed by his guardians, the Gosz couple, who renewed the vineyard at their own expense and sold the wine to a townswoman Ewa, called Tszarka. The Parish Priest and his servants raided the vineyard, took the bottles of wine and perforated Ewa's clothes. The Gosz demanded compensation for the damage suffered in the amount of 50 *grzywny*, as the income from the vineyard was intended to feed and dress their ward⁵⁰.

There is little information on the consumption of wine by the townspeople. In 1565, the city court settled a dispute between townspeople Anna Kostuchna and Walenty Wilczek. The latter "feasted during summer time drinking wine" with Ma-

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 574, p. 323–323v., 323v., 329v.–330.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 806, p. 817.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 810, p. 372.

⁴⁹ D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 93.

⁵⁰ AKKS 806, p. 815–816.

ciej the apothecary, Mayor John Opoka and Master of furriers guild John Żabczyc under the arcade of the pharmacist's house. While passing by them, Anna insulted Walenty who in turn punched her repeatedly in the face. The townswoman, quarrelsome and known for her tenacity, accused him of slapping with no reason, however, she did not admit to initiating the quarrel and throwing insults. As Wilczek testified, "even a Saint would not endure the invectives from that Grim Reaper"⁵¹. Based on this concise record, we may assume that the wine came from the local vineyards. It was consumed by the rich burghers of Sandomierz, as it was generally an expensive liquor. In 1568, Canon Kasper Sadłocha appeared before town councilors as the guardian of his sister Dorothy's orphaned children and agreed to repay debts, including 180 Polish zlotys and 12 *groszy* for 4 *pulkufki* (half-vats) of old wine, to Bartosz the apothecary⁵². Unfortunately, the source did not specify whether it was imported or local production, as Sandomierz was also an important center for the trade of Hungarian and overseas wines⁵³. The local chamber of customs collected *czopowe* (the name comes from the plug or pin which sealed the barrel), a tax on consumption of different alcoholic beverages, including wine. In 1571, Paweł Niedzwiecki, a nobleman from Gołub, paid 34 zlotys of *czopowe* tax for 17 half-vats of wine which he rafted down the Vistula⁵⁴. John Pełka, Councilor and one of the richest merchants of Sandomierz, bequeathed to his son a variety of valuables, including overseas wines (*vina transmarina*)⁵⁵.

The taste of Sandomierz wine is known from the 1632 description of the town by Szymon Starowolski. He noticed that the grapes from Sandomierz vines were tasty, especially if the summer and autumn weather was favourable, however, the wine became tart when mature⁵⁶. We may assume that Starowolski personally tasted the local wine as he frequently visited the city on various issues. Interestingly, apart from Sandomierz and Zawichost, no other centres for grapevine cultivation are known from that period in other parts of the Commonwealth.

Not only were the harvested grapes used for the production of wine. Some part was intended for consumption, part was stored for the winter, and some amount was

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 577, p. 120v.–122, 124v.–127, 129–129v.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 579, k. 17. *Pulkufek* (a half-vat) was a measure of wine volume; it was 10 casks = 12 pots = 48 Krakow quarters; *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 34, Warszawa 2010, p. 439; *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 11, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 535. In this example a vat of wine cost 50 zlotys hence a half-vat cost 25 zlotys. The price of wine in Biecz was similar as a half-vat cost 26 zlotys there; A. Grabowski, *Starożytności historyczne polskie*, vol. 2, Kraków 1840, p. 456. A much higher price for a half-vat of wine in Sandomierz (45 *zlotys* and 3 *groszy*) might have resulted from the fact that the wine was old.

⁵³ F. Kiryk, F. Leśniak, *Handel*, in: *Dzieje Sandomierza XVI–XVIII w.*, vol. 2, part 1: *W okresie świetności*, ed. F. Kiryk, Warszawa 1993, p. 123–124.

⁵⁴ AKKS 579, p. 43v.–44.

⁵⁵ AmS 7, p. 335.

⁵⁶ S. Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, translated from Latin by A. Piskało with an introduction and comments by himself, Kraków 1976, p. 80.

used as a form of payment for the lease of the vineyard. In 1561, John Młodziejowski, Vice-Curator of the collegiate, leased his vineyard to Katarzyna Mniszkowa, called Gębina, for 11 *grzywny*, 40 bunches of grapes and 1/4 *korzec*⁵⁷ of nuts. In 1574, Maciej Koczowski, Provost of the Order of the Holy Ghost signed a lease contract with Szymon and Agnieszka Grzegorzewicz. Maciej Regiomontanus, Provost of Krakow, and the members of the Provincial Chapter of the Holy Ghost gave permission to that lease. The tenants were required to pay 7 *grzywny* a year, build a house, fix all damage and fence the whole area. On the eve of solemn religious feasts the couple were also required to provide grapes for the monks⁵⁸. In 1597, the Order of the Holy Ghost signed a lease contract on similar conditions with Andrew Pelka (called Kucharczyk) and his wife Elizabeth. In addition to a rent of 7 *grzywny* and a renewal of the vineyard and buildings, the spouses were required to provide a platter of fruit and a box of grapes from the vineyard every Christmas, Circumcision of the Lord, the Magi and St. Martin⁵⁹. This proves the ability to store fruit and grapes for winter, however, most probably, the townspeople were not obliged to supply fruit at Easter as it was impossible to preserve them until spring and the hungry gap.

From the above analysis we can conclude that the period from the Middle Ages until the early seventeenth century was the heyday of Sandomierz wine making. The owners of the vineyards were the rich burghers from patrician families as well as Church institutions. At the end of the sixteenth century there were also two noble owners. The lower layers of the townspeople, mainly the populace, leased the vineyards from ecclesiastical institutions and individual clergy. Viticulture played an important role in the economy of the city, it testified to the prestige of both the owners and the entire municipality. The analysis of the available sources leads us to a conclusion that the townspeople were able to effectively utilize the favorable soil and climate conditions in order to successfully establish and cultivate a number of vineyards. The content of the lease and lien contracts prove a huge concern to ensure proper care of grapevine gardens in different seasons. The people of Sandomierz protected offspring shoots from frost, planted new seedlings (*plonki*) after the old withered, as well as put up solid fences around their vineyards. Typically, most of them were connected with gardens, orchards, hop fields, farms and even a brewery. Not only were the grapes intended for wine production, but also for everyday consumption and therefore some part was stored for the winter. The sources provide no information on raisins, however, it does not mean that the townspeople did not produce them. Grapes were also a means to pay the rents to Church institutions, as it was in the case of the Order of the Holy Ghost and their tenants. In the Middle Ages and the old Poland (until the mid-seventeenth century)

⁵⁷ *Korzec* was a measure of volume for loose substances. Although it varied depending on the region, it was approximately 50 litres.

⁵⁸ AKKS 813, p. 127–128.

⁵⁹ D. Burdzy, *Winnice*, p. 93.

viticulture played an important role in the economy of the city and the vineyards which interspersed with orchards, gardens and hop fields were an integral part of the Sandomierz landscape.

STRESZCZENIE

SANDOMIERZ JAKO CENTRUM WINIARSTWA OD ŚREDNIOWIECZA AŻ DO POŁOWY XVII WIEKU

Problematyka uprawy winorośli w Sandomierzu w średniowieczu i okresie staropolskim nie była dotychczas całościowo opracowana. Tradycje rozwoju tej gałęzi rolnictwa sięgały XII w. Sprzyjało temu dogodnie usytuowanie miasta na skarpie wiślanej i na kilku wzgórzach oraz urodzajne gleby, nie bez znaczenia pozostawały także korzystne warunki klimatyczne.

Kulturę uprawy i produkcji wina na ziemiach polskich rozwijały głównie zakony, co zapewne odnosiło się także do Sandomierza, ponieważ najwcześniej (w XIII w.) wzmiankowane są w źródłach dwie winnice dominikanów z konwentu przy kościele św. Jakuba. W XIV stuleciu po dwa winne ogrody w mieście posiadali także duchacy z klasztoru i szpitala Świętego Ducha oraz benedyktyni z opactwa na Świętym Krzyżu. Od XV w. winnice wchodziły w skład uposażenia także innych instytucji kościelnych Sandomierza, mianowicie wicekustosza i altarystów ołtarza św. Niewiniątek w kolegiacie NMP, altarystów ołtarza św. Krzyża i Bożego Ciała w kościele parafialnym św. Piotra oraz plebana kościoła św. Pawła. Mimo iż uprawa winnej latorośli od wczesnego średniowiecza pozostawała przede wszystkim w gestii instytucji kościelnych, to w przypadku Sandomierza winnice posiadali także mieszczanie, co potwierdza informacja już z 1321 r. Wówczas to król Władysław Łokietek z żoną Jadwigą ufundowali kanonię Pierścienia Królowej ku czci św. Walentego i Jerzego w kolegiacie. Majątek tej kanonii stanowiły czynsze z winnic, ogrodów i domów Sandomierza oraz 4 grzywny z komory celnej.

Rozwój winogrodnictwa, zapoczątkowany w średniowieczu, zintensyfikowany został w XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w. Właścicielami winnic byli bogaci mieszczanie, wywodzący się głównie z patrycjatu, a także instytucje kościelne. Pod koniec XVI w. wśród dzierżawców i nabywców widać również dwóch szlachciców. Mieszczanie z niższych warstw, głównie z pospólstwa dzierżawili winnice od instytucji kościelnych lub indywidualnych duchownych. Uprawa winorośli odgrywała istotną rolę w gospodarce miasta, świadczyła o prestiżu zarówno samych właścicieli, jak również całej gminy miejskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Sandomierz, uprawa winorośli, winnice, średniowiecze, historia XVI–XVII w.

Keywords: Sandomierz, viticulture, wineries, Middle Ages, the history of the 16th and 17th centuries.