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ARMS AND ARMOUR OF KRAKÓW GUILDS IN LIGHT OF THE 1683 REGISTER

Summary. The question of the armament of city arsenals in early modern Poland has so far been overlooked by researchers. The issues of defence architecture, sieges, and occupation have been discussed much more often. Meanwhile, it should be remembered that from the Middle Ages to the end of the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, city militias, mostly composed of guilds, played a fundamental role in city defence. Therefore, both the training and arming of city militias was very important, as proven by the defence of Kraków during the Habsburg siege in 1587 and later during the Swedish siege in 1655.

The mid-17th century marked the beginning of the decline of this thriving royal city. Looted and destroyed during the two-year Swedish occupation in 1655-1657, it needed time to rebuild its defence system. The Sejm constitutions of 1658 and 1659 referred to this, but it was not until 1670 that a commission, chaired by Bishop Andrzej Trzebicki, met on this matter.

Another external threat soon appeared, this time from Turkey. In 1683, the possibility of a siege of Kraków by Ottoman troops or their vassals was seriously considered. The solution was the alliance of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Austria, which, among other things, assumed mutual assistance in the event of a siege of either capital - Vienna or Kraków.

When the Turkish army launched a siege of the Austrian capital on July 14, 1683, elected councillors in Kraków inspected their own city's defences. As a result of the undertaken inspection, the *Revisia Baszt w Krakowie* (*The Review of Towers in Kraków*) (Ms 423, p. 6, 25-34, held in The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Kraków) was written, which, apart from the description of the state of preservation of the fortifications, contains a previously unpublished register of weapons for individual guilds. This source allows us to largely know the combat readiness of the then-defenders of Kraków. The inventory presented shows a serious armament shortage that could have sufficed for fewer than 500 people.

Keywords: Kraków, arms and armour, city defence, early modern history, the Ottoman threat

City arsenals in Poland during the Middle Ages are better known¹ than those of the early modern period.² Until now, researchers of military history from the 16th to the 18th century have dealt mainly with issues of fortifications,³ ignoring the subject of arming municipal troops. Marek Wagner has recently drawn attention to this problem, describing the state of research on military history in the times of Jan III Sobieski.⁴ The problem, of course, does not concern only that particular period, but the entire 17th century – or even more broadly, the early modern period in general.

¹ J. SZYMCZAK, *Zasoby uzbrojenia*, [in:] *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1450–1500*, ed. A. NOWAKOWSKI, Toruń 2003, pp. 292–306; IDEM, *Zasoby uzbrojenia*, [in:] *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1350–1450*, ed. A. NADOLSKI, Łódź 1990, pp. 383–411; M. GŁOSEK, *Średniowieczne uzbrojenie plebejskie w świetle odkryć archeologicznych, źródeł ikonograficznych i pisanych na ziemiach polskich*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archeologica” 2004, vol. 24, pp. 237–247; Z. WILK-WOŚ, *Broń i oporządzenie jeździeckie w inwentarzach mieszczan krakowskich z drugiej połowy XV wieku*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica” 2001, vol. 72, pp. 63–81; S. FIRSZT, *Uzbrojenie oddziałów miejskich w średniowieczu na przykładzie miast śląskich*, “Archaeologia Historica Polona” 1998, vol. 7, pp. 181–196.

² An interesting example of urban armament from the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance on the example of the border, Hungarian Bardejov *vide*: T. GRABARCZYK, *Uzbrojenie mieszczan bardiowskich w świetle spisów z lat 1493, 1521 i 1536*, “Archaeologia Historica” 2007, vol. 32, pp. 465–475; on the participation of cities in military undertakings in Poland *vide*: M. MIKUŁA, *Obowiązki wojskowe miast w przywilejach Jagiellonów*, [in:] *Verus amicus rara avis est. Studia poświęcone pamięci Wojciecha Organiściaka*, ed. A. LITYŃSKI *et al.*, Katowice 2020, pp. 594–602; J. T. KAŁUŻNY, *Miejskie wozy wojenne z ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej w składzie armii Królestwa Polskiego w XVI–XVII wieku*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica” 2017, vol. 99, pp. 125–147.

³ For the 17th century *vide*: B. DYBAŚ, *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej. Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII wieku*, Toruń 2018; IDEM, *Miasto jako twierdza: garnizon w miastach Rzeczypospolitej polsko-litewskiej w XVII wieku*, “Czasy Nowożytne” 2002, vol. 13, pp. 125–135; Z. PILARCZYK, *Fortyfikacje na ziemiach koronnych Rzeczypospolitej w XVII wieku*, Poznań 1997; IDEM, *Obronność Poznania w latach 1253–1793*, Warszawa 1988 [on armament, *vide*: pp. 230–233].

⁴ M. WAGNER, *Perspektywy badań historyczno-wojskowych czasów Jana III Sobieskiego*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” Prace Historyczne, 146, 2019, No. 2, p. 467. Similarly to the issue of military garrisons, the issue of the functioning of arsenals (royal, municipal, private) also did not find much interest among the historians of Sobieski’s time. The achievements of researchers in relation to the history of cekhauzes and magnate armories are much better presented.

The situation is similar in the case of research in relation to the history of Kraków. So far, defence architecture,⁵ sieges,⁶ and the occupations of the city⁷ are the topics that have mainly been discussed, and there is little research about the organization of defence itself⁸ and even less about weapons, and if at all, only in the context of production⁹ rather than city arsenals.¹⁰ It should be remembered that the defence of the city walls, not only in the Middle Ages but also in early modern times, rested primarily on the municipal guilds. These guilds were entrusted with specific fragments of walls, gates, and towers, the names of which usually indicated specific guilds. Therefore, both the training and

⁵ H. ROJKOWSKA, W. NIEWALDA, *Mury obronne Krakowa do czasu ich wyburzenia*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. WYROZUMSKI, Kraków 2007, pp. 493–527 [there is a summary of previous research].

⁶ J. STOLICKI, *Oblężenie Krakowa przez Jerzego Lubomirskiego w latach 1656–1657*, “Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości” 2003, vol. 40, pp. 87–117; T.M. NOWAK, *Operacja krakowska króla Karola X Gustawa 17 IX–10 X 1655 r.*, [in:] *Wojna polsko-szwedzka 1655–1660*, ed. J. WIMMER, Warszawa 1973, pp. 207–258; IDEM, *Obrona Krakowa przez Stefana Czarnieckiego w roku 1655*, “Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości” 1963, vol. 9/1, pp. 59–124; K. LEPSZY, *Oblężenie Krakowa przez arcyksięcia Maksymiliana (1587)*, Kraków 1929.

⁷ J. ZINKIEWICZ, *Attitudes of the inhabitants of Kraków towards the Swedish occupation of the city in the years 1655–1657* [in print]; A. HARATYM, *Kraków z miastami Kazimierzem i Kleparzem oraz przedmieściami i najbliższą okolicą*, [in:] M. NAGIELSKI et al., *Zniszczenia szwedzkie na terenach Korony w okresie potopu 1655–1660*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 325–373; H. LANDBERG, *Finansowanie wojny i zaopatrywanie garnizonów. Szwedzki zarząd okupacyjny w Krakowie i Toruniu podczas wojny polskiej Karola X Gustawa*, “Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości” 1973, vol. 19/2, pp. 171–216; L. SIKORA, *Szwedzi i Siedmiogrodzianie w Krakowie od 1655 do 1657 roku*, Kraków 1908.

⁸ J. DOBRZYCKI, *Dawne warownie Krakowa*, Kraków 1956; J. PACHOŃSKI, *Dawne mury floriańskie. Zarys historyczny fortyfikacji i organizacji obrony miasta oraz przewodnik po wystawie “Dawne warownie Krakowa”*, Kraków 1956; J. MUCZKOWSKI, *Dawne warownie krakowskie*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 1911, vol. 13, pp. 1–48.

⁹ A. BOLDYREW, *Produkcja i koszty uzbrojenia w Polsce XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2005, *passim*; A. SWARYCZEWSKI, *Płatnerze krakowscy*, Warszawa–Kraków 1987; IDEM, *Granat – sztuka mistrzowska stradomskiego cechu mieczników*, “Studia do Dziejów Dawnego Uzbrojenia i Ubioru Wojskowego” 1982, vol. 8, pp. 35–48; F. KIRYK, *Cechowe rzemiosło metalowe. Zarys dziejów do 1939 r.*, Warszawa 1972, *passim*; Z. BOCHEŃSKI, *Krakowski cech mieczników*, Kraków 1937; IDEM, *Uwagi o płatnerzach krakowskich*, “Broń i Barwa” 1937, vol. 4/3, pp. 49–54.

¹⁰ The guild armament according to the revision of the Kraków gates and towers from 1606 and 1626 was exceptionally noted by M. TOBIASZ (*Fortyfikacje dawnego Krakowa*, Kraków 1973); on artillery *vide*: T. NOWAK, *Polska technika wojenna XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 228–236.

arming of the city militia was very important, as evidenced by the defence of the city during the first Habsburg siege in 1587, and then the Swedish siege in 1655.

The location of Kraków near the southern border of the country and its distinction as the capital city (formally until the end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) was significant in the perspective of external threats. The northern part of the walls was most vulnerable to attack. The remaining sides were largely protected by natural defences (the river, watercourses, wetlands, and ponds). Therefore, the northern part of the fortifications especially was expanded from time to time to strengthen it. At the end of the 15th century, the Barbican was built in the face of the looming Turkish threat. During the next two centuries, the city's fortifications were tested twice by enemy attacks. In the meantime, there have been recurring calls to repair and modernise the defence system.

The mid-17th century marked the beginning of the decline of this thriving royal city. Looted and destroyed during the Swedish occupation (1655–1657), and depopulated as a result of the plague (1651–1652 and 1677–1680), it needed time to rebuild the defence system. The parliamentary constitutions of 1658 and 1659 refer to the repair of the city's defences.¹¹ However, it was not until 1670 that a commission, chaired by Bishop Andrzej Trzebicki, met on the matter.¹²

In the meantime, another external danger appeared. In 1682, war with the Ottoman Empire seemed imminent, but there was uncertainty as to the direction of the Turkish attack. Alarming news came from Hungary that Imre Thököly had surrendered to Turkish protection; in nearby Slovakia, Hungarian insurgents took over Košice and allied Turkish troops murdered the local crew, survivors fleeing as far as Kraków. Later, Thököly's troops invaded the area of Spisz (Spiš), which belonged to Poland.¹³ Jan III Sobieski wrote about the real threat to Kraków in November 1682 in the instructions for the pre-Sejm sejmiks (the Sejm itself was planned for January 23, 1683).¹⁴ In December, he went to

¹¹ *Volumina Legum*, ed. J. OHRYZKO, vol. 4, Petersburg 1860, pp. 256 [1658], 289 [1659].

¹² The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Kraków (hereinafter: B. PAU and PAN), MS 423, c. 1–5.

¹³ J. WIMMER, *Wiedeń 1683. Dzieje kampanii i bitwy*, Warszawa 1983, p. 129.

¹⁴ "Sąsiedzką od Krakowa rewolucją, która quo proximior, eo nocentior. Już tamtemu Państwu to supremum zostawa, ut videat, cum qua gente cadat; iuż pod inszym panem żyjąc oczekiwania fati sui legem, rychło ten nowy pan barzo na tę resztę Węgier przydusi. Dłaczego JoKrMć wszystkim umiłowaniem królewskim zalecać raczy stolic Chrześcianańskich Panów y Monarchów aemulam urbem Kraków, który, gdy widzi proxime ardentem, obrony y ostrożności iako nymocniejszey potrzebuie;

Lviv to inspect the fortifications there. The king ordered their construction to be completed, which he himself supervised for some time.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the fortification of Kraków was undertaken by bishop Jan Małachowski, probably with some support of the clergy.¹⁶

On March 17, 1683, the Turkish Çavuş arrived in Warsaw. However, he was refused an audience with the king, and Stanisław Jabłonowski, voivode of Ruthenia, received him instead. The Turkish envoy demanded that Tatar troops be transferred to Silesia *et reliquas Germaniae partes* through the territory of the Republic of Poland, and that all outstanding “gifts” be paid to the khan. If the Poles did not agree to the conditions, the messenger threatened that part of the Turkish army would march to Vienna, and the other part, together with Imre Thököly’s Hungarians, would attack Poland from Podolia. The legation was considered an intelligence operation, and therefore the Çavuş was detained and imprisoned.¹⁷

When in the spring of 1683 the Sublime Porte was preparing very intensively for the troops to march out, fears of an attack on Kraków were still growing in Poland, as expressed in the Sejm script *ad archivum* of April 17, writing about an enemy who “is again trying to wrest Poland from Kraków” (*znowu się Polskę woiować od Krakowa zabiera*).¹⁸ The answer was the alliance with Austria concluded on April 1 (backdated to March 31 due to April Fool’s Day) of 1683, which, among other things, assumed mutual assistance in the event of a siege of either of the capitals – Vienna or Kraków.¹⁹ At the end of April, the king

którego miasta, iako powszechny curie wszystkich Stanow Rzptey JoKrMć, tak peculiari affectui y respectui Wdztwa Krakowskiego intumuie. In capite Instructiey swoiey podawać y to raczy JoKrMć pod najwyższą uwagę donosząc, iako całemu Chrześcijaństwu portentosus nieprzyjaciel znowu na woynę arma virosque parat, bez tego przygotowaną przez pięć lat potęgą dawno podeyrzany. Kiedy ogłoszone w Adrianopolu primi capitatis tamtego państwa zimowanie, et vicariae potestatis iego w Belgradzie, w Węgrzech; jakież insze te wiadomości inducere consequentie mogą, tylko żałosne, aby z iednej a Taurica Chersoneso et Pontu Euxino, od Wołoch y Kamieńca, a potem z drugiej strony od Węgier vallata armis et periculis miła Oyczyzna, okrażona od nieprzyjaciół, potęgi rozerwaney curam, et belli brała przed się medicamenta”. *Akta do dziejów króla Jana III-go sprawy roku 1683, a osobliwie wyprawy wiedeńskiej wyjaśniające*, ed. F. KLUCZYCKI, Kraków 1883, pp. 6–7; according to JAN WIMMER (*op. cit.*, p. 132) – Sobieski did not treat the Turkish threat as a propaganda bogeyman, but a real perspective.

¹⁵ K. KONARSKI, *Polska przed odsieczą wiedeńską r. 1683*, Warszawa 1914, p. 203.

¹⁶ *Akta do dziejów króla Jana III-go sprawy roku 1683*, p. 90.

¹⁷ K. KONARSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹⁸ *Akta do dziejów króla Jana III-go sprawy roku 1683*, p. 80; K. KONARSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁹ *Akta do dziejów króla Jana III-go sprawy roku 1683*, p. 68.

wrote to the city authorities to be careful when letting strangers into the city.²⁰ Meanwhile, foreign correspondents spread contradictory information about the intentions of the Turks.²¹

Taking into account every possible scenario, specific preparations had to be made to repel the attack. On April 24th, the city council ordered the appointed commission to carry out an inventory of weapons belonging to the Kraków guilds and to inspect the towers. All weapons stored in the houses of the guild members were to be delivered to the walls.²² The aforementioned bishop of Kraków, Jan Małachowski, in addition to restoring the fortifications, declared he would send a crew of 600 soldiers to defend the city, recruited from peasants from his estates.²³

A month later, the king informed the inhabitants of Kraków that he entrusted the castellan of Vilnius and general-lieutenant of the crown forces, Ernest Denhoff, with the command of the city. A regiment of the royal guard was to accompany Denhoff to Kraków;²⁴ this regiment later went with the royal army to Vienna.

²⁰ K. KONARSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

²¹ Cf. J. WIMMER, *op. cit.*, p. 150; K. KONARSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²² "Senatus consultum de armis contuberniorum consignandis (...) Iidem cupiendo bonum ordinem constituere, conuocatis omnibus senioribus contuberniorum, diligentem sclopetorum et bombardarum variarum, ad propugnacula ciuitatis spectantium, faciendo animaduersionem et indagationem, serio iisdem, quatenus omnes ad sua contubernia die crastina conueniant ibidemque arma, qualiacumque ad communem ciuitatis defensam habent, diligenter conscribant, vtpote, wiele w którym, cechu hakownic, smigownic, zbroi, muszkietów, halabard, prochów, ac eorum conscripta registra spectabili magistratui porrigant; qui autem suprascriptum apparatus bellicum, ad contubernium spectantem, in domibus suis tenent, vt eundem sine mora ad lapideas contubernaes comportare faciant, serio et sub paenis iniunxerunt, reuisionemque turrium nobilibus et spectabilibus dd. Zacherla et Druzynski collegis suis commiserunt faciendam", *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507–1795)*, vol. 2: *1587–1696*, part 1, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, Kraków 1890, p. 537.

²³ J. WIMMER, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

²⁴ The king wrote to the councilors: "Po szczęśliwie skończonym seymie biorąc w osobliwą consideratią nasze caley rzeczypospolitey bezpieczenstwo, które w opatrzaniu stołecznego miasta naszego Krakowa zostaie, kiedy w tak bliskim sąsiedztwie zbliża się cum hostilitate do panstw węgierskich metuenda y naszymu pograniczowi tak straszna ab oriente potentia, ex consilio pp. Rad przy boku naszym zostawiających, na commendę miasta Krakowa wielmożnego kasztelana wilńskiego, generalleytnanta woysk naszych cudzoziemskich cum plena potestate et praerogatiua commendantom fortec służących, z regimentem gwardiey naszej do tamtey ordinuiemy fortece: którego ordinansu aby wszelaka od Wiern. WW. tak do poprawy fortificatyei, naznaczenia porządneho (s) consistentey gwardizonowi iako y opatrzania porządneho mieysca tamtego była assistentia, od pospółstwa zas wszelakie

On July 6, the city council issued a resolution *de munitionibus urbis inspiciendis reficiendisue ac armis instructendis*. Once again, a commission was appointed from among its members to check the city's combat readiness.²⁵ As a result of the undertaken inspection, the "Revisia Baszt w Krakowie" ("The Review of Towers in Kraków") was written, which, apart from the description of the state of preservation of the fortifications, contains a previously unpublished register of armaments of individual guilds. This source largely allows us to know the combat readiness of Kraków's defenders a quarter of a century after the devastation of the Swedish "Deluge" and in the face of the war with Turkey. While this revision was underway, on July 14th, 1683, the powerful Ottoman army laid siege to Vienna.

So what was the armament of the Kraków guilds like at that time? According to the revision, it was located in 26 out of the 47 towers²⁶ and belonged to the arsenals of 25 craftsmen, merchants, and barterers' guilds.²⁷

Western part of the walls:

Baszta Murarzy – Stonemasons' Tower: 4 hackbuts, a crossbow;²⁸

Baszta Rymarzy, Kotlarzy i Szychterzy (Ślusarzy) – Saddlers', Boilers', Locksmiths' Tower: 3 hackbuts and 4 cannons, including 2 smaller ones

posłuszenstwo, władzą naszą królewską roskazuiemy, znosząc się iednak in ocurrentiis z wielmożnym kanclerzem koronnym, starostą naszym krakowskim", *Prawa, przywileje i statuta...*, p. 539.

²⁵ "Nobiles et spectabiles domini praeconsul et consules ciuitatis Cracouiae, per schaedulas eo in negotio conuocati et congregati existentes, consultando ex parte fortificationis ciuitatis, ut ea quam diligenter per laborantes circa fossionem vallorum expediatur, pro attententia e medio sui nobiles et spectabiles dominos Venturam Briganti, Bonifacium Kantelli, Ioannem Krokier, Adamum Druzynski deputauerunt, eisdemque, vt alternatim circumeundo loca ciuitatis pericula spirantia, vbi necessitas postulauerit munire, muros ciuiles reparare, baterias in locis commodis aedificare studeant, propugnacula inter contubernales diuisa vtrum sufficienti custodia tam nocturna, quam diurna munita sunt, ac bombardas ibidem spectantes tum munitiones circumspiciant, commiserunt", *ibidem*, p. 541.

²⁶ Cf. H. ROJKOWSKA, W. NIEWALDA, *op. cit.*, p. 513. The authors wrongly concluded that the maximum number of towers defending the city is given in the register from 1634, according to which they numbered 45 (including the gate towers).

²⁷ Not all of the towers were subject to the guilds. On the other hand, some were subordinate to 2 or even 3 corporations. However, shoemakers were responsible for two towers and one gate.

²⁸ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 28.

– a “serpentine” cannon and a field cannon “torn off right from the top at the colubryn, but if it were cut off, one could shoot from it” (*urwane z wierzchu u samego colubrynu, ale urznowszy go, może z niego strzelać*);²⁹

Baszta Malarzy – Painters’ Tower: 4 hackbuts without locks;³⁰

Brama Wiślna (Baszta Ślusarzy i Zegarmistrzów) – Vistula Gate (Locksmiths’ and Watchmakers’ Tower): 5 hackbuts, 3 cannons: a quarter-kartouwe, a three-pound cannon, a 1,5-pounder cannon, “no shovel nor ramrod;”³¹

Baszta Cyrulików – Barbers’ Tower: at first Stefan Mechoni wrote that there was no armament in the tower itself, but it turned out that it was kept by John, the elder of the guild. The first survey recorded a hackbut, a target rifle, 2 “kopy” [= 120 pieces] of bullets and a stone [= 12,96 kg] of gunpowder.³² A subsequent entry lists a hackbut and 1,5 stone of gunpowder;³³

Baszta Miechowników – Bellows-menders’ Tower: 3 hackbuts, one-pounder bronze cannon;³⁴

Brama Szewska – Shoemakers’ Gate: 2 semi-kartouwe, 2 “smaller” cannons.³⁵

Northern part of the walls:

Baszta Szewska I – Shoemakers’ Tower I: 2 small cannons;³⁶

Baszta Szewska I – Shoemakers’ Tower II: a small cannon “on wheels;”³⁷

Brama Sławkowska – Sławkowska Gate (Tailors’ Tower): 2 small cannons were recorded in the tower itself;³⁸ additionally, it was recorded that “in some house of the tailors’ guild” (*w kamienicy pewney cechu krawieckiego*) there were 60 muskets, 5 hackbuts, 15 suits of armour with close helmets, a “serpentine,”

²⁹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29v.

³⁰ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 28v.

³¹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 28v.

³² B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 26v.

³³ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 28v.

³⁴ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 28v.

³⁵ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29.

³⁶ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29.

³⁷ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29.

³⁸ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29–29v.

a sword, large “old-fashioned” crossbows [an unspecified number], and 2,5 stones [= 32,4 kg] of gunpowder;³⁹

Baszta Mieczników – Swordsmiths’ and Soap-makers’ Tower: 4 “operable” hackbuts and 2 “properly prepared” muskets; a lack of gunpowder, crutches, and fuses was noted, which councillor Stanisław Krauz ordered should be obtained immediately;⁴⁰

Baszta Cieśli – Carpenters’ Tower (*next to the city arsenal*): 2 large guns, 2 smaller guns;⁴¹

Baszta Stolarska – Joiners’ Tower: 3 hackbuts;⁴²

Brama Floriańska – St. Florian’s Gate (Furriers’ Tower): “two furriers’ shops,” 9 hackbuts “in good order” (*z dobrym porządkiem*), 5 hackbuts, 39 muskets, “all in order” (*porządek wszelaki*), including 2 stones [= 25,92 kg] of gunpowder;⁴³

Baszta Pasamoników – Haberdashers’ Tower: 2 fuse muskets, half a stone [= 6,48 kg] of gunpowder;⁴⁴

Baszta Karczmarzy – Innkeepers’ Tower: 11 hackbuts, 36 muskets, one stone [= 12,96 kg] of gunpowder.⁴⁵

Eastern part of the walls:

Baszta Przekupniów – Barterers’ Tower: 2 hackbuts;⁴⁶

Baszta Czapników – Hatmakers’ Tower: Jan Zaleski noted that “they do not have any shotguns in the tower, neither hackbuts nor small [good? *drobne* or *dobrze*] rifles because they lost them during the Swedish [occupation];⁴⁷ according to another note, 5 “good” muskets;⁴⁸

³⁹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 30.

⁴⁰ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 25.

⁴¹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29v.

⁴² B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29v.

⁴³ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29v.

⁴⁴ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29v.

⁴⁵ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 30.

⁴⁶ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 30.

⁴⁷ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 33.

⁴⁸ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 30.

Brama Mikołajska (Baszta Rzeźników) – St. Nicholas’ Gate (Butchers’ Tower): 39 hackbuts, four rusty muskets, three iron [combat] flails, great cannon, 15-span [approx. 300 cm] field cannon;⁴⁹

Baszta Kurdybaników – Goatskin-workers’ Tower: 3 hackbuts, one-pound bronze cannon;⁵⁰

After the revision, a note from July 20 (*Informatia od Baszty PP Kurdybanikow*) was added: 3 hackbuts with stocks and with fuse locks, 2 “good” wall guns (matchlock muskets), one stone [12,96 kg] of gunpowder, one stone [12,96 kg] of lead balls, a falconet [Polish: śmigownica], a “good” one-pounder cannon without tools for loading;⁵¹

Baszta Prochowa III (Przekupniów) – Gunpowder (Barterers’) Tower III: a “serpentine”;⁵²

Brama Nowa (Piekarzy) – New Gate (Bakers’ Gate): 3 bronze cannons: a semi-kartouwe and 2 “smaller” field cannons;⁵³

Baszta Piekarzy – Bakers’ Tower: 5 hackbuts, 20 fuse muskets, 2 crossbows, half a stone [6,48 kg] of musket powder;⁵⁴

Baszta Kowali – Blacksmiths’ Tower: a one-pound bronze cannon, a hackbut;⁵⁵

Baszta Siodlarzy – Saddlers’ Tower: a one-pound bronze cannon without a carriage, a bronze cannon, an iron cannon;⁵⁶

Brama Grodzka (Złotników) – Grodzka (Goldsmiths’) Gate: 2 small bronze cannons.⁵⁷

In addition, in the Carmelite monastery there were 3 bronze cannons, in the Jesuit house there were “large urban cannons without wheels” (*działka duże mieyskie bez kół*), and in Tenczyński’s manor there was one bronze and one iron cannon.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27.

⁵⁰ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27.

⁵¹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 34v.

⁵² B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 29v.

⁵³ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27–27v.

⁵⁴ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27v.

⁵⁵ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27v.

⁵⁶ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27v.

⁵⁷ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 28.

⁵⁸ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 27v–28.

It should be assumed that some, probably a small, part of the guild's armament was not revealed during the inspection. It is worth mentioning here an interesting note about Kraków tinsmiths, about which the controlling councillor Adam Drużyński noted that "if they had firearms, it was impossible to check because they did not want to come. However, I sent a servant to them" (*jeżeli strzelbę mają non constat bo nie chcieli przyjść. Lubom ich obsyłał przez pacholka*).⁵⁹ Thus, apart from the weapons listed, some could have still remained among the townspeople, as mentioned in the notes.

In some cases, even with weapons in stock, sometimes there was a lack of proper training among the craftsmen. During the revision of the Sword-makers' and the Soap-makers' Tower, Stanisław Krauz noticed that "there are people who can fight, but who are not fit to use firearms, as they need training" (*niesposobnych do strzelby potrzebują ćwiczenia*).⁶⁰ Meanwhile, when inspecting the Cutlers' Tower, we read: "They are asking for firearms and gunpowder, of which they have none" (*Strzelby nie mają nic ani prochów, o które upraszają*).⁶¹ There were many more such cases.

Therefore, summing up the presented list of guild weapons, serious shortages should be stated. As for artillery, there were 38 cannons in 15 towers and gates.⁶² As many as 15 of the cannons were located on the eastern section of the walls between St. Nicholas' Gate and Grodzka Gate, i.e. at the site of the Swedish storms in 1655. From the north, which was the best fortified side, there were 10 cannons located from Szewska Gate to the Carpenter's Tower. In the south-eastern section, there were 8 cannons (i.e. relatively many compared to other sections of the defence system), whereas the least cannons were located from the side of the Garbary district – there were only 4 cannons, all placed in Szewska Gate.

When it comes to handguns, in the northern section of the walls, there were 39 hackbuts and 139 muskets, of which Sławkowska Gate (which belonged to the tailors) was best equipped, with 60 muskets and 5 hackbuts. In the eastern section there were 53 hackbuts and 31 muskets; in the southern section there were 21 hackbuts and a target shotgun (which was omitted in the next note).

⁵⁹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 6.

⁶⁰ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 25.

⁶¹ B. PAU and PAN, MS 423, c. 25.

⁶² For comparison, during the Swedish siege the city had approximately 100 cannons. Cf. T.M. NOWAK, *Operacja krakowska króla Karola X Gustawa 17 IX–10 X 1655 r.*, p. 210; J. PACHOŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 32–37, 46.



Gates and towers in Kraków in the 17th century**Western part of the walls:**

1. Brama Poboczna – Side Gate
2. Baszta Murarzy – Stonemasons' Tower
3. Baszta Rymarzy – Saddlers' Tower
4. Baszta Prochowa I – Gunpowder Tower I
5. Baszta Iglarzy – Needlemakers' Tower
6. Baszta Malarzy – Painters' Tower
7. Brama Wiślna (Ślusarzy i Zegarmistrzów) – Vistula Gate (Locksmiths' and Watchmakers' Tower)
8. Baszta Rymarzy, Kotlarzy i Szychtarzy (Ślusarzy) – Saddlers'/Tinkers'/Locksmiths' Tower
9. Baszta Cyrulików – Barbers' Tower
10. Baszta Miechowników – Bellows-menders' Tower
11. Baszta Kaletników – Leatherworkers' Tower
12. Baszta Blacharzy – Metalworkers' Tower
13. Baszta Rusznikarzy – Gunsmiths' Tower
14. Baszta Nożowników – Cutler's Tower
15. Brama Szewska – Shoemakers' Gate
16. Baszta Czerwonnych Garbarzy – Red Tanners' Tower
17. Baszta Garnarzy – Potters' Tower
18. Baszta Pańników, Szychtarzy i Szmuklerzy – Beltmakers'/Locksmiths'/Haberdashers'/ Tower
19. Baszta Introligatorów i Stelmachów – Bookbinders'/Coach-builders' Tower
20. Baszta Krupników, Śledziarzy i Łaziebników – Barley Merchants'/Salted Fish Merchants'/Bathkeepers' Tower
21. Baszta Katowska (w której tenze mieszka) – Executioner's Tower

Northern part of the walls:

22. Baszta Katowska II (w której sie chowa *Executor Justitiae*) – Executioner's Tower
23. Baszta Szewska I – Shoemakers' Tower
24. Baszta Szewska II – Shoemakers' Tower II
25. Brama Sławkowska (Krawców) – Sławkowska Gate (Tailors')
26. Baszta Mieczników i Mydlarzy – Swordsmiths' and Soapmakers' Tower
27. Baszta Ciesielska – Carpenters' Tower
28. Baszta Stolarska – Joiners' Tower
29. Baszta Kotlarzy – Tinkers' Tower
30. Brama Floriańska (Kusnierzy) – St. Florian's Gate (Furriers' Tower)
31. Baszta Pasamoniaków – Haberdashers' Tower
32. Baszta Czeladzi Karczmarzkiej – Innkeeper-journeyman's Tower
33. Baszta Karczmarzy – Innkeepers' Tower

Eastern part of the walls:

34. Baszta Prochowa II – Gunpowder Tower II
35. Baszta Grzebieniarzy, Kartowników i Tokarzy – Combmakers'/Card-makers'/Turners' Tower
36. Baszta Przekupniów – Barterers' Tower
37. Baszta Barchaników – Fustian-makers' Tower
38. Baszta Czapników – Hatmakers' Tower
39. Brama Mikołajska – St Nicholas' Gate (Butchers' Tower)
40. Baszta Kurdybaników – Goatskin-workers' Tower
41. Baszta Prochowa III – Gunpowder (Barterers') Tower III
42. Brama Nowa (Piekarzy) – New (Bakers') Gate
43. Baszta Kowali – Blacksmiths' Tower
44. Baszta Siodlarzy – Saddlers' Tower
45. Baszta Ryngmacherów – Ringmakers' Tower
46. Baszta Bednarzy – Coopers' Tower
47. Brama Grodzka (Złotników) – Grodzka (Goldsmiths') Gate

Interestingly, no handguns were recorded at all in the western part of the walls. The amount of gunpowder was also very small (10 stones, i.e. 129,6 kg). The same applied to ammunition (only one stone, i.e. 12,96 kg, and 2 “kopy”, i.e. 120 pieces).

In three guild arsenals, at least 5 crossbows were registered, and in one there were 3 iron flails (an effective weapon to repel enemy attacks on the walls). The protective equipment was only used by the tailors’ guild, i.e. at the Sławkowska Gate.

In total, the presented armament should have been enough for about 470 people. Meanwhile – as Tadeusz Nowak once calculated⁶³ – about 50 people were needed to properly defend one gate, and about 20 people to defend one tower. Therefore, about 1400 people would have been needed to fill in the entire wall, with an additional 1000 between the main wall and the rampart, totalling about 2400 armed men. We must also not forget about 1000 servants.⁶⁴ Before the “Swedish Deluge” of 1655–1660, Kraków was able to provide approximately 1600 townspeople to defend the city. In later years, however, Kraków was much less fortunate. Both the war and the plague had decimated the local townspeople, and a significant part of the guilds had fallen into decline.

Even if we add to the presented list of armaments the arsenal of the crown artillery (located next to the Grodzka Gate, where 53 cannons and ammunition were stored in 1654),⁶⁵ the aforementioned regiment of the royal guard, support from the bishop of Kraków, and a municipal garrison of 200 men, it should be recognized that the preparation of the defence of Kraków looked very modest. Therefore, it is not surprising that the king and the Sejm chose to fight the Turks and their supporters outside the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

⁶³ T.M. NOWAK, *Obrona Krakowa przez Stefana Czarnieckiego w roku 1655*, pp. 63–64.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ T.M. NOWAK, *Polska artyleria koronna przed wojną 1655–1660 i podczas jej trwania*, [in:] *Wojna polsko-szwedzka 1655–1660*, ed. JAN WIMMER, Warszawa 1973, p. 118; IDEM, *Polska technika wojenna XVI–XVIII w.*, p. 233. It must be remembered that the cannons from the royal arsenal were not taken away by the Swedes.

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