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Economic violence or the law of war? Swedish contributions from the period of the Great Northern War as an example of extraordinary provisions imposed on the residents of the cities within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

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INTRODUCTION

Słownik Języka Polskiego [Dictionary of the Polish Language] offers three definitions of the term ‘contribution’: ‘1. a pecuniary tribute imposed on the defeated state by the victorious state in the course of a peace treaty; 2. historically, during a war: forced payment in money or food collected by the military; 3. historically, a charge levied by a ruler on a country he had conquered; protection money, tribute, tax’¹. While analysing modern tax sources, it turns out that—due to their specificity as well as to the time and manner of their collection—the definition proposed by the Dictionary, albeit true, is incomplete, and it is imperative to include additional components.

The analysis of the definition proposed above will be possible thanks to registers of Swedish contributions imposed by the occupier on specific cities. This paper aims to answer the question about the practice (and legitimacy) of Swedish troops imposing contributions on the inhabitants of cities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Another issue will be to determine what place they occupied within the general system of contributions upon which the Swedish way of waging wars was based. The ultimate goal will be to determine what research opportunities are offered to us by the registers of contributions.

The paper has been divided into three sections: the first one is devoted to the classification of the contributions which will enable us to determine what type of obli-

¹ *Słownik*, see: <https://sjp.pl/kontrybucje> [access: 31 V 2020].

gations were imposed on the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the two occupations (the so-called Swedish Deluge and the Great Northern War). The second part features a discussion of the system of organising and collecting contributions in the cities of the Commonwealth and the structure of registers. The third and final section presents examples of the use of contribution registers to conduct research on the inhabitants of modern cities. The method employed is an analysis case studies based on the Warsaw and Lviv contribution registers from 1702.²

CLASSIFICATION

The organisation of war in modern times required a huge financial commitment from the country. If the resources of the state treasury were insufficient, monarchs often resorted to loans granted by the nobility or the magnates.³ During the Thirty Years' War, the army often imposed additional financial obligations on the occupied territories in Germany, which are known in Polish historiography as contributions. During that same war, the contribution system was employed and improved by the army of Gustav II Adolf. During the subsequent wars waged by the Swedish army, it was refined to perfection, according to the prevailing principle that the war should feed itself.

In his article, Fritz Redlich points out that during the Thirty Years' War there were in fact three types of commitments referred to as 'contributions' which lacked equivalents in languages other than German.⁴ The first category are benefits which he simply calls contributions — the author defines them as a regular war tax levied on the owned property. The key point here is to indicate that this tax could have been imposed either by the commander-in-chief of the main army occupying a given area, or by neutral or even friendly troops who were in a foreign country and needed additional resources or victuals.⁵

The second category is tax referred to in German as *Brandschatzung*, which the author calls 'contributions'. For him the term denotes a charge imposed by the occupying force to protect the occupied area from looting or destruction. The tax was paid as a lump sum. The problem here was the long time required to collect the funds and then the wait for the collection to be handed over. Often it proved impossible to collect the tax proved. This kind of an extraordinary tax was also collected in the Commonwealth; an example is the manuscript dating back to 1655, stored in Riksarkivet in Stockholm and entitled *Comput y Descriptia Dworow*

² AGAD, WE 834, pp. 1–67; CDIAUL, AmLw, f. 52, op. 2, no. 795, pp. 2–81.

³ One such case was the Second Northern War, the so-called Deluge, which was financed by loans granted to King Charles X Gustav by the Swedish nobility, see: LANDBERG 1969; REDLICH 1957, p. 187.

⁴ REDLICH 1959, pp. 247–251.

⁵ REDLICH 1959, p. 247.

przy Mieście Starej Warszawie, okrom Nowego Miasta y Leszna, ktore osobny swoy dadzq Regestr, o co są praemoniti. It is a registry of 109 mansions, manors, tenement houses and granaries, prepared for the needs of the occupant, to pay the so-called *brandskatt*, i.e. additional tax, which protected the residents from, among others, their property being burned down by the Swedish army.⁶

As the third category Redlich singles out the *Kontribution*, for which he does not propose another name. This type of contribution was introduced in the 1620s in Germany — on the initiative of Ambrosio Spinola and Ernst von Mansfeld⁷ — when it turned out that the amount of the ‘contribution’ was too low for the needs of the army and the waiting time for the conscription to be organised was too long. It was also the most popular tax imposed by the Swedish troops on the occupied territories, including the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was connected to an increase in demand for financial resources. Such an increased demand emerged in Sweden towards the end of Gustav II Adolf’s reign. The king decided to change the benefits in kind into benefits paid in cash; additional taxes were imposed on the country’s population, and the costs of the war were transferred to the occupied country.⁸

A characteristic feature of the *Kontribution* is the fact that it was imposed by a decision of the commander in charge of an army located in the taxed territory (at least a town, often a province or a voivodship) and it was intended for the needs of that army (and not for the ‘central treasury’ of the main army, as in the case of ordinary contributions). The payment deadline was short, it was possible to divide the payment into parts (instalments) and their frequency depended on the needs of the army, which means that it was often a monthly or even a weekly payment. The army chiefs often entrusted the collection of taxes to the local authorities, who had the best understanding of the economic situation in the region they governed. In the event of a failure to comply with the order to collect the war tax, the likelihood of grave consequences for the area in question was low as the area might be needed by the occupying force in the future, for example as a base for further action. The payment of the *Kontribution* was to guarantee — as in the case of ‘contribution’ — the safety of the area in which the army was stationed.

The solutions implemented during the Thirty Years’ War were improved by Gustav II Adolf, as well as by his successors, especially Charles X Gustav during the war with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1655–1660). An analysis of tax reg-

⁶ RIKSARKIVET, category: Preussiskaräkenskaper 1655–1660, pp. 10–13.

⁷ The system was next improved by, i.a. Albrecht Wallenstein, see: REDLICH 1959, p. 253.

⁸ ANUSIK 2009, p. 147. See: In a letter to his wife dated 14 March 1702, Magnus Stenbock writes about provisions and financial contributions collected in the occupied area: ”Här må vi väll så länge dätt varar, vj sofva äta och drika för intett och få penningar då och då, gifve gudh att dätt tage snart en goodh och lyckelig ända” (“we’re feeling fine here [and] as long as it shall be possible, we sleep, eat and drink for free, and sometimes we are given money; let us hope it will all end soon, and well, God permitting” — translated by the author), STENBOCK 1913, p. 202; see also WALDE 1920, pp. 3–4.

isters imposed on the inhabitants of Polish cities during the so-called Deluge, but also during the Great Northern War, makes it possible to qualify the Swedish system of collecting contributions to the third group, as proposed by Redlich (namely the *Kontribution*).

TAXES IMPOSED BY SWEDISH TROOPS AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE *KONTRIBUTION*

To begin with, in September 1655 the Swedes imposed a ransom of 240,000 Polish zlotys on Warsaw. At Hieronim Radziejowski's persuasion, the amount was divided into Old Warsaw with suburbs (31.25% of the contribution), New Town (3.13%), Leszno (1.87%), as well as manors outside the city's jurisdiction (50%) and churches (13.75%). Due to the fact that the magistrate did not have the right to collect tax on churches, this value was included in the tax imposed on the city.⁹ Back then, the Swedish army entrusted Warsaw magistrate with the collection of the contribution; the magistrate then entrusted the administrator and writer of the village council, Franciszek Kazimierz Prusowski, with preparing a property tariff, while the distribution of the amount was left to Stanisław Falkiewicz and Augustyn Orlemus.¹⁰ Subsequent contributions were imposed on the people of Warsaw in 1656. Forty-six years later the Swedish army invaded Warsaw again, this time during the Great Northern War (1702–1706). In the case of Lviv, Swedes had not occupied the city during the so-called Deluge — that is why their invasion of the city in 1702 was the first such episode.

Contributions were war taxes imposed on the occupied city to, for example, deliver supplies to the army. Their frequency depended on the needs of the occupier; as long as the Swedish army stayed on its territory, the obligation to victual it was discharged by its own state and regulated by local standards. The situation changed once the army went to war. In order to prevent problems with providing supplies, a General Commissariat was set up to supply the army with food, organise transport, collect contributions and tributes in cooperation with civil and the military authorities (according to the principle that 'war needs to feed itself'), and to regulate military salaries.¹¹ Planning of the supply service was based on the experience which the Swedes had acquired during the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and then perfected during the stay of Charles X Gustav's army in Poland and Denmark. The Swedish government's guiding principle was to reap the benefits offered by the occupied territory, but at the same time not to destroy it, as the Swedish army could return to the occupied territory in the future.¹²

⁹ WEJNERT 1856, p. 170.

¹⁰ WEJNERT 1856, pp. 139–143.

¹¹ GRAUERS 1976, pp. 124–125; WAGNER 2011, pp. 175–184.

¹² Meklemburg was the exception — it was destroyed for the tactical reasons, to prevent the opposing army to seek refuge there.

The analysis of the Swedish contribution registers for both Warsaw and Lviv demonstrates that the occupier was primarily interested in the size of the centre, i.e. the number of houses forming a given city and the type of buildings (brick buildings were regarded as a sign of prestige). On the basis of these factors, among others, a lump sum to be paid by the entire city was determined, and the division into instalments for individual residents was the responsibility of the city authorities. The local authorities were also responsible for collection; each time, one person was appointed to supervise the process.¹³

The amount of tax depended on the property owned, determined on the basis of several factors, including: the property's legal status (whether the payer was the owner or tenant of the building), the building material used to construct the property (wooden versus brick buildings), the location of the property and the number of tenants renting accommodation (apartments). As far as contributions are concerned, a tax was levied in both financial and victualling form, the latter supplementing the former.

A certain order had to be kept during the collection of contributions. Therefore, a fixed street sequence was adopted, according to which the tax collection register was written. This was in line with the experiences of the local authorities when collecting, for example, the so-called *schoss* (a tax intended for the city's current needs). In Warsaw, a clerk started collecting from the Old Town Market Square, dividing it into four sides;¹⁴ next he continued along Św. Jana (today Świętojańska) Street towards Krakowska Gate, only to proceed to Marcinkańska (Św. Marcina, i.e. fragment of today Piwna Street in the section leading from Zamkowy Square to Zapiecek Street) and Piekarska all the way to Piwna, Wąski and Szeroki Dunaj, and Nowomiejska Streets, and then to Krzywe Koło, Jezuicka and Kanonia Streets. The 1702 register also includes areas located beyond the city walls, i.e. Długa, Freta, Mostowa and Rybitwia Streets (today Rybaki, Bugaj, Brzozowa Streets), Krakowskie Przedmieście and Nalewki, as well as Senatorska and Podwale Streets, and the area beyond the city gate, along with the granaries on the River Vistula (the so-called Old-Town Powiśle).¹⁵ The writer who produced the register received a fee of approximately 6 timphs.¹⁶

In Lviv a clerk began to prepare a tax census at the Market Square, where the sides were numbered, which naturally indicated the order of tax collection,

¹³ GRAUERS 1976, pp. 125–126.

¹⁴ First, the southern side of the Old Town Square (today so-called Zakrzewski side), located between Celną and Zapiecek Street; next the western side (today Kołtątaj side) from Zapiecek to Wąski Dunaj Streets, then northern side (today Dekert side) from Wąski Dunaj to Kamiennych Schodków Streets, and finally the eastern side (today Barss side) from Kamiennych Schodków to Celną Street.

¹⁵ AGAD, WE 1431, pp. 1–65; AGAD, WE 834, pp. 1–67.

¹⁶ Contributions from the so-called Deluge were paid in florins, and during the Great Northern War in timphs, which were minted from 1663. Both currencies equalled 30 groshes, and were really the equivalent of a zloty.

among others.¹⁷ He would start with the western side, then proceed along Szewska, Krakowska, Piekarska Streets, and towards the Krakowska Gate. He then headed towards the northern frontage of the Market Square, Ormiańska Street, the houses on Wał Krakowski, Strzelecka Tower, the Celstat and the houses along the city walls. Next, he registered the collection of taxes along the eastern and southern frontages, and completed the register behind the butcher's.

The register layout was also constant. The clerk, having noted down the name of the street inhabited by the payer, gave his first name and surname, or only surname. In some cases (60–70%) he also added another distinguishing marker, for example his profession. Then, in the case of the contribution for the year 1702 — he would state the amount paid. On other occasions first the amount of the charge, which was determined by the municipal authorities, was given, and only after that was the amount actually paid entered. In the latter case, each inhabitant had a charge adjusted to his or her financial possibilities and assets. The analysis of the discrepancy between the tax and the amount paid will constitute a separate study.

Among the persons included in the analysed contribution registers are both property owners with city rights (*ius civile*) and their tenants, residing in the city for different periods of time and renting accommodation (apartments). The registers occasionally include Jews, the nobility and the clergy. The first group paid separate taxes, which resulted in the preparation of separate registers. In addition, the other two groups were excluded from the city jurisdiction, and as such were exempt from the taxes paid for the city's benefit. Tax collectors in some cities, for example in Warsaw, indicated all property owners, including those who did not pay their contributions, while in Lviv the clerk consistently recorded only payers (townsmen). We find only isolated cases of tax payments made by priests, which should be explained by the payment of tax for the real estate of priests as private individuals, not as representatives of the Church.

The Swedish contributions can be used for a broad survey of the townspeople and their diversity, and selected examples will be presented later in the article. It is possible to create a professional structure of contributors, mark the zones of poverty and affluence in the city on the basis of the amount of financial duties paid or an analysis of socio-topography by comparing the place of residence of individual professional groups. It is also possible to use the Gini coefficient as a method to study wealth diversification.

However, the contribution registers have certain limitations. Even if they contain information about, for example, city officials, it is impossible to create a full catalogue of them solely on the basis of tax registers, as some registers did not include

¹⁷ In Lviv, the western side of the Market Square was called the first one (today from Katedralny Sq to Szewska Street), next — the northern side (today between Krakowska and Drukarska Streets), next — eastern (today from Staropigijiska and Ruska Streets), and finally — the southern side (today from Serbska to Halicka Street).

the real estate of persons exempt from the obligation to pay for their real estate.¹⁸ We cannot create a complete list of foreigners, as we find a small number of them in the lists in question, despite the fact that on the basis of, for example, narrative sources we do know that they resided in early modern cities.

The limited information about the foreigners is connected with imprecise descriptions in tax sources and with the lack of possibility to clearly separate new migrants from people assimilated in the city with foreign-sounding names or surnames. The latter were probably foreigners who had previously settled in the city, but on the basis of contribution registers it is not possible to determine the date of their arrival in the city. It seems that after some time of functioning in a given place, and perhaps also learning a profession, a foreigner ceased to be perceived as a stranger — he became a representative of a particular profession and his nationality was then left out in the registers.

It can, therefore, be assumed that the tax collector stated the nationality and occupation only when a foreigner with a particular profession (these are extremely rare annotations) had probably come to the city relatively recently, and if he only noted the nationality, such a person probably had no profession or the profession was not known to the clerk. In the case of foreign-sounding names or surnames with only a profession, we are presumably dealing with assimilated persons. However, the difficulty is to try to consistently classify people with known nationalities as well as professions. In such — few — situations, it seems appropriate to classify such persons as belonging to the national group, as this was the first one to be given. By writing, for example, ‘Jan, an Armenian barterer’, the tax collector emphasised the payer’s nationality, while the profession merely complemented the description.

Contribution registers do not provide information that could be used in demographic surveys, for example, information about the size of households, the age of their members or the marital status of the head of family.

A CASE STUDY: WARSAW VERSUS LVIV

This section is devoted to a discussion of examples of how contribution registers can be used to study cities and townspeople in the early modern era. I will focus on the building development and employment structure and next I will link them to the zones of affluence in Lviv and in Warsaw.

In order to obtain comparative material, I have decided to analyse the zones of affluence which can be omitted on the basis of the registers. According to Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, when planning medieval towns, those among

¹⁸ City officials were exempt from city charges, but if they owned two or more properties, the exemption probably covered only the first one. The issue of the obligation for end-of-term residents, such as mayors, to pay the charges remains open.

the landowners who were to determine the economic development of the town were taken into account, which in practice meant that around the market square — the economic centre of the town — clusters of craftsmen were formed.¹⁹ The same was true of the municipal authorities' representatives who held their offices in the town hall located at the market square. The farther away from the square, the poorer and less influential people were granted houses and plots. The town's poor settled down in the least impressive quarters, along the low-life and people whose professions were considered disgraceful (executioners, prostitutes). Thus emerged 'better' and 'worse' streets and areas, which allows us to map out the zones of poverty and those of affluence in developing centres.²⁰

On the basis of contribution registers it is possible to assess the factors determining wealth (or lack thereof) in large cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The zones have been delineated on the basis of three factors: the type of building development, the number of tenants, the share in the city-wide tax and the average fee charged per property. It has been assumed that if a given street (or a given area) was lined exclusively or predominantly (80–90%) with brick buildings, this testified to the affluence of the area and its inhabitants, for investing in brick buildings²¹ was considered in the early modern era to be a sign of the city's economic success and of the growth of the financial potential of its elites — similarly to the high average number of tenants per property and the fee paid by them.

Taking into consideration the wealth-determining factors, I have mapped out three areas inhabited by a wealthy population in each of the two cities. In the case of Warsaw, these were: Old Town Market Square (28% share in the total amount of the contribution), Św. Jana Street (17.7%), and Nowomiejska Street (5.9%), which together paid 51.6% of the contribution allocated to the entire city. In Lviv, these were the Market Square (49.1%), Krakowska Street (4.5%) and Ormiańska Street (15.7%), which together accounted for a 69.2% share of the entire city. These values show a much greater diversification of assets in Lviv when compared to Warsaw in 1702, as well as a greater centralisation of wealth around the Market Square.

The comparison shows a clear predominance of brick buildings over wooden ones. In the architectural landscape of modern cities *intra muros*, and especially in the areas inhabited by affluent bourgeoisie, brick tenement houses dominated, while in the suburbs or in the poorer quarters of cities — buildings made of timber constituted a majority.²²

¹⁹ BOGUCKA, SAMSONOWICZ 1986, p. 91.

²⁰ BOGUCKA, SAMSONOWICZ 1986, p. 91.

²¹ In the following analysis, in situations where it is not possible to clearly define the type of building, wooden buildings included: houses, cottages, huts, manors, buildings in-between walls (unless we have information that they were made of brick), granaries, sheds, breweries. Typically, town gates and buildings next to them, tenement houses, small tenement houses, manors were built of brick. See: KOMOROWSKI, FOLLPRECHT 2007, p. 241.

²² *Warszawa* 1984, p. 106.

Table 1. Types of buildings in the so-called zone of affluence in Warsaw and Lviv in 1702 on the basis of the contributions registers

Types of buildings	Lviv		Warsaw	
	Number	% of the buildings of the same type in the entire city	Number	% of the buildings of the same type in the entire city
BRICK	114	46.5	93	41.3
WOODEN	2	0.13	2	0.7
TOTAL	116	X	95	X

Source: author's analysis based on CDIAUL, AmLw, f. 52, op. 2, no. 795 and AGAD, WE 834.

Table 2. The number of professions of people inhabiting the zones of affluence and those of poverty in Lviv and in Warsaw in 1702

Category	Lviv		Warsaw	
	Zone of affluence	Zone of poverty	Zone of affluence	Zone of poverty
Crafts	114	24	60	40
Trade	17	3	6	6
Merchants	10	–	27	–
Services	9	4	5	7
Free professions and clerks	35	3	46	19
Other	211	67	130	212
TOTAL	396	101	274	284

Source: author's analysis based on CDIAUL, AmLw, f. 52, op. 2, no. 795 and AGAD, WE 834.

For the sake of this study, the category of taxpayers is divided into six sub-categories. Services are all professions aimed at facilitating functioning within the city, i.e. all kinds of servants, dyers, confectioners, cooks, gardeners etc. The group of the free professions was combined with the group of clerks, which included, according to today's understanding, barber surgeons, doctors, surgeons, lawyers, as well as the clergy as a group linking the bourgeoisie with the remaining inhabitants. Traders, stallholders, tradesmen (petty traders) were distinguished from merchants. In the 'other' group, there are people to whom it is impossible to assign a profession, as well as people described as paupers/the poor, landlords (in Polish: *gospodarz*) or free (*liber*). Noblemen, foreigners and women are omitted from the list, as the focus is on professional groups only. The analysis is based on the data for extreme groups, i.e. zones of affluence and poverty, while the middle-income zones are omitted.

In both cities, craftsmen dominate within the group of payers of contributions in terms of numbers, with representatives of the so-called free professions (usually doctors, barber surgeons and lawyers) coming second. The trend can be observed in both cities. The difference appears, when we analyse the third most numerous professional group — in Lviv these were tradesmen, and in Warsaw — merchants. Such a strong participation of craftsmen in the so-called zone of affluence in Warsaw may have been associated with the presence of the royal court and the visiting nobility and magnates, who spent large sums of money both on traditional Polish clothing and on fashion novelties. Thus, there was a growing demand for craftsmen able to cope with more sophisticated orders.²³ The sequence of professional groups is not surprising, as the proximity of the Market Square and the institutions operating there — involved in municipal management — suggests that there were numerous city clerks and officials in the vicinity, as well as craftsmen or merchants.

The 1702 Warsaw merchants included members of the Czamer family, the Minaszewicz family of Armenian origin or the Orlemus family. Interestingly, there was a change — visible in the sources only after a comparison of contributions from 1655 and 1702 — within a group of influential Warsaw families: just before the so-called Deluge, we come across members of the most famous bourgeois families of 17th-century Warsaw, including the Gizas, the Fukiers, the Strubicz, the Ginters or the Walters. After the Second Northern War, families hitherto not present in the city, or not so important, began to dominate, while the leading patrician families had either died out or left Warsaw in the aftermath of the Swedish invasion.

What seems particularly important is the fact that the people indicated in the tax register were heads of the families, so in most cases they are men. A woman was indicated as a payer of contributions only in the case of temporary absence of a man (due to, war or trade, for example), permanent absence of a man (widow) or in a situation of a single-person household. There is also a wide group of unidentified women — those to whom the clerk did not attach annotations about their profession, which may suggest that they only temporarily became heads of families, or ran single-person households. In both registers of contributions from the 1702, seventy-seven women are recorded. In the Warsaw register, they account for 6% of the total number of taxpayers and their total share in the tax is 0.2%. In the same year in Lviv, they accounted for just over 9% of taxpayers and paid 7.5% of the total contribution amount. The percentage of women as payers of contributions is high and comparable with the results from Poznań or Kraków, which is characteristic of large cities.²⁴

In both cities, widows prevailed (almost 60% of the group). When it comes to the remaining women mentioned in the register, other terms were used to refer to their professions and their names were derived from the assortment they sold or pro-

²³ On 30 April 1676, on the initiative of King Jan III Sobieski, a tailor's studio opened in Warsaw, run by a French artisan, Jakub Dupont. See: MIDZIO 1980, p. 31.

²⁴ KUKLO 1998, p. 57.

Table 3. Structure of 10% of taxpayers paying the highest tax in Lviv and in Warsaw in 1702

Category	Lviv		Warsaw	
	first 5%	second 5%	first 5%	second 5%
Craftsmen	–	2	4	4
Petty trade	–	–	–	1
Merchants	2	–	11	4
Service	–	–	1	2
Free professions and clerks	6	4	19	9
Foreigners	2	3	1	–
Women	–	1	1	–
Other	12	11	24	42
TOTAL	22	21	61	62

Source: author's analysis based on CDIAUL, AmLw, f. 52, op. 2, no. 795 and AGAD, WE 834.

duced, such as haberdashers, brewers (silksmiths), goldsmiths, saddlers, dressmakers, or from the place of work, i.e. stallholder.

The analysis of the structure of the richest inhabitants in both cities reveals a predominance of representatives of free professions and clerks. They are followed by merchants and craftsmen. In the case of Warsaw, this is undoubtedly an effect of the city's uniqueness as the monarch's residence; in the case of Lviv, it is undoubtedly a matter of including representatives of the city authorities.

In the case of Lviv, the fact that merchants are not the dominant group is puzzling. In 1699, by virtue of the Treaty of Karłowice, the territories of right-bank Ukraine and Podolia returned to the Commonwealth and thus Lviv's trade relations with the cities of these territories were revived. On the one hand, the register was created less than three years after the incorporation of the Ukrainian territories into the Commonwealth, so the presence of these groups may not have been noticed in the city yet, but it should be stressed that due to the high share of unidentified people — classified as 'other' — it is impossible to create a reliable cross-section by means of the professions of the wealthiest residents.

To sum up, the contributions imposed by the Swedish troops on the inhabitants of the cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth can be divided into three categories, as proposed by Fritz Redlich. The most frequent form of the contributions — which could also be used for research purposes — was the so-called *Kontribution*, i.e. funds collected for the army's current needs with the help of the local authorities, who divided the required amount among individual inhabitants.

Contributions imposed by the Swedish army on the occupied cities of the Commonwealth were — from the point of view of the individual, the payer — by all means a form of economic violence: the system of their collection made it possible to collect them many times and, consequently, to economically drain the occupied areas. From the point of view of countries waging wars, they were a sign of a change in thinking about their organisation. The steadily rising costs of conducting wars translated into a need to find other sources of financing, and the contributions undoubtedly were such a source. The collection of contributions was also a sign of a change in the thinking about the organisation of war and reliance on external conscriptions (occupied territories).

Registers of contributions offer very many possibilities as a source for research on the history of cities and the bourgeoisie. They are a source for studying property inequalities (the amount of tax depended on the property owned, determined on the basis of several factors), carrying out a socio-topographic analysis, delineating zones of poverty and zones of affluence in cities, the distribution of professions within an urban space, etc. In comparison with other types of sources — for example, narrative or metrical sources, they may complement our knowledge of the organisation of functioning in a modern urban centre or of the tenant movement.

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Summary

The literature on the subject mentions three kinds of levies imposed in the early modern era. The first was a regular tax for the benefit of the army, irrespective of whether it was an occupying, neutral or friendly force; its amount depended on the property of the individual in question. The second type, called *Brandschatzung* in German, was usually a one-off payment aimed at securing the area seized by the occupier against looting or destruction. The third type, the so-called *Kontribution*, was imposed by the occupier depending on the needs of the army. Its payment deadline was short, so it was often paid in instalments and its collection was entrusted to an official designated by the municipal authorities. This last form was the most popular levy imposed by the Swedish troops on the regions they occupied, also on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the so-called Deluge and the Great Northern War.

The aim of the article is to provide answers to questions about the practice and legitimacy of the imposition of the *Kontribution* on cities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Swedish troops, and to determine its place in the general system of levies. The last question concerns research possibilities offered to us by *Kontribution* registers.

The article is divided into three parts: the first is devoted to the classification of levies making it possible to determine what type of levies were imposed on the people of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the two occupations. The second part focuses on the system of organising and collecting levies in the cities of the Polish Crown as well as criticism of this unique kind of source. Part three contains examples of the use of *Kontribution* registers — using registers from Warsaw and Lviv from 1702 as examples — to carry out research into residents of early modern cities.

