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THE CRAFT OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN TIMES IN THE ACADEMIC WRITINGS OF MARIA BOGUCKA

Abstract

Maria Bogucka (1929–2020) is one of Poland's most outstanding representatives of historiography in the period after the Second World War. She dealt with a myriad of areas, such as the history of trade, everyday life, the problem of the position of the bourgeoisie in the social structure of pre-partitioned Poland and various aspects of the history of early modern culture. In the earliest period of her academic career (the 1950s and 1960s), under the guidance of Marian Małowist, she took up the subject of the development of crafts in the late Middle Ages and early modern times, with her research focusing primarily on Gdańsk, the largest city in pre-partition Poland. In her research, she sought to isolate the features of early capitalism in the relations of production of the city's craftsmen, and she also focused her interest on artisans operating outside the guild system. Bogucka explained the changes in the economic situation in crafts, examining the relationship between this form of production and agricultural production and trade development.

Keywords: Maria Bogucka, craft, Gdańsk, Marian Małowist, economic history

Maria Bogucka, affiliated with the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN) since 1953, is one of the most outstanding representatives of historiography in Poland after the Second World War. Her earliest research interests encompassed the history of crafts and guilds in the late Middle Ages and early modern times. The development of historical research to include the sphere of economic activity was strongly determined by the political situation in Central and Eastern Europe after the Second World War, in particular by a dependence on the Soviet Union, coupled with attempts to transplant Soviet research patterns. Bogucka's research interests focused primarily

on Gdańsk; therefore, the post-war situation of historical sciences in Pomerania should be considered when determining the direction of her research. It was only in later years that other fields of research began to draw her attention: the history of trade and non-monetary transactions in Northern Europe, the role of the townspeople in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the history of culture.¹

The beginnings of Bogucka's scholarly activity coincided with a period of political transformation that profoundly impacted the conditions for conducting historical research and presenting its results. One of the effects of the changes taking place in the Polish People's Republic, dominated by the Polish Workers' Party (from 1948, the Polish United Workers' Party), was ideological pressures brought to bear on many areas of social life, including historical science. At that time, especially from the late 1940s to 1956, an attempt was made to rebuild the organisational and methodological structures of historical sciences in accordance with Soviet Marxist historical materialism.² Marxism, which interpreted all political phenomena through the prism of socio-economic changes and the notion of a class struggle, required recognition of various aspects of economic development.³ Undoubtedly, a positive effect of these changes was Poland's dynamic development

¹ See in this volume: E. Kizik, 'The Life and Scholarly Activity of Professor Maria Bogucka (1929–2020)'.

² See Piotr Hübner, 'Przebudowa nauk historycznych w Polsce (1947–1953)', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lxxviii, 3 (1987), 451–81; *id.*, 'Dwa modele organizacji środowiska historyków w Polsce z 1947 i 1951 roku', *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, ccxix, 1 (1998), 55–70; Rafał Stobiecki, 'Między kontynuacją a dyskontynuacją. Kilka uwag na temat powojennych dziejów polskiej nauki historycznej', in Jerzy Maternicki (ed.), *Metodologiczne problemy syntezy historii historiografii polskiej* (Rzeszów, 1998), 272–5; Andrzej Feliks Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej* (Poznań, 2000), 204–8; Tadeusz Paweł Rutkowski, *Nauki historyczne w Polsce 1944–1970. Zagadnienia polityczne i organizacyjne* (Warszawa, 2007), 137–262, 317–43; Maciej Górny, *Przed wszystkim ma być naród. Marksistowskie historiografie w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* (Warszawa, 2007), 70–85, 108–16, see English edition: *id.*, *The Nation Should Come First: Marxism and Historiography in East Central Europe* (Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Wien, 2013); *id.*, 'Historical Writing in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary', in Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf (eds), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, v: Historical Writing since 1945* (Oxford–New York, 2011), 248–54; Rafał Stobiecki, *Historiografia PRL. Zamiast podręcznika* (Łódź, 2020), 38–40, 53–66.

³ *Id.*, *Historia pod nadzorem. Spory o nowy model historii w Polsce (II połowa lat czterdziestych – początek lat pięćdziesiątych)* (Łódź, 1993), 54–5.

of economic history.⁴ Thanks to the close contacts of Polish economic historians (especially Jan Rutkowski from Poznań and Franciszek Bujak from Lwów) with the French *Annales* School and British research centres, such as the International Scientific Committee on Price History, this field had begun to occupy an increasingly strong position in Poland before the Second World War.⁵ Particularly innovative at that time were studies on the problems of social income from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the functioning of the gentry and serfdom systems, the issue of elementary defeats, and the history of prices in Poland until 1914. In the post-war period, connections with the achievements of French historiography intensified, despite the short period of Stalinism.⁶ It can therefore be concluded that after 1945, apart from Marxism, which, in fact, did not ultimately gain a dominant

⁴ Cf. *id.*, 'Po co i jak pisać historię? Dyskusje na powojennych powszechnych zjazdach historyków polskich', in *id.*, *Historiografia PRL. Ani dobra, ani mądra, ani piękna... ale skomplikowana. Studia i szkice* (Warszawa, 2007), 202.

⁵ Stanisław Hoszowski, 'Franciszek Bujak – w piątą rocznicę śmierci', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, xx (1958), 11–22; Jerzy Topolski, 'Jana Rutkowskiego życie i rola w rozwoju nauki historycznej', in Jan Rutkowski, *Wokół teorii ustroju feudalnego. Prace historyczne*, ed. Jerzy Topolski (Warszawa, 1982), 9–11; *id.*, *O nowy model historii. Jan Rutkowski (1886–1949)* (Warszawa, 1986), 46–57, 97–100; Marta Herling Bianco, 'Witold Kula et l'historiographie européenne', in Marcin Kula (ed.), *Dziedzictwo Witolda Kuli* (Warszawa, 1990), 69–70; Jerzy Maternicki, *Warszawskie środowisko historyczne w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej* (Rzeszów, 1999), 112–15; Małgorzata Kamecka, 'Ludzie i instytucje. O współpracy historyków polskich i francuskich', in Cezary Kukło and Piotr Guzowski (eds), *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi... Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej* (Białystok, 2004), 409–11; Zdzisław Budzyński, 'Franciszek Bujak (1875–1953)', in Jerzy Maternicki and Leonid Zaszkilniak (eds), *Złota księga historiografii lwowskiej XIX i XX wieku* (Rzeszów, 2007), 421–40; Krzysztof Stopka, 'Nauki historyczne na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim', in Wanda Lohman (ed.), *Universitati Leopoliensi. Trecentesimo quinquagesimo anniversarium suae fundationis celebranti in memoriam* (Kraków, 2011), 252–3; Łukasz Tomasz Sroka, 'Wydział Humanistyczny', in Adam Redzik (ed.), *Academia Militans. Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie* (Kraków, 2015), 643–4.

⁶ Andrzej Wyczański, 'Odnowienie stosunków naukowych z Francją w 1956 roku', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, c. 3 (1993), 265–8; Patryk Pleskot, *Intelektualni sąsiedzi. Kontakty historyków polskich ze środowiskiem 'Annales' 1945–1989* (Warszawa, 2010), 69–138; *id.*, 'Ponad żelazną kurtyną. Fenomen zbieżności metodologicznych między częścią historyków polskich a francuskim środowiskiem *Annales*', in Tomasz Błaszczuk et al. (eds), *Uwikłania historiografii. Między ideologizacją dziejów a obiektywizmem badawczym* (Poznań, 2011), 195–210.

position in Polish historiography, the second source of inspiration for Polish economic historians was the *Annales* School.

Before the Second World War, apart from the university centre in Poznań, economic history saw a flourishing in Lwów (Franciszek Bujak, Stanisław Hoszowski and others),⁷ Cracow (Roman Grodecki)⁸ and Warsaw (Natalia Gąsiorowska-Grabowska and Stanisław Arnold).⁹ As a consequence of the war and then the post-war realities, some researchers moved to new research centres, e.g. the Department of Pomeranian History of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1953).¹⁰ Franciszek Bujak, on the other hand, moved to Cracow in 1945. After the war, the leading centre in economic history became the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw,

⁷ Stefan Cackowski, 'Hoszowski Stanisław', in Stanisław Gierszewski (ed.), *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, ii: G–K, ed. Zbigniew Nowak (Gdańsk, 1994), 226–8; Jolanta Wadas, *Stanisław Hoszowski, uczony i nauczyciel* (Kraków, 2012), 45–75; Sławomir Kościelak, 'Stanisław Hoszowski (1904–1987)', in Eugeniusz Koko and Zbigniew Opacki (eds), *Słownik biograficzny historyków Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* (Gdańsk, 2020), 180–3; Edmund Kizik, 'Dzieje gospodarcze nowożytnego Gdańska w polskich badaniach okresu międzywojennego (1918–1939)', in Ewa Barylewska-Szymańska (ed.), *Teraźniejszość przeszłości. Muzealnictwo i historiografia w Gdańsku i na Pomorzu do roku 1945* (Gdańsk, 2021), 360–7.

⁸ Jerzy Wyrozumski, 'Roman Grodecki (1889–1964)', in Julian Dybiec (ed.), *Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Złota księga Wydziału Historycznego* (Kraków, 2000), 303–9; Janusz Sondel, *Słownik historii i tradycji Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* (Kraków, 2012), 464–5.

⁹ Stefan Ingot, 'Rozwój historii społecznej i gospodarczej', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, li (1937), 378; Kazimierz Tymieniecki, *Zarys dziejów historiografii polskiej* (Kraków, 1948), 120–3; Wojciech Kriegseisen, 'Główne nurty badań nad dziejami nowożytnymi w Instytucie Historycznym Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w latach 1930–1990', in Maria Koczerska and Joanna Adamczyk (eds), *Historia na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim. Materiały konferencji naukowej z okazji jubileuszu 80-lecia Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 21 października 2010 r. / History at the University of Warsaw. Materials from the scientific conference held to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the Institute of History at the University of Warsaw, October 21, 2010, Warsaw* (Warszawa, 2012), 39–40; Tomasz Siewierski, *Marian Małowist i krąg jego uczniów. Z dziejów historiografii gospodarczej w Polsce* (Warszawa, 2016), 93–5.

¹⁰ Krzysztof Mikulski and Agnieszka Zielińska, 'Historia i współczesność Zakładu Historii Gospodarczej', in Jarosław Klaczkow (ed.), *Instytut Historii i Archiwistyki Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika (1945–2011). Dzieje zakładów i główne kierunki badań* (Toruń, 2011), 85, 87–8; Wadas, *Stanisław Hoszowski*, 31–2, 39; Tadeusz Paweł Rutkowski, 'Natalia Gąsiorowska-Grabowska', in *id.*, *Historiografia i historycy w PRL. Szkice* (Warszawa, 2019), 302.

where Witold Kula and Marian Małowist conducted their seminars.¹¹ It was during the seminar of Małowist that Maria Bogucka's first works came to fruition. Another Warsaw centre for research on economic history should be mentioned: Andrzej Grodek's seminar at the Central School of Planning and Statistics.¹²

One of the research fields of economic history was the problem of developing crafts in pre-partitioned Poland. As early as 1937, Stefan Inglot, summarising the achievements of social and economic history, stated that previous studies on the history of guilds in individual Polish cities emphasised mainly their legal status or drew attention to their culture-forming role while omitting the socio-economic aspects of their activity.¹³ Jerzy Topolski, in his summary of the achievements of economic history (1963), expressed the opinion that before the Second World War, "issues such as the technique and size of craft production, the economic functioning of craft workshops, the standard of living and diversity of craftsmen, social antagonisms within guilds, and guild craftsmanship had not been studied. Only a small number of research papers indicated progress".¹⁴ A critical opinion on pre-war research on craftsmanship was also expressed in the synthesis of the history of material culture in Poland.¹⁵

After the war, a research program on crafts in the pre-partition era was established by Marian Małowist, a professor at the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw from 1949; and from 1953, he was also employed in the Section for the History of Baltic Trade of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences.¹⁶ This eminent historian is particularly celebrated for his analysis of the unevenness of economic development in Europe. He spoke about

¹¹ Siewierski, *Marian Małowist i krąg jego uczniów*, 112.

¹² Witold Kula, 'Andrzej Grodek (1901–1959)', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxvi, 4 (1959), 1388–1392; Siewierski, *Marian Małowist i krąg jego uczniów*, 110–11.

¹³ Inglot, *Rozwój historii*, 400–401; Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej*, 182.

¹⁴ Jerzy Topolski, 'Badania historycznogospodarcze w Polsce', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, xxv (1963), 23.

¹⁵ Antonina Keckowa and Danuta Molenda (eds), *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, iii: *Od XVI do połowy XVII w.* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1978), 458.

¹⁶ See Siewierski, *Marian Małowist i krąg jego uczniów*, 48–9; Michał Tymowski, 'Czy w historiografii polskiej istnieje "szkoła Małowista"?', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, cxxiv, 1 (2017), 86.

the need for research on craftsmanship in a taxonomic overview, on the basis of which he intended to create a coherent pathway for historical research, which could then be presented to the First Congress of Polish Science in 1951.¹⁷ In the early 1950s, he created a research team from the participants of his doctoral seminar (Antoni Mączak, Benedykt Zientara, Henryk Samsonowicz, Maria Bogucka, later also Bronisław Geremek, Danuta Molenda and Andrzej Wyrobisz).¹⁸ These young historians mainly made explorations into various fields of industrial and craft production in Poland from the late Middle Ages to the seventeenth century. The attention paid by Małowist, and indirectly also by his students, to the study of craft production resulted – as the scholar himself put it – from a desire to “explain the specificity of the history of cities and Polish craftsmanship from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the slowing development of cities; and elements of capitalism”.¹⁹ In his works from the first half of the 1950s, Małowist endeavoured to explain the essence of the socio-economic changes, defined as a crisis of feudalism that took place in Western Europe between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries; and the economy after the plague epidemic of the mid-fourteenth century. He attributed a special role in shaping capitalist relations not only to the development of trade, but also to the sphere of agricultural production, especially non-agricultural production (including crafts).²⁰ Striving to compare the socio-economic development paths of different economic zones, Małowist saw manorial farms in Central and Eastern Europe as having inhibited the development of a market economy;

¹⁷ Natalia Gąsiorowska-Grabowska, ‘Projekt planu badań w zakresie historii miast, przemysłu i handlu, miejskich stosunków społecznych’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lviii, 3–4 (1950–1951), 353–4. See Marcin Wolniewicz, ‘Marian Małowist w świetle tradycji własnej “szkoły naukowej”’. Uwagi na marginesie książki Tomasza Siewierskiego’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, cxvii, 4 (2019), 771.

¹⁸ Henryk Samsonowicz, ‘Seminarium Mariana Małowista’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, xcvi, 2 (2005), 202.

¹⁹ Marian Małowist, *Studia z dziejów rzemiosła w okresie kryzysu feudalizmu w zachodniej Europie w XIV i XV wieku* (Warszawa, 1954), 8.

²⁰ See *id.*, ‘Zagadnienie kryzysu feudalizmu w XIV i XV w. w świetle najnowszych badań (Próba krytyki)’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lx, 1 (1953), 86–106; *id.*, *Studia z dziejów rzemiosła*, 447–65. Perceiving the interdependence of various areas of economic life was a characteristic feature of Małowist’s understanding of the historical process; an approach which was adopted by his students (Henryk Samsonowicz, ‘Mariana Małowista pisanstwo historyczne’, *Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne*, xx (1990), 54).

and Polish cities began to experience these adverse consequences as early as the end of the sixteenth century. Małowist expressed this view based on the partial results of his team's research at the Methodological Conference in Otwock, which took place at the very end of 1951,²¹ and later during the conference 'Odrodzenie w Polsce' [The Renaissance in Poland] in 1953.²² The program of research on crafts resulted in four monographs being published in 1954–6, which presented various fields of craft production, including rural crafts in the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries (Samsonowicz), metallurgy in Lesser Poland in the fourteenth–seventeenth centuries (Zientara) and drapery in Great Poland in the fourteenth–seventeenth centuries (Mączak).²³

I have already mentioned that Bogucka was also a participant in Małowist's seminar. Both the subject matter of her master's thesis 'Analiza kapitału czynnego w górnictwie polskim w XIV–XVI wieku' [An analysis of active capital in Polish mining from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries] from 1951 and her doctoral dissertation from 1956 allow us to discern the enormous influence of Małowist's historical concepts on the researcher. It is worth mentioning that Bogucka showed an interest in the history of the craft at the very beginning of her studies. Indeed, Bogucka's first popular science contributions to the history of craftsmanship in Warsaw and ancient

²¹ Marian Małowist, 'W sprawie badań nad historią rzemiosła miejskiego w średniowiecznej Polsce', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* xiii (1951), 16–17; *id.*, 'Zarys polskiego procesu dziejowego od XV do XVII w.', in Stanisław Herbst, Witold Kula and Tadeusz Manteuffel (eds), *Pierwsza konferencja metodologiczna historyków polskich. Przemówienia, referaty, dyskusja*, i (Warszawa, 1953), 376–83. On the significance of the Otwock conference see Rafał Stobiecki, 'Pierwsza Konferencja Metodologiczna Historyków Polskich', in *id.*, *Historiografia PRL. Ani dobra, ani mądra, ani piękna...*, 96–116, Rutkowski, *Nauki historyczne w Polsce*, 190–202; *id.*, *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne w latach 1945–1958. Zarys dziejów* (Toruń, 2009), 85–94.

²² See Marian Małowist, *Rzemiosło polskie w okresie Odrodzenia* (Warszawa, 1954), 54–68; *id.*, 'Rzemiosło polskie w okresie Odrodzenia', in Stanisław Arnold (ed.), *Odrodzenie w Polsce. Materiały sesji naukowej PAN 25–30 października 1953 roku*, i: *Historia* (Warszawa, 1955), 261–98.

²³ Benedykt Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego. XIV–XVII wiek* (Warszawa, 1954); Henryk Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło wiejskie w Polsce XIV–XVI w.* (Warszawa, 1954); Antoni Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie. XIV–XVII wiek* (Warszawa, 1955). See also Antoni Mączak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Benedykt Zientara, *Z dziejów rzemiosła w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1954).

Rome come from this period.²⁴ In her doctoral thesis, she dealt with the development of textile crafts in Gdańsk in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.²⁵ In the nineteenth century, the history of crafts in Gdańsk was based on an excellent study by Theodor Hirsch;²⁶ whereas after the Second World War in Gdańsk, largely deprived of its historical milieu (which had been forced to leave together with the German population), scientific and scholarly life was slow to reconstitute itself.²⁷ In 1948, archaeological research began under the direction of Konrad Jażdżewski (as part of the program of the Directorate of Research on the Beginnings of the Polish State), which threw light on the material culture of the inhabitants of early medieval Gdańsk in the field of various crafts.²⁸ In turn, in 1955, the Gdańsk Section of the Department of Pomeranian History of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences was established, headed by Edmund Cieślak.²⁹ The celebration of the 500th anniversary

²⁴ See Maria Bogucka, 'Rzemiosło w starożytnym Rzymie', *Rzemiosło*, xi, 7–8 (1949), 30–5; *ead.*, 'Cechy Starej Warszawy', *Rzemiosło*, xi, 10 (1949), 17–19.

²⁵ *Ead.*, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne od XVI do połowy XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1956).

²⁶ Theodor Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (Leipzig, 1858).

²⁷ Research postulates in the field of the history of Gdańsk, which included the need to study the history of Gdańsk's guilds, crafts and industry, were first expressed by Marian Pelczar, director of the Gdańsk City Library (later Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences) during the 1st National Congress of Pomeranian and Prussian Historians in Toruń in 1947 (Marian Pelczar, 'Potrzeby historiografii polskiej w zakresie badań nad przeszłością Gdańska', *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, xiii [1947], 33) and probably at the 7th General Congress of Polish Historians in Wrocław in 1948. However, his paper *Stan badań nad dziejami Gdańska*, was never published. See *Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich w Polsce Ludowej. Dokumenty i materiały*, ed. Tadeusz Paweł Rutkowski (Toruń, 2014), 4.

²⁸ Konrad Jażdżewski, 'Kultura rybaków gdańskich w w. XII i XIII w świetle badań wykopaliskowych 1948–1951', *Rocznik Gdański*, xiii (1954), 7–28; Janina Kamińska, 'Gdańsk wczesnośredniowieczny w świetle siedmiu lat archeologicznych prac badawczych', *Rocznik Gdański*, xiv (1955), 29–65; Romana Barnycz-Gupieniec, 'Badania nad wczesnośredniowiecznym Gdańskiem. Historia – rezultaty', in Henryk Paner (ed.), *Gdańsk średniowieczny w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych i historycznych* (Gdańsk, 1998), 5–11; Henryk Paner, 'Z badań archeologicznych Gdańska. Historia i aktualności', *Rocznik Gdański*, lvii, 1 (1997), 7–11. Detailed research results were published primarily in the series 'Gdańsk Wczesnośredniowieczny', i–ix (Gdańsk, 1960–1977).

²⁹ Edmund Kizik, 'Edmund Cieślak (1922–2007)', in Koko and Opacki (eds), *Słownik biograficzny historyków Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, 72–3; Peter Oliver Loew,

of the incorporation of Prussia (1954) provided an impulse for the development of historical research in Gdańsk. Therefore, IH PAN organised the Pomeranian Conference, whose task was primarily to assess the current state of research (to include German scholarship) and to initiate research on the history of Pomerania in the Marxist spirit and according to the concept of the Greater Pomerania as proposed by Gerard Labuda.³⁰ The director of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Tadeusz Manteuffel, announced the development of a synthesis of the history of Pomerania.³¹ The history of Gdańsk craftsmanship, which had not yet been sufficiently researched on the basis of written sources, soon became a field of research occupied by Maria Bogucka.

Bogucka's monograph on textile production betrays a wider interest in the history of craftsmanship. Contrary to the title, the work also covered the history of Gdańsk's textile crafts in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.³² This book was a landmark publication for Gdańsk historiography, which had hitherto focused on the political history of the city and systemic issues; and in the field of economy on the issues pertaining to the development of trade. Apart from Marian Biskup's work on Gdańsk's policy during the Thirteen Years' War (1952),³³ Bogucka's work was the first scholarly monograph to be based on extensive use of Gdańsk archival sources.³⁴ Bogucka would

Danzig und seine Vergangenheit 1793–1997. Die Geschichtskultur einer Stadt zwischen Deutschland und Polen (Osnabrück, 2003), 369.

³⁰ See Rutkowski, *Nauki historyczne w Polsce*, 246–7; Edmund Kizik, 'Uroczystości 500-lecia "powrotu Gdańska do Macierzy" w latach 1954–1955', in Edmund Kizik, Mirosław Golon and Sylwia Bykowska (eds), *Gdańsk 1945–1990. Studia – materiały – analizy*, ii (Gdańsk–Warszawa, 2019), 148–75.

³¹ *Konferencja Pomorska 1954* (Warszawa, 1956), 13–14. Maria Bogucka was also a participant in the Pomeranian Conference; see Maria Bogucka, 'Sesja pomorska PAN', *Historia i Nauka o Konstytucji*, iii, 2 (1955), 77–80.

³² *Ead.*, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*, 16–54.

³³ Marian Biskup, *Stosunek Gdańska do Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w okresie wojny trzydziestoletniej 1454–1466* (Toruń, 1952).

³⁴ This comprehensive use of Gdańsk's archival sources resulted from frequent visits to the State Archives (at the time the Voivodeship State Archives, WAP) in Gdańsk. Bogucka visited the archives in 1956 and 1957 for the purposes of her doctoral dissertation and habilitation; Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, sign. 1414/1703 (List of topics declared by people using source materials in WAP in Gdańsk).

present a full picture of craft production in Gdańsk in 1962 in her habilitation *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku* [Gdańsk as a production centre in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries], which was actually a continuation of the earlier study.³⁵ Here the researcher concluded that the flourishing of Gdańsk craftsmanship, visible after the incorporation of Royal Prussia and the end of the Thirteen Years' War, was related to the flourishing and monopolistic position of Gdańsk as an intermediary in the export of grain and forest products. The purchasers of Gdańsk craft goods were especially the Polish nobility, inhabitants of the Royal Prussian countryside, as well as the growing and wealthy townspeople. The Warsaw researcher also explained the absence of a parallel picture in the development of crafts between Gdańsk and Polish cities, in which – as I mentioned earlier – signs of stagnation were already visible at the end of the sixteenth century. The slowdown in the development of Polish cities as a result of the actions of the nobility seeking to privilege the manorial farm also favoured Gdańsk. Thus, Bogucka perpetuated an opinion with origins in the seventeenth century about “parasitism of this city on the organism of the country”.³⁶ The crisis of Gdańsk craftsmanship occurred only in the second half of the seventeenth century, caused by a decline in the Polish grain market (and the resulting downturn in Gdańsk). The early monograph also contains references to Marxist terminology, characteristic for the historical writing of the Stalinist era, with references to the postulates of the already mentioned Otwock conference and the works of the main promulgators of historical materialism;³⁷ at that time, a necessary condition for the publication of a scholarly work.³⁸ The political transformations of 1956 in Poland (the so-called ‘Polish October’) accelerated the process of de-Stalinisation that had begun prior to 1955; which also meant transformative change when it came to carrying

³⁵ Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku* (Warszawa, 1962).

³⁶ *Ead.*, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*, 58; *ead.*, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, 12.

³⁷ See *ead.*, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*, 7–8, 34.

³⁸ See Zbigniew Romek, ‘Zinstytucjonalizowana autocenzura historyków polskich w czasach stalinowskich’, in Andrzej Wierzbicki (ed.), *Klio Polska. Studia i materiały z dziejów historiografii polskiej po II wojnie światowej*, iii (Warszawa, 2008), 109; *id.*, *Cenzura a nauka historyczna w Polsce 1944–1970* (Warszawa, 2010), 172–201.

out research in the field of history.³⁹ Marxism, hitherto recognised as the only legitimate methodological approach, had lost its monopoly. In the second mentioned monograph, published in a period of relative creative freedom, Bogucka refrained from including in the literature on the subject the authors of Marxism who were not directly related to the subject.

Perceiving the connections between particular areas of social life, in accordance with the postulates of integral history and supported by the historians from the circle of Małowist, was also discernible in many other articles penned by Bogucka, who was particularly interested in how capitalism had shaped craft production, especially the brewing industry. Brewers – entrepreneurs whose activity consisted only in providing capital in the production process – were even described as ‘pre-bourgeoisie’.⁴⁰ In another article published in the series ‘Hansische Studien’ (1975), which followed the conference ‘Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins in der DDR’, Bogucka noted the mercantile relationships between capital and the spheres of production in Gdańsk. As Bogucka proposed, the intensive development of craft production had resulted from an increase in the population, fluctuations in the demand and supply of imported goods, and the technical support for trade (production of packaging, ships, sails, etc.). The relatively high rate of profits from Gdańsk trade meant that part of its capital was also invested in production.⁴¹

Bogucka drew attention to the social changes that resulted from the emergence of the nobility in Polish cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁴² foregrounding the expansion of the nobility

³⁹ Andrzej Czyżewski, *Proces destalinizacji polskiej nauki historycznej w drugiej połowie lat 50. XX wieku* (Warszawa, 2007), 16–17; Rutkowski, *Nauki historyczne w Polsce*, 272–316.

⁴⁰ Maria Bogucka, ‘Elementy wczesnego kapitalizmu i preburżuazji w gdańskim browarnictwie w XV–XVII wieku’, *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxi, 1–2 (1955), 65–113.

⁴¹ *Ead.*, ‘Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Handelskapital und der städtischen Produktion in Danzig im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, in Konrad Fritze, Eckhard Müller-Mertens, and Johannes Schildhauer (eds), *Bürgertum – Handelskapital – Städtebünde, Abhandlungen zur Handels- und Sozialgeschichte*, xv: Hansische Studien III (Weimar, 1975), 58–69.

⁴² Maria Bogucka, ‘Z zagadnień socjotopografii większych miast Polski w XVI–XVII w.’, in Aleksander Gieysztor and Tadeusz Roslanowski (eds), *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie środkowo-wschodniej. Przemiany społeczne a układy przestrzenne* (Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń, 1976), 147–75.

and magnates within the cities, manifested by the creation of areas excluded from municipal law, i.e., juridics, which proved transformative from a social perspective. One such transformation was the increase in the number of craftsmen working outside the guild system, the 'partacze'. Bogucka was also one of the first researchers to draw attention to the need for research on suburban areas as centres of craft production, which did not so much compete as supplement the guild production. Here Bogucka distinguished two types of suburbs: 1) manufacturing and commercial (occurring in the large cities of Royal Prussia), where craft enterprises operated already according to capitalist principles developed, and 2) residential, where craft production was focused on the needs of magnate and noble residences.⁴³ Maria Bogucka noted, on the example of Gdańsk, that social belonging was layered; determined not by one's property status (highly diverse in any case), but by the accessing of municipal citizenship. To recognise the living conditions of this group, and especially of craftsmen living in the suburbs of Gdańsk, Bogucka examined sources that had previously been beyond the interest of historians, i.e. property inventories from the years 1614–50.⁴⁴ Economically disadvantaged occupational groups in Gdańsk related to crafts became the subject of Bogucka's research also in the later period.⁴⁵ She also analysed selected crafts from the perspective of production technique.⁴⁶ Here Bogucka was interested in individual production enterprises, such as Gdańsk brickyards in the sixteenth century.⁴⁷

In the history of crafts in Gdańsk, which was the subject of Bogucka's research, the revolts and tumults which took place in the fourteenth

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴⁴ Maria Bogucka, 'Z problematyki form życia "marginesu mieszczańskiego" w Gdańsku połowy XVII w.', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxviii, 4 (1973), 55–79; *ead.*, 'O odzieży mieszkańców Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku', *Rocznik Gdański*, xxxii, 2 (1972), 175–91.

⁴⁵ See *ead.*, 'Ubóstwo w Gdańsku. Prządki, gręplarki i gręplarze (czesacze) w XVI–XVII w.', in Maurice Aymard *et al.* (eds), *Biedni i bogaci. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa i kultury ofiarowane Bronisławowi Geremkowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Warszawa, 1992), 71–6.

⁴⁶ *Ead.*, 'Z zagadnień techniki rzemiosła w Gdańsku w XVII w.', in Zofia Kamińska (ed.), *Studia i Materiały z Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xx: *Studia z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Przemysłu*, iv (Wrocław, 1964), 31–52.

⁴⁷ Maria Bogucka, 'Cegielnia gdańska w XVI wieku', in Zofia Kamińska (ed.), *Studia i Materiały z Historii Kultury Materialnej*, x: *Studia z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Przemysłu*, i (Wrocław, 1961), 125–49.

to the sixteenth centuries could not be disregarded. Participants in political struggles in late-medieval and early modern cities, aimed at breaking the monopoly of power held by the patriciate, often included craftsmen. These events enabled the writing of a post-war historiography influenced by Marxism which would interpret historical processes from the perspective of a class struggle. Therefore, this topic was of great interest to historians.⁴⁸ For example, in the German Democratic Republic, this topic was nurtured in the 1950s by Karl Czok,⁴⁹ Johannes Schildhauer⁵⁰ and Konrad Fritze.⁵¹ Pertaining to Gdańsk, Zbigniew Binerowski, and especially Cieślak, created from 1960 a whole series of monographs on the social and political conflicts of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.⁵² Bogucka would be drawn

⁴⁸ Henryk Samsonowicz presented the achievements of historiography in the field of social struggles in Hanseatic cities, see *id.*, 'Nowe kierunki badań nad dziejami Hanzy', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxxviii, 2 (1961), 415–17.

⁴⁹ See Karl Czok, 'Städtebünde und Zunftkämpfe in ihren Beziehungen während des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, vi, 5 (1956/1957), 517–42; *id.*, 'Zunftkämpfe, Zunftrevolution oder Bürgerkämpfe?', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, viii, 1 (1958/1959), 129–43; *id.*, 'Zum Braunschweiger Aufstand 1374–86', in Gerhard Heitz and Manfred Unger (eds.), *Hansische Studien. Heinrich Sproemberg zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1961), 34–55; *id.*, 'Bürgerkämpfe und Chronisten im deutschen Spätmittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, x (1962), 637–45; *id.*, *Städtische Volksbewegungen im deutschen Spätmittelalter. Ein Beitrag zu Bürgerkämpfen und innerstädtischen Bewegungen während der frühbürgerlichen Revolution*, i–ii (Leipzig, 1963).

⁵⁰ Johannes Schildhauer, *Soziale, politische und religiöse Auseinandersetzungen in den Hansestädten Stralsund, Rostock und Wismar im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar, 1959).

⁵¹ Konrad Fritze, 'Die Bevölkerungsstruktur Rostocks, Stralsunds und Wismars am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts: Versuch einer sozialstatistischen Analyse', *Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch*, iv (1964), 69–79; *id.*, 'Entwicklungsprobleme der nichtagrarischen Produktion im hansischen Wirtschaftsraum', in Konrad Fritze, Eckhard Müller-Mertens, and Johannes Schildhauer (eds.), *Gewerbliche Produktion und Stadt-Land-Beziehungen* (Weimar, 1979), 15–25; *id.*, 'Landhandwerk auf Rügen im 16. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte*, xiv (1987), 200–8.

⁵² Zbigniew Binerowski, 'Sprawa krwawego tumultu w Gdańsku w XIV wieku', *Rocznik Gdański*, xv/xvi (1956/1957), 78–94; Edmund Cieślak, 'Rewolty gdańskie w XV w. (1416–1456)', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxi, 3 (1954), 110–42; *id.*, *Walki ustrojowe w Gdańsku i Toruniu oraz w niektórych miastach hanzeatyckich w XV w.* (Gdańsk, 1960); *id.*, *Walki społeczno-polityczne w Gdańsku w drugiej połowie XVII wieku. Interwencja Jana III Sobieskiego* (Gdańsk, 1962); *id.*, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku*

to the social struggles of sixteenth-century Gdańsk, especially the internal conflict in Gdańsk in the years 1517–26.⁵³ One such research paper concerned the formation of opposition to the patriciate in the second half of the sixteenth century, which led to a revolt against the city council in 1593.⁵⁴ Here Bogucka attributed the outbreak of the riots not to the attempts of the lower social strata to gain influence over the authorities in the city (“the aristocratic character of the system”), but to the growing economic divide.⁵⁵

Bogucka was less interested in the history of Warsaw crafts but did formulate a synthetic picture of the development of crafts in Warsaw in the pre-partition period.⁵⁶ Another example offered was Bogucka’s analysis of the property left by the Warsaw saddler Wojciech Niedźwiedzki, conducted on the basis of his posthumous inventory from 1621.⁵⁷

I have already mentioned that in the neighbouring countries of the Eastern Bloc, where historiography had been dominated by Marxist theory, similar research programs were developed, including research on craftsmanship. Publications on this subject became the object of Bogucka’s interest; and she would write reviews on Josef Janaček’s works on craft production in Czech towns in the sixteenth century; and later she would devote her attentions to Arnold Soom’s publications on guild crafts in Tallinn in the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ Bogucka also

w połowie XVIII w. – sojusz pospólstwa z dworem królewskim (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kaków–Gdańsk, 1972).

⁵³ Maria Bogucka, ‘Walki społeczne w Gdańsku w XVI wieku’, in Gerard Labuda (ed.), *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza, i: Pomorze średniowieczne* (Warszawa, 1958), 369–448. She worked on this topic also much later, see *ead.*, ‘Z problematyki buntów ludowych u progu ery nowożytnej’, in Beata Wojciechowska and Waldemar Kowalski (eds.), *Rycerze, wędrowcy, kacerze. Studia z historii średniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytnej Europy Środkowej* (Kielce, 2013), 385–92.

⁵⁴ Maria Bogucka, ‘Walka opozycji mieszczańskiej z patrycjatem gdańskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, xlv, 2–3 (1954), 408–59.

⁵⁵ *Ead.*, *Walki społeczne w Gdańsku*, 373–4.

⁵⁶ *Ead.*, ‘Rzemiosło warszawskie w latach 1526–1720. Ogólny zarys rozwoju’, in Barbara Grochulska (ed.), *Z dziejów rzemiosła warszawskiego* (Warszawa, 1983), 95–125.

⁵⁷ *Ead.*, ‘Warszawski siodlarz z przelomu XVI i XVII wieku’, *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, li, 1–3 (1996), 33–6.

⁵⁸ *Ead.*, [Review], ‘Josef Janáček, *Pivovarnictví v českých královských městech v 16. století* (Praha, 1959)’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, li, 3 (1960), 585–6; *ead.*, [Review], ‘Josef Janáček, *Řemeslná výroba v českých městech v 16. století* (Praha, 1961)’, *Przegląd Historyczny*, liv, 3 (1963), 514–16; *ead.*, [Review], ‘Arnold Soom, *Die Zunfthandwerker in Reval in siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stockholm, 1971)’, *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxxvii, 4 (1972), 188–90.

published numerous reviews and short descriptions of works in the field of the history of crafts in the popular science magazine *Mówią Wieki*, as well as in numerous scholarly journals.⁵⁹

Bogucka contributed to numerous syntheses (their creation being one of the fundamental goals of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences).⁶⁰ The first project in this research area looked to create a new synthesis of Polish history. As a result of preparatory work in the years 1953–5, a preliminary version of the first volume was created, covering the history of Poland until 1764 (the so-called mock-up [*makieta*]).⁶¹ The entanglement of the historical narrative with Marxist ideology made this study the subject of criticism during the dismantling of the Stalinist system in Poland.⁶² Bogucka was a co-author of one of the chapters dealing with the economic flourishing of cities in the period from the mid-fifteenth century to the sixteenth century in the final, official version of the history of pre-partition Poland (vol. 2, part 2), published in 1957, i.e. after the October thaw.⁶³ This work addressed, among others, the changing the production technique in various types of craft production, the activities of guilds and the role of capital in production in the sixteenth century, as well as the issue of a “class struggle in cities”. Bogucka was also involved in work on a synthesis of the history of Pomerania, spearheaded by Gerard Labuda. The first stage of work ended with the publication of the three-volume *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [Sketches from the History of Pomerania] in 1958–61.⁶⁴ The already mentioned article

⁵⁹ E.g., see *ead.*, [Review], ‘Maurycy Horn, *Rzemiosło miejskie województwa białskiego w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku. Zagadnienie kryzysu gospodarczego Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII wieku* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1966)’, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 17 (1968), 175–7; *ead.*, [Review], ‘Irena Rembowska, *Gdański cech złotników od XIV do końca XVIII w.* (Gdańsk, 1971)’, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 26 (1972), 225–6.

⁶⁰ Stanisław Bylina, ‘Dorobek czterdziestolecia’, in Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński (ed.), *Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1953–1993* (Warszawa, 1993), 22–5.

⁶¹ See Rutkowski, *Nauki historyczne w Polsce*, 235–7.

⁶² Górny, *Przede wszystkim ma być naród*, 123–30.

⁶³ Stanisław Arnold and Maria Bogucka, ‘Rozkwit gospodarczy miast’, in Henryk Łowmiański (ed.), *Historia Polski*, i: *Do roku 1764*, ii: *Od połowy XV w.* (Warszawa, 1957), 107–46.

⁶⁴ Gerard Labuda (ed.), *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza*, i: *Pomorze średniowieczne*, ed. *id.* (Warszawa, 1958); ii: *Pomorze nowożytne*, eds Gerard Labuda and Stanisław Hoszowski (Warszawa, 1959); iii: *Pomorze na progu dziejów najnowszych*, eds Tadeusz Cieślak, Gerard Labuda, and Stanisław Hoszowski (Warszawa, 1961).

by Bogucka on the sixteenth-century social struggles in Gdańsk arose from a session organised in 1955 in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a critical discussion on it.⁶⁵ It is worth noting that the first volumes of the synthesis were published only in the 1970s; while Bogucka was the author of the sections on the culture of Royal and Ducal Prussia until the mid-seventeenth century, which lie beyond the scope of this article. Simultaneously with the work on the history of Pomerania, the Gdańsk Section of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences prepared the publication of a synthesis of the history of Gdańsk. Initially, research work in this area was coordinated by Hoszowski, whereas after he moved to Cracow, Cieślak became the head of the editorial team.⁶⁶ From 1978, successive volumes of this monumental research project were published. Bogucka participated in work on the synthesis of the history of Gdańsk from the time of the Thirteen Years' War to 1655, e.g. the development of crafts, and the social and political changes, including internal conflicts in the city until the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ In the archives of the Section of the History of Gdańsk and Polish Maritime History of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the minutes from the session have been preserved. The discussion on M. Bogucka's paper proved to be particularly interesting: "In the discussion on M. Bogucka's paper, Prof. Hoszowski questioned the author's contention that in the 16th century we can observe the development of the patriciate. A middle class pertaining to merchants and crafts also flourished. The presenter also proposed extending the chronological framework of the work to the 17th century. Z. Binerowski raised the issue of assessing the progress of the Third Order. He expressed the view that despite being highly dependent on the Council and not rendering too much service to the plebeian classes in the early 16th century, the establishment of this institution should be regarded as a progressive step in the struggle of the plebeian classes with the Gdańsk patriciate. Dr. Pelczar asked the speaker whether there were fundamental contradictions between Catholicism and Protestantism in the social movements in Gdańsk, and expressed the view that a more appropriate term than the 'Pound Toll Treaty' was the term 'Pound Toll Privilege'. Prof. G. Labuda praised M. Bogucka for her taxonomic survey of the development of economic and social life in Gdańsk in the 16th century", see Pracownia Historii Gdańska i Dziejów Morskich Polski Instytutu Historii im. T. Manteuffla PAN, File no. 1: Akta z lat 1955–1962.

⁶⁶ See Kizik, *Edmund Cieślak*, 73.

⁶⁷ Maria Bogucka, 'Rozwój rzemiosła', in Edmund Cieślak (ed.), *Historia Gdańska*, ii: 1454–1655 (Gdańsk, 1982), 176–207; *ead.*, 'Przemiany społeczne i walki społeczno-polityczne w XV i XVI w.', in *ibid.*, 208–59; *ead.*, 'Ośrodek produkcyjny', in *ibid.*, 508–42; *ead.*, 'Przemiany społeczne i ustrojowe (1570–1655)', in *ibid.*, 543–78.

She also participated in the creation of a synthesis of the history of textile industry in Poland (1966).⁶⁸ A great scientific achievement was the synthesis of the history of towns and townspeople in Poland until the eighteenth century, in which Bogucka presented, among others, an image of the development of crafts in cities in the early modern period.⁶⁹ On the basis of research and detailed studies on the economic history of Gdańsk, Bogucka looked at the development of crafts in the urban centres of each of the districts of the Polish-Lithuanian state, considering the number of craft workshops and the number of guilds as (admittedly imperfect) indicators of the degree of craft development. Whereas the degree of craft specialisation in small towns depended on their distance from large urban centres.⁷⁰ From the experience of research on Gdańsk comes the perception of the problem of the development of non-guild crafts in the discussed synthesis.⁷¹

Bogucka's works, especially her monographs on the history of Gdańsk craftsmanship, were met with interest from other researchers, especially experts on Gdańsk's archive collections; as is testified by the numerous reviews, in particular those of Z. Binerowski, H. Samsonowicz, Bohdan Baranowski and Cieślak.⁷² Most reviewers

⁶⁸ *Ead.*, 'Charakterystyka produkcji włókienniczej w okresie feudalizmu', in Janina Kamińska and Irena Turnau (eds), *Zarys historii włókiennictwa na ziemiach polskich do końca XVIII wieku* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1966), 111–20; *ead.*, 'Rozwój wczesnego kapitalizmu we włókiennictwie', in *ibid.*, 121–6; *ead.*, 'Sukiennictwo oraz produkcja innych tkanin wełnianych i półwełnianych', in *ibid.*, 127–54; *ead.*, 'Tkaniny bawełniane na Pomorzu Wschodnim i Śląsku', in *ibid.*, 179–81.

⁶⁹ Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź, 1986), 428–45. See also the leading article of this project: Maria Bogucka, 'Badania nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej. Stan i zarys programu', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxxxii, 2 (1975), 573–83.

⁷⁰ Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, 436–7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 435–6.

⁷² Zenon Żak, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, "Elementy wczesnego kapitalizmu"', *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, iii, 2 (1957), 271–5; Zbigniew Binerowski, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*', *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, iv, 2 (1958), 353–7; Janusz Deresiewicz, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, xx (1958), 375–7; Henryk Samsonowicz, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxx, 4 (1963), 984–7; *id.*, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 9 (1964),

emphasised Bogucka's use of a very broad source base.⁷³ Among them, Hoszowski was particularly interested in the results of Bogucka's research. However, in his review of *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne* [Gdańsk's Textile Crafts], he opposed the views of Bogucka, who had placed the crisis of textile production in the 1630s and 1640s; and who further contended that one of the symptoms of the crisis had been, among others, the development of guilds in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁷⁴ Cieślak, on the other hand, stated that the image of Gdańsk as a developed manufacturing centre created by Bogucka contradicted the general opinion about the parasitic role of Gdańsk in the Polish economy.⁷⁵ Due to a strong overlap, Bogucka's overall work was met with interest in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia.⁷⁶ Not only were Bogucka's works discussed, but so were the research results of Małowist's entire team.⁷⁷ West German historiography learned about the research achievements of Polish historians, including Bogucka's monographs, thanks to literature reviews published in the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, many of which had been penned by Hugo Weczerka.⁷⁸

93–4; Bohdan Baranowski, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Rocznik Łódzki*, ix (1964), 263–4; Edmund Cieślak, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxx, 2 (1965), 87–92.

⁷³ Ultimately, Bogucka's findings were strongly criticised by Tytus Bieniecki, a historian who had written a great deal on the activities related to cordbanism and blacksmithing in old Gdańsk; see Tytus Bieniecki, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Rocznik Gdański*, xii (1963), 280–2; *id.*, 'Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku', *Litery*, ii, 10 (1963), 13.

⁷⁴ Stanisław Hoszowski, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vi, 4 (1958), 705–10.

⁷⁵ Edmund Cieślak, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Zapiski Historyczne*, xxx, 2 (1965), 87–92.

⁷⁶ Miroslav Hroch, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*', *Československý Časopis Historický*, v, 2 (1957), 375; *id.*, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, "Elementy wczesnego kapitalizmu"', *Československý Časopis Historický*, v, 2 (1957), 375; Herbert Langer, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, xii, 2 (1964), 351–3.

⁷⁷ Gerhard Heitz and Johannes Kalisch, 'Warschauer Forschungen zur polnischen Handwerks- und Handelsgeschichte des 14.–17. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, v, 6 (1957), 1348–64.

⁷⁸ Paul Johansen, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekstylne*', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, lxxv (1957), 160–1; *id.*, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, "Elementy wczesnego kapitalizmu"', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, lxxv (1957), 161; Hugo Weczerka, [Review], 'Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*,

Maria Bogucka belonged to a generation of researchers, the students of Małowist, who inspired a post-war interest in the history of craftsmanship. This issue is best expressed in the research program of Małowist and its impact on Bogucka's historical writing. In researching the history of crafts, Bogucka sought to show the beginnings of capitalism in Gdańsk, as well as the relations between this form of production and agricultural production and trade. Bogucka discerned the social differentiation of groups participating in craft production; and hence, she found herself in the vanguard of those historians who initiated the study of social groups on the margins, including the poor. Interest in the development of craftsmanship was not limited only to manufacturers operating within guilds, but extended the 'partacze'. The subject of crafts dominated Bogucka's output until the 1960s, which then gave way to issues of trade, everyday life and Polish culture in the pre-partition era.⁷⁹ Like most of the first post-war generation of historians, her scholarly work until 1956 was characterised by the use of Marxist methodology and terminology.

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⁷⁹ For example, in a synthetic article dealing with the issue of the place of cities and townspeople in the Polish society, the issue of craft guilds is considered only in the context of ethnic and religious relations; see Maria Bogucka, 'Miasto i mieszczanin w społeczeństwie Polski nowożytnej (XVI–XVIII wiek)', *Czasy Nowożytne*, xxii (2009), 30–1.

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