



UDC 94(438).04+821.113.6-6

Karol Łopatecki

University of Białystok, Poland

Wojciech Krawczuk

Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland

THE SWEDISH PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF KRAKOW IN 1655*

For citation: Łopatecki K., Krawczuk W. The Swedish plan of the Siege of Krakow in 1655. *Scandinavian Philology*, 2021, vol. 19, issue 2, pp. 400–421.
<https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2021.212>

In this article we present an unknown map of Krakow and its surroundings with an attached description in Swedish, which is stored in the Riksarkivet, the National Archives of Sweden (Stockholm). We are scrutinizing the circumstances in which this work came into being, which indicates that the source was created between 1 and 7 October 1655, making it the oldest known map with an attached legend presenting not only Krakow, but also the adjacent towns of Kleparz and Kazimierz and the suburb of Stradom. This document was attached to an unpreserved letter that was probably sent to the Scandinavian Peninsula. We present this relic as an attempt to depict war events in an epistolographic message through a two-dimensional representation of space with a legend. We place this against the broader background of changes in worldviews at that time, shaped by increasingly popular atlases and printed maps. This work had no tactical significance, nor was it used in propaganda of the Swedish Empire. Its main purpose was to document epoch-making events. The map and legend were to complement the epistolographic message, common in correspondence of the diplomatic and military elites of the 17th century. The author must have been an educated person with considerable spatial imagination. This person's intellectual horizons are evidenced by, among others, knowledge of the chorography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

* This paper was written as part of a research project funded by the National Science Centre OPUS-16 (contract no. UMO-2018/31/B/HS3/00846), entitled “Social and Economic Significance of Military Camps and Garrisons in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (16th-18th centuries)” [“Społeczne i gospodarcze znaczenie obozów i garnizonów wojskowych w państwie polsko-litewskim (XVI-XVIII wiek)”].

by Szymon Starowolski (Kolonja 1632 and Gdańsk 1652). The map was presumably made by Matthias Palbitzki, a diplomat and art connoisseur.

Keywords: legend (cartography), critical cartography, epistolography, the Second Northern War, the Swedes in Poland, Krakow, documentation of wars of the early modern period, chorography.

The Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden) holds a visually inconspicuous sketch map accompanied by an extensive legend in Swedish (see Appendix)¹. This document has not been analyzed so far; moreover, it was not even catalogued by the excellent cartographic researcher Ulla Ehrensvärd [*Cartographica*, 2008]. In this article, we intend to provide a description of this plan, which features the siege of Krakow by the Swedish army in 1655. As we will prove, this is the oldest known map depicting the city with the directly adjoining towns of Kleparz and Kazimierz and the suburb of Stradom². The paper deals with the circumstances of the completion of this work (Fig. 1) and analyzes the legend written in Swedish (Fig. 2). We describe this relic as an attempt to illustrate war events in epistolographic messages by means of a two-dimensional representation of space supplemented by a legend. We place this attempt against the broader background of the changes in worldviews at that time, shaped by increasingly popular atlases and printed maps [Harley, Zandvliet, 1992; Koeman et al., 2007].

The siege of Krakow is well described in both Polish and Swedish literature. In particular, works by Tadeusz Nowak [Nowak, 1963; 1973], Adam Kersten [Kersten, 2006], and more recently by Mirosław Nagielski and his team [Nagielski et al., 2015, s. 325–373]. The findings of Swedish historians were summarized by Peter Englund [Englund, 2000, s. 243–283] in a well-documented and comprehensive monograph. We also have a view and plan of besieged Krakow made in the late 17th century by Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh (Fig. 3). These drawings are certainly an important source, although Dahlbergh did not witness

¹ Riksarkivet Stockholm, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polska kriget 1655–1660), ~ Kartor, no. 4:1.

² The oldest known plan of Krakow was made in 1594 by a Jesuit, Gracias Alabiano. It depicted the city within its walls, as well the road leading to the Wawel Royal Castle and to the Vistula River through the so-called Old Vistula via Stradom. However, no other facilities survived for another 60 years [Bartoszewicz, Bartoszewicz, 2013, s. 237]. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, FOL-HD-4 (12).

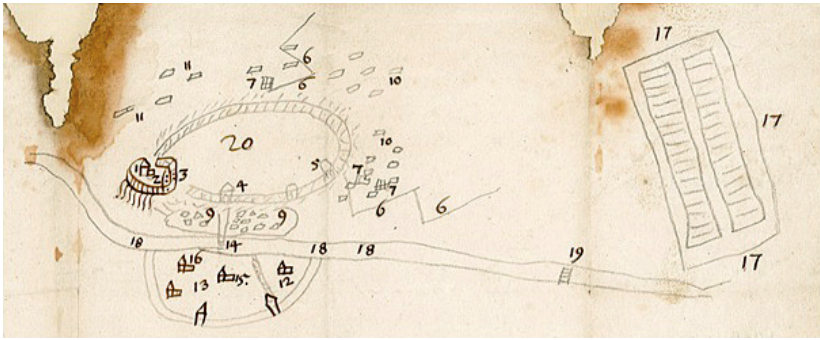


Fig. 1. Plan of the Krakow area (Kazimierz, 1655), Riksarkivet, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), ~ Kartor, no. 4:1 (public domain)

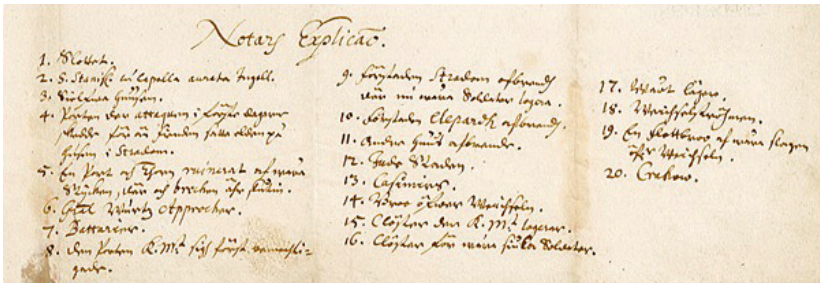


Fig. 2. Legend attached to a plan of the Krakow area dating from 1655, Riksarkivet, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriskasamlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavskrig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), ~ Kartor, no. 4:1 (public domain)

the siege (he did not join the army until 1656, just before the Battle of Warsaw) and made the drawings using various accounts, descriptive and iconographic alike [Dahlbergh, 1912; Stade, 1967, s. 143–217; Cederlöf, 1973]. In this paper we pose the question of correlations of the completed plan (Fig. 1) with a drawing depicting the same siege published in 1696 (Fig. 3).

Already by August 1655, the Swedish progress alarmed the Krakow authorities, who started the first preparations for the expected incursion. Soldiers were recruited, the walls were repaired, and on 9 (19) Sep-



Fig. 3. Erik Dahlbergh, *Cracovia Sedes Regia. Obsessa et a Serenissimo Sueo. Gothorum Rege. Carolo Gustavo deditione Capta d. 8 Octob. 1655*, *Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich*, vol. 5, no. 1: Kraków, ed. by Z. Noga, Krakow, 2007, p. 40, plan 1.3

tember³, Jan Kazimierz himself arrived in Krakow at the head of the troops defeated at Żarnów, consisting of regular soldiers recruited for the conflict and the Polish levée en masse (*pospolite ruszenie*). It turned out, however, that neither the demoralized gentry troops nor the king, heartbroken by failures, would stay in Krakow. The ruler left the city on 14 (24) September, which further weakened the defenders, who numbered about 2,200 soldiers under the command of the castellan of Kiev, Stefan Czarniecki. He had equally many townspeople and students, and about 160 cannons at his disposal.

³ Dual dating is provided in the calendar, according to the Julian calendar used in Sweden, and in the brackets the Gregorian calendar used in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The Swedish army reached the borders of the city on Saturday, 15 (25) September 1655. Completely surprised by the unexpected arrival, the Crown Army left the three military camps located near Krakow in a panic. They set the camps on fire, along with the town of Kleparz, and fled to the other side of the Vistula. On 16 (26) September, troops under Charles X Gustav occupied the fortified town of Kazimierz, the bridge, and the suburb of Stradom without encountering much resistance. The attempt to continue the incursion and capture Krakow itself failed. Fighting continued for some time in the suburb of Stradom. The Bernardine Monastery and Church located there became an important point from where the attackers started to fire at the Wawel Royal Castle. They even broke into the Grodzka Gate in Krakow, yet the defenders' counterattack derailed the possibility of immediately capturing the city [Pufendorf, 2013, s. 70–71; Gordon, 2005, s. 44–45, 47–48; Kochowski, 1966, s. 48–74; Isacson, 2004, s. 52, 54; Kersten, 2006, s. 262–263].

In the following days the Swedish king decided to begin a regular siege. This is when a military camp was established, visible on the plan as a long rectangle to the east, stretching from Dąbie to the urban manor houses. Approximately 13,000 to 14,000 Swedish soldiers settled there. Siege trenches (*aprosz*) were dug, shown on the plan in the form of zig-zags. Batteries were set up to fire at the city. During Charles X Gustav's brief absence, lasting from 20 (30) September to 26 September (5 October), a pontoon bridge, also shown on the plan, was built (Fig. 2).

At that time, Charles X Gustav and his subordinate troops, numbering 5,000 soldiers, encountered the quarter army (*armia kwarciana*) commanded by Hetman Stanisław Lanckoroński. The success of the Swedes in the battle of Wojnicz on 24 September (3 October) 1655 destroyed the besieged city's hopes for relief [Krawczuk, Miodunka, Nabiałek, 2009, s. 275–283]. On 27 September (6 October), after the king's return to Kazimierz, surrender negotiations began, ending on 7 (17) October with the signing of the relevant document [Gordon, 2005, s. 49–51; Kersten, 2006, s. 263–272].

Based on the description and after confronting it with the events of the siege, it is undeniable that the plan was made during the siege, but before the surrender of the city. We can see that the king *lives* in the monastery, and the Swedish soldiers *are quartered* in Stradom; hence, the author uses the present tense. The places of the first attack are indicated, while the area of Krakow itself is empty, which means that the city had not yet been con-

quered. There is no mention of the surrender, which took place on 9 (19) October; St Florian's Gate, through which Stefan Czarniecki marched out of the city at the head of 1,800 soldiers, is not marked, either. The commander-in-chief of the defence was then received in the camp, and a feast was prepared for him, which cannot be seen on the plan. In our opinion, all of this suggests that this drawing was made between 1 (11) and 7 (17) October 1655. This is confirmed by point 9 of the legend, where it is noted that Stradom was burned down but manned by Swedish soldiers. This is a reference to the capture of the suburb by the regiment of Imperial Field Marshal Philip Florinus of Pfalz-Sulzbach, and then Czarniecki's successful counterattack on 30 September and 1 October (9 and 10 October), who first set fire to the suburb and then seized the Bernardine Monastery, which was recaptured after three days [Gordon, 2005, s. 48; Kochowski, 1966, s. 59–62; Kersten, 2006, s. 262–264]. Additionally, a large pontoon bridge, 36 meters long, which was begun on the last day of September, was marked at point 19 [Nowak, 1963, s. 82].

After creating the sketch map, its author attached it to the correspondence. This is evidenced by the marks from folding the card three times, which was a standard action when preparing a letter for mailing. The card measures 21 × 31.5 cm and is badly damaged. There is significant loss and discolouration on two folds, which fortunately do not detract from the legibility of the plan. The drawing was made with a pencil on an area of 11 × 23.5 cm. At the second stage the author marked the most important objects in ink with a pen, added points and noted a legend describing the details of the siege. At this stage, four schematic drawings of the buildings were made, and the Wawel Castle complex was treated with greater care. Regarding the suburb Kraków — Kazmierz — Kleparz — Stradom, the map has a north-western orientation. The scale can be measured only on the basis of several points located at Wawel, Kazimierz and the gates of the city of Krakow. It is approximately 1 : 20,000.

Undoubtedly, the published plan was not completed by a military engineer⁴. It is too cursory, lacking details important for planning a siege. It

⁴ During the Second Northern War (1655–1660), the Swedish army was superbly prepared in terms of the number of engineers and military cartographers. The general staff consisted of a quartermaster general, a lieutenant quartermaster general, and four military engineers. Additionally, a regimental quartermaster had to be in every regiment; the same standards applied to artillery, where the staff also included a quartermaster. These officers were tasked with laying out the marching routes, building bridg-

lacks a scale, and a compass was not even used when it was made (it has no compass rose). In addition, the shape of the city is schematic and does not correspond to reality (in the opinion of contemporaries, it was compared to a lute [Kochowski, 1966, s. 57]). The river layout is erroneous and simplified; a spatial disruption of the suburbs is also discernible (see Fig. 1, 3). Both the inscriptions in Swedish and their content indicate that their author was a subject of Charles X Gustav. The plan was shown from the perspective of the besieging army. Thus, the town of Kazimierz was accurately depicted, with two key buildings included: the monastery where the king lived and another building converted into a military lazaret (points 12–13, 15–16). The image of the Wawel Royal Castle, attacked and observed in the first phase of the incursion, is also clearly discernible. The description even includes the Royal Archcathedral Basilica of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus on the Wawel Hill (point 2), by which the Sigismund's Chapel was added, and whose gilded scales fired the imagination of the besiegers (and, of course, could not be seen from the besiegers' perspective)⁵. Siege trenches and batteries in the area of St Nicolas' Gate and St Florian's Gate were surrendered (points 6–7). Separate enclaves (*jurydyka*) and the town of Kleparz burnt down by the Polish army itself were highlighted (points 10–11).

The credibility of the plan deserves to be stressed. Indeed, the stationing location of Charles X Gustav is confirmed. An eyewitness to the events, the priest Stefan Ranotowicz (also canon at the Corpus Christi monastery in Kazimierz) left behind a description of the Swedish invasion, including information on the siege from late September until mid-October 1655 [Ranotowicz, 1958, s. 14–16]. Kazimierz had been occupied by the Swedes from the very beginning of their invasion. In his notes, the canon stated: *on the third day the Swedish king himself arrived with his court and appeared in the (Corpus Christi) monastery*. The monastery became the Swedish headquarters for several weeks until the end of October 1655⁶. Other elements shown are also confirmed in the sources.

es, establishing camps, supplying provisions, conducting siege work and constructing fortifications [Tersmeden, 1973, p. 126, 130, 134].

⁵ The Royal Chapel (also known as Sigismund's Chapel or Zygmunt Chapel) was erected in the years 1517–1533 as the burial mausoleum of Zygmunt I, and later of his entire family (Zygmunt II August, Anna Jagiellonka). It was designed by Bartholomeo Berrecci from Florence [Marczak, Sarzyński, 2005].

⁶ Until the end of October 1655 the royal documents are dated from Krakow, then in November from Ilza and other places. Riksarkivet Stockholm, Riksregistraturet vol. 302, k. 224; Riksarkivet Stockholm, Riksregistraturet vol. 303, k. 2228 v.

What is unique is the way in which the space is presented, dominated by the military camp on the right-hand side of the drawing and the Wawel Royal Castle on the left. Detailed points serve to accentuate the path from the author's place of residence (the camp) to the point where he watched the royal castle (Kazimierz). It is a land route, hence first the pontoon bridge over the Vistula River and then two town gates of Kazimierz are marked. Admittedly, another bridge leading across the Old Vistula to Stradom and the suburb itself is marked, but no other structures can be seen. Besides, the place was dilapidated and too dangerous to watch Krakow from there. The author observed Wawel from Kazimierz and certainly visited two facilities there: the royal quarters and the military hospital (points 15–16). In addition, the author made a "trip" to the north of Krakow's walls, where he observed the already mentioned siege works and the charred rubble of old buildings.

It is worth emphasizing that Patryk Gordon, who describes the siege of Krakow, underlines almost all the elements accentuated on the map. He writes about Kleparz, the burning of which he considers an act of madness, highlights the fortified Kazimierz and a separate Jewish settlement located there, and focuses on the suburb of Stradom. He emphasizes the necessity of moving across the Vistula through bridges and fords, describes the so-called Old Vistula, the former mainstream of the river, and writes about the camp. As a horse rider, he only omits the issues of fortification activities and fails to emphasize the two locations in Kazimierz, even though he was stationed in this town [Gordon, 2005, s. 45–49].

There is one more, extremely suggestive account of the siege of Krakow. The participant of this event was Matthias Palbitzki (1623–1677), a naturalized Swedish nobleman, who came from Pomerania (Słupsk, in German Stolp). After a brief episode of Swedish military service (1642–1643), he travelled across western and southern Europe and the lands of the Ottoman Porte between 1644 and 1648. After returning to Stockholm he led diplomatic missions in Venice, Tuscany, Spain, France, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Germany (Altes Reich), and the Netherlands. He was both an art lover and an art agent [Nisser, 1934; Backhaus, 1992–1994].

We do not know much about what he was doing in the last quarter of 1655, but his surviving notebook with drawings shows that he was with the Swedish army (but not on military duty) in the Commonwealth. He made two drawings near Krakow. The first one shows Wawel, Stradom,

and the clearly accentuated city gate from the perspective of the Augustinian monastery in Kazimierz. The walls of those structures were at the same time a fragment of the city's defensive walls (Fig. 1, points 3, 9, 4, and 16). The second drawing also depicts the castle of Krakow, but it shows the south-western side; the author must have left the walls of Kazimierz. For each drawing he writes the relevant information in Latin, each time emphasizing the risk of life involved in making these sketches. Particularly interesting is the first annotation, in which he mentions that the drawing is "a view of the castle and the city of Krakow made by me, M. Palbitzki, during the siege from the window of the monastery located directly opposite the Augustinian church, when, spotted from the Wawel castle by the enemy, I almost got hit by a bullet from a war machine, and avoided danger only thanks to a monk's warning" [Muczkowski, 1932; Banach, 1983, s. 86–87]⁷.

The coincidence of the recorded locations and the interest in Wawel in both cases may be accidental, especially that the sources contain descriptions in different languages (Latin and Swedish). Nevertheless, Palbitzki appears to be one of the possible authors, all the more so as he had an excellent command of written Swedish, as evidenced in numerous letters and diplomatic reports.

It is indisputable that the author of the map we have published created it on his own, based on his reconnaissance of the area. This is proven by the cartographic awkwardness, as the author could not have used plans previously prepared by Swedish engineers. Such plans had already been made on 16 (26) September, when Charles X Gustav made a reconnaissance of the fortifications [Gordon, 2005, s. 47]. The effects of these measurements were used in the drawing created by Erik Dahlbergh and titled "Cracovia Sedes Regia. Obsessa et a Serenissimo Sueo. Gothorum Rege. Carolo Gustavo deditione Capta d. 8 Octob. 1655" (Fig. 3) [Petrus, 2012, s. 141–143]. The artist is famous for using any sources available to him in his works, which allowed him to make attractive images, even of places that he had never observed [Łopatecki, 2017]. This author also created a second drawing of Krakow depicting a *veduta* of the city with the marked key urban buildings and an extremely precise spatial layout

⁷ "Prospectus arcis et civitatis Cracoviensis delineatus a me M. Palbitzki tempore obsidionis, et ex fenestra monasterii e regione Augustianorum, cum ab hoste ex arce vistus ictu tormenti peterer vixque monitu monachii periculum evaderem" [Muczkowski, 1932, s. 157; Banach, 1983, s. 215].

of the Swedish military camp [Komorowski, 2019, p. 136, 154, 158–159; Ziemierski, 2004]⁸.

A comparison of Dahlbergh's work with the published map leads to the conclusion that they are completely different. An archetype common to both plans (Fig. 1, 3) could not exist, and there is no indication that a Swedish engineer might have made any use of the plan stored in the royal archives. If at least one of these hypotheses were true, one of Dahlbergh's two drawings would have contained the information noted in the plan legend. Undoubtedly, he would have noted the whereabouts of Charles X Gustav; the first incursion and the capture of the gate would have been marked, too. After all, the printed plan shows only one place where the siege trenches were dug, while, according to the published drawing, the fortification yards were located on two sides of Krakow (from the west and from the north).

If we reject the hypothesis about the military significance of this plan and its use for propaganda purposes, only the informational purpose is left. The witness to the siege visualized the space to clarify the narrative related to the siege of the city. Why did the author consider documenting this information worthwhile? Likely this was because of the significance of the event. When Charles X Gustav and the Swedish soldiers crossed the borders of Poland in July and August 1655, they certainly did not expect that in the second half of September they would reach Krakow, which was almost 470 km away to the south-east. Krakow was the most recognized city by foreigners in the entire Commonwealth, as evidenced by existing chorographies. It was emphasized in the chorographies that Krakow was the country's capital. It was to be a rich place, comparable to the most famous German and Italian cities. Suburbia were accentu-

⁸ The work has an almost identical title as its predecessor: "Cracovia Sedes Regia obseſa et a Sereniſſimo Sueo: Gothorum Rege Carolo Gustavo deditionecapta d: 8 Octob. Anno 1655". Based on an analysis of this source, it is clear that Dahlbergh had at least a plan including a layout of Charles X Gustav's troops near the city. Already Jerzy Banach [1983, 113, 115] pointed out that the panorama of Krakow is presented in a mirror image, probably being a copy of the work by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg entitled *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. This was because Dahlbergh had no view of the city from the east (the Swedes were attacking from that side). The establishment of the camp and camp life, on the other hand, is brilliantly portrayed. It was possible thanks to the use of the so-called *ordre de bataile*, the layout plan of the troops near Krakow, part of Dahlbergh's legacy. Riksarkivet Stockholm, Erik Dahlbergssamling, arkicnummer 720269, omslagsnummer 45, bladnummer 1.

ated in the chorographies. Suburbia were other towns near the capital, such as Kazimierz, Kleparz and the settlement of Stradom; the role of the university existing there was stressed [Kromer, 1578, p.47–49; Vigèner, 1573, p.IX–XV; Starovolski, 1652, p.44–59]. A hypothesis might even be put forward that the author of the plan was familiar with the chorography of Szymon Starowolski, who, when describing Wawel, stressed the Royal Archcathedral Basilica of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus with the tomb covered with a golden dome [Starovolski, 1652, p.45–46]. The coincidence of terms and certain abbreviations of thought contained in both texts (see Annex, point 2) make this assumption plausible. It should be stressed that the coronation ceremonies of the kings were also connected with Krakow, and it was there that the symbols of regal authority were kept, and subsequent rulers were inaugurated into office; Wawel was also the place of the rulers' burial [Ochman, 1983; Bues, 2004].

The second element was no less important for the author and concerned documenting warfare. This type of activity was extremely popular in the era, as Helmer Helmers [Helmers, 2016, p.358–363] emphasizes. He stresses that drawings combined with situational descriptions of military actions enabled the European public to observe wars on a regular basis. This points to the combination of cartography and description, increasingly popular in the 17th century, which together was supposed to visualize the presented events. It should also be added that not only were printed drawings used, but it was not uncommon for the correspondence to include copied or hand-made diagrams and plans.

Such cases in Central and Eastern Europe are not unique. Two cartographic sources attached to the letters are known from the military operations of Stefan Batory (king of the Commonwealth in 1576–1586) against Gdańsk. It is known that a map of the Gdańsk area, the mouth of the Vistula River, including the Lighthouse fortress, was made (or rather copied) by the ambassadors of the Elector of Saxony, Augustus Wettin. Unfortunately, the work by Abraham von Bock and Andreas Pauli has not survived. The map prepared on 17 September 1577 by Ferdinand von Schönaich was more fortunate. It presents an isometric view of Gdańsk and the Lighthouse, the military camps and field armies against the background of the river network in the Vistula delta [Behring, 1903, s.104–115; Korzon, 1912, p. 20].

A similar situation occurred in 1615 during the Russo-Swedish War (1610–1617). For example, the future bishop at Västerås, Johannes Rud-

beckius, included a map of the surrounding area with a detailed legend in a letter to a professor of logic at Uppsala University that described the siege of Pskov also [Hallenberg, 1794, p. 1005–1011]. A year later, in two letters, the Lithuanian military commander Aleksander Gosiewski, writing to his superior, Field Hetman Krzysztof Radziwiłł and to the royal court of Zygmunt III, noted that he had attached to his correspondence a map showing the location of Russian and Lithuanian camps and blockhouses around Smoleńsk⁹. Maps were also included in the correspondence by people travelling across Europe. A good example is the Polish nobleman Krzysztof Arciszewski, who, while in the Netherlands, used to send letters to Krzysztof Radziwiłł containing plans for the siege of Breda and maps with the location of the Spanish and Dutch camps. The plans and maps detailed his descriptions of the next stages of warfare [Łopatecki, 2019]¹⁰.

Examples could be multiplied — they testify to the increasing interest in the new form of depicting space, which partly replaces, or rather complements elaborate descriptions. Unfortunately, in the vast majority of cases, the sketches, plans, and maps attached to the correspondence did not survive. The relic published in this article is unique in this respect. Its author shows his stay near the exotic city of Krakow. He presents not only warfare, but also documents his presence at Wawel and the golden dome of the basilica there.

In order to obtain more information about the analyzed work we conducted an analysis concerning the origin of this plan. There is probably a contemporary inscription on the reverse: “d. 7 decemb: Å 1655”. This does not indicate the date of posting; it is rather an annotation by the recipient of the date on which the package was received (it was almost certainly a Julian calendar date). Thus, the approximately 8- or 9-week delivery time indicates that the likely destination was the Scandinavian Peninsula; perhaps Stockholm¹¹. Otherwise, the addressee would probably have used a different language, and the letter to the

⁹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, chapter V, ref. no. 4560/II, p. 20; Riksarkivet Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen, E 8600, k. 72v. Versions of these maps were so popular that even the poet, Jan Kunowski, included one in his poetic work describing the Lithuanian-Russian battles [Łopatecki, 2018].

¹⁰ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, chapter V, ref. no. 190, p. 50, 58.

¹¹ Shipments from the United Provinces to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or to the territory of Livonia arrived even after 80–90 days, which meant an average daily letter travel time of 24 km [Łopatecki, 2019, p. 267–268].

Swedish estate located on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea would have reached its addressee faster.

Both the surviving 20th-century archival annotation on the back of the plan and the cardboard wrapper in which this relic was stored contain information that this source was removed from archival materials. The archivists' decision to separate cartographic sources from archival material and place them in new, specially created units was common throughout Europe at least until the end of the interwar period. In Riksarkivet, a unit entitled “~ Kartor” is attached to the individual groups, where all the plans and maps that were removed (inconsistently, by the way) are stored.

Theoretically, finding the document from which a map or plan was extracted into a separate unit is not a difficult task. In fact, on the wrapper and the reverse there is information about the original place of storage of the source. We followed the advice of the archivists; yet, in the indicated unit we failed to find any document that could be linked with the plan¹². Searching further units within the group that dealt with the year 1655 we found the location of the original storage of the cartographic source¹³. The plan was part of the documentation produced by the Swedish administration concerning the siege of Poznań and Krakow. It was included in a separate fascicle entitled: *accords puncteremellan Feltmarskalken Gr. Wittenberg och åtskillige Polske Magnater wid Posens och Cracous öfvergång. in Octobri 1655* (“Points of agreement between Field Marshal Count Wittenberg and some Polish magnates at the surrender of Poznań and Krakow in October 1655”).

The first item in the fascicle was the original act of surrender, signed and sealed by Stefan Czarniecki and Arvid Wittenberg, dated Kazimierz, 7 October (according to the old style) 1655. It was followed by the clue that we were looking for, the so-called “Hänvisningsblad,” about the transfer of the plan of the siege of Krakow to another archival unit keeping cartographic sources (which was to happen in 1933). Next, there was a mandate from Charles Gustav issued from Kazimierz near Krakow on 7 (17) October 1655, addressed to the Swedish troops, in which the king

¹² Riksarkivet Stockholm, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), M 1304.

¹³ Riksarkivet Stockholm, Militaria, 2 (Krigshistriska samlingen 1500t–1800t), XI (Karl X Gustavs krig. Polskakriget 1655–1660), M 1297. The unit does not have pagination.

informed them of the approval of the act of surrender and called for the fulfilment of its points. The fascicle also contained the concepts of this mandate, rough drafts of the act of surrender in various variants, a list of noblemen of the Krakow province signing a separate agreement with Wittenberg in two copies, safe conduct issued by Hieronim Radziejowski, instructions for colonel Hans Böddeker and many other documents not very much related to the siege of Krakow.

The problem is that the units are not paginated or stitched together, which means that any negligent user of the “Hänvisningsblad” card could reposition it elsewhere, although this was unlikely to happen within different units. There are few letters that were also tri-folded and additionally matching in date. However, none of them are matching in terms of damage or content. The most likely hypothesis is that this plan was inserted much later into the diplomatic and military documentation related to the surrender of Krakow. The addressee received the shipment with the map on 6 December 1655, and then, in circumstances that are difficult to reconstruct, the map itself (without the letter) ended up in the official Swedish state records. Therefore, it is impossible to unambiguously determine the sender and the addressee of the work.

To sum up, the author of the plan must have been an educated person with considerable spatial imagination based on frequent use of various maps and plans. This person's intellectual horizons are evidenced by the knowledge of the chorography of the Commonwealth by Szymon Starowolski. One might assume that the author of the map and the accompanying description had something to do with the operation of the military lazaret noted on the plan (Fig. 1, point 16) — perhaps a physician. This is also evidenced by the lack of engineering and cartographic fundamentals, which the officers must have mastered at least to a basic extent. On the other hand, the Augustinian monastery appears to be the place from which the most curious Swedes observed Wawel and Krakow, as shown by Matthias Palbitzki's example. This outstanding diplomat and art connoisseur may as well have been the author of this map. It is worth noting that the legend was written in Swedish, which indicates that both the sender and the addressee were Swedes, not the numerous enlisted foreigners from the German Altes Reich [Tessin, 1965].

Finally, we would like to stress that this is another example of a custom popular in the late 16th century and in the first half of the 17th century: attaching maps and plans to correspondence. This item can be treated

in terms of a contemporary postcard, in which the author symbolically showed the place where he was staying; hence, there is the background of Krakow, Kazimierz, Kleparz, Stradom and, above all, Wawel. This source, however, served primarily to provide more precise details of the described event (in this case, the siege). Creating the legend in Swedish is also an interesting solution and may be associated with the desire for a wider reception of the work¹⁴. Unfortunately, an analysis demonstrated that after the plan was included in the state documentation related to the surrender of Krakow, it was not used in any way for propaganda purposes. The research has shown that this is a reliable and at the same time the oldest surviving plan of the Krakow area, which was created between 1 and 7 October (11–17 October) 1655.

REFERENCES

- Backhaus H., Palbitzki M. *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 28. Ed. G. Nilzén. Stockholm, 1992–1994. S. 558–559.
- Banach J. *Dawne widoki Krakowa*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983. 238 s.
- Bartoszewicz A., Bartoszewicz H. Dzieje kartografii miast polskich do końca XIX wieku. Zarys problematyki. *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*, 45(3), 2013. S. 236–255.
- Behring W. Contributions to the history of the year 1577. II: The reports of the envoys of the Electorate of Saxony, Abraham von Bock and Dr. Andreas Pauli on the peace mediation between King Stefan Batory and the city of Gdańsk. *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 45, 1903. P. 1–136.
- Bues A. The Elections, Coronations and Funerals of the King of Poland. *Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1–2. Ed. J.R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O’Kelly, M. Shewring. London: Ashgate, 2004. P. 375–385.
- Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930. Catalogue of Manuscript Sources in Swedish Collections to the History of Polish Territories*. Compiled by U. Ehrensvärd. Warsaw–Stockholm: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2008. 365 p.
- Cederlöf O. Polish landscapes by Erik Dalbergh. *Studia I Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 19(2), 1973. P. 217–229.
- Dahlbergh E. *Erik Dahlbergh’s diary (1625–1699)*. Uppsala–Stockholm: Almqvist & Wikselis Boktryckeri, 1912. 286 s.
- Englund P. *The invincible. On the Swedish age of great power and those behind it*. Stockholm: Atlantis, 2000. 797 p.

¹⁴ With a high degree of writing skills in pre-industrial Sweden and the much more common reading skills, which preceded writing skills. Unfortunately, more accurate data come from the late 17th and 18th centuries [Johansson, 2009].

- Gordon P. *The diary 1635–1659*. Transl. D. G. Fedosov, ed. by M. R. Ryzhenkov. Moscow: Nauka Publ., 2005. 280 p. (In Russian)
- Hallenberg J. *History of the Kingdom of Sweden during the reign of King Gustav the Great*. Bd. IV. Stockholm: Johan A. Carlbohm, 1794. 1044 p.
- Harley J. B., Zandvliet K. Art, science, and power in sixteenth-century Dutch cartography. *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization*, 29(2), 1992. P. 10–19.
- Helmers H. Cartography, War Correspondence and News Publishing: The Early Career of Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1610–1630. *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by J. Raymond, N. Moxham. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016. P. 350–374.
- Isacson C.-G. *Charles X Gustav's war. The campaigns in Poland, Germany, the Baltic States, Denmark and Sweden 1655–1660*. Lund: Historiska media, 2004. 286 p.
- Johansson E. The History of Literacy in Sweden. *Understanding literacy in its historical contexts: Socio-cultural history and the legacy of Egil Johansson*. Ed. by H. J. Graff, A. Mackinnon, B. Sandin, I. Winchester. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009. P. 28–59.
- Kersten A. *Stefan Czarniecki 1599–1665*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2006. 662 s.
- Kochowski W. *The years of the Deluge 1655–1657*. Ed. by A. Kersten, transl. L. Kukulski. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, 1966. 450 s.
- Koeman C., Schilder G., Egmondvan M., Krogvan der P. Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1672. *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, pt. 2: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*. Ed. by D. Woodward. Chicago-London: University of Chicago, 2007. P. 1296–1383.
- Komorowski W. Portrait vistas of the Old Polish Krakow in the research on the city's history. Image, sign, symbol, text. *Zapiski Historyczne*, 84(1), 2019. P. 135–167.
- Korzon T. *The history of wars and the military in Poland. The pre-partition period*. Vol. 2. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1912. 532 p.
- Krawczuk W., Miodunka P., Nabiałek K. *The history of Wojnicz from the 16th to the 18th centuries*. Wojnicz: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ziemi Wojnickiej, 2009. 523 p.
- Kromer M. *Poland or on the location, customs, offices and the Commonwealth, volume two*. Coloniae: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1578. 210 p.
- Łopatecki K. The first poetic military treatise with a map — The relief of Smoleńsk by Jan Kunowski. The use of cartography in operational activities (1616–1617). *Rocznik Lituanistyczny*, 4, 2018. P. 41–75.
- Łopatecki K. *The state of research on the assessment of the credibility of drawings by Erik Dahlbergh. The state of research on the multicultural heritage of the Commonwealth*. Eds W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki. Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2017. P. 183–204.

- Łopatecki K. The influence of maps and plans created in the 1620s in the Netherlands on the development of military concepts in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 34(4), 2019. P. 253–283.
- Marczak J., Sarzyński A. Dome of the Sigismund's Chapel at the Wawel Cathedral. *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, 18, 2005. P. 42–52.
- Muczkowski J. Two unknown vistas of the Wawel Castle. *Rocznik Krakowski*, 23, 1932. P. 159–162.
- Nagielski M., Kossarzewski K., Przybyłek Ł., Haratym A. *Swedish destruction in the Crown during the Deluge of 1655–1660*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015. 572 p.
- Nisser W. *Mathias Palbitzki as connoisseur and drawing artist*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitets årsskrift, 1934. 154 p.
- Nowak T. The defence of Krakow by Stefan Czarniecki in 1655. *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 9, 1963. S. 59–124.
- Nowak T. *The Krakow Operation of King Charles X Gustav 17 September — 19 October 1655. The Polish-Swedish War 1655–1660*. Ed. J. Wimmer. Warszawa: Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1973. P. 207–258.
- Ochman S. Coronation of Jan Kazimierz in 1649. *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 28, 1983. S. 135–159.
- Petrus K. Cartographic relics from the second half of the 17th and early 18th centuries as sources for the research on spatial transformations of the western suburbs of Krakow. *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura*, 109, 2012. P. 139–150.
- Pufendorf S. *Seven volumes about the deeds of Charles Gustav, King of Sweden*. Ed. by and transl. W. Krawczuk. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013. 654 p.
- Ranotowicz S. *Description of the Swedish incursion into Poland and Krakow*. Ed. by J. Mitkowski. Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1958. 24 p.
- Stade A. *Erik Dahlbergh and the history of Charles X Gustav's war*. Kristianstad: Militärhistoriska Förlaget, 1967. 447 p.
- Starovolsci S. *Poland or a description of the location of the Commonwealth*. Dantisci: Sumptibus Georgii Försteri, 1652. 309 p.
- Tersmeden L. The army of Charles X Gustav — an organizational outline. *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 19(2), 1973. P. 125–170.
- Tessin G. *The German regiments of the Swedish Crown, part 1 (1654–1660)*. Koln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1965. 355 p.
- The Historical Atlas of Polish Cities and Towns*, vol. 5, no 1: *Kraków*. Ed. by Z. Noga. Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2007. 95 p.
- Vigène B. *The description of the Kingdom of Poland and the neighbouring countries with the statutes, constitutions, customs and ways of adopting them*. Paris: Jean Richer, 1573. 94 p.

Ziemierski M. The view of the Swedish siege of Krakow in 1655 by Erik Jönsson Dahlberg, interpretation issues. *Krzysztofora. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, 22, 2004. P. 34–42.

Кароль Лопатецкий

Университет в Белостоке, Польша

Войцех Кравчук

Ягеллонский университет, Польша

ШВЕДСКИЙ ПЛАН ОСАДЫ КРАКОВА В 1655 ГОДУ

Для цитирования: Łopatecki K., Krawczuk W. The Swedish plan of the Siege of Krakow in 1655 // Скандинавская филология. 2021. Т. 19. Вып. 2. С. 400–421. <https://doi.org/10.21638/11701/spbu21.2021.212>

В статье представлена неизвестная карта Кракова и его окрестностей с прилагаемым описанием на шведском языке, хранящаяся в настоящее время в Национальном архиве Швеции (Riksarkivet) в Стокгольме. Анализ обстоятельств создания данного источника указывает на то, что он был создан 1–7 октября 1655 года. Таким образом, это самая древняя из известных карт с приложенной легендой, на которой изображен не только Краков, но и соседние города Клепаж, Казимеж и пригород Страдом. Этот документ был прикреплен к письму, которое не сохранилось и, как мы предполагаем, было отправлено на Скандинавский полуостров. Мы рассматриваем этот памятник картографии, как попытку изобразить военные события в эпистографическом послании посредством двумерного картирования пространства, дополненного легендой. Мы помещаем это явление на более широкий фон мировоззренческих трансформаций того времени, сформированный набирающими все большую популярность атласами и печатными картами. Эта работа не имела военно-тактического значения и не использовалась в пропаганде Шведского королевства. Основной целью ее создания было задокументировать, по мнению автора карты, события. Карта и подробная легенда должны были завершить эпистографическое сообщение, которое было явлением, встречавшимся в переписке дипломатической и военной элиты XVII века. Автор плана должен был быть образованным человеком со значительным пространственным воображением, основанным на частом использовании карт и планов. О его интеллектуальных горизонтах свидетельствуют, среди прочего, знание хорографии Речи Посполитой авторства Шимона Старовольского (Кельн 1632 г. и Гданьск 1652 г.). Мы выдвигаем гипотезу, что вероятным создателем карты был Матиас Палбицкий, дипломат и знаток искусства.

Ключевые слова: легенда (картография), критическая картография, эпистография, Вторая Северная война, шведы в Польше, Краков, документация войн раннего Нового времени, хорография.

Karol Łopatecki

PhD in History, Postdoctoral Qualification in Law, Associate Professor,
University of Białystok,
20B, Świerkowa, Białystok, 15 328, Poland
E-mail: k.lopatecki@uwb.edu.pl

Wojciech Krawczuk

PhD and Postdoctoral Qualification in History, Associate Professor,
Jagiellonian University,
13, Gołębia, Krakow, 31 007, Poland
E-mail: wojciech.krawczuk@uj.edu.pl

Received: June 14, 2021
Accepted: September 3, 2021

APPENDIX

The legend can be found at the bottom of the plan. Neo-Gothic minuscule with individual words written in humanist minuscule.

Notar(um) Explica(ti)o. — [*Explanation of the notes*]

1. Slottet. — [*castle*]

Comment: *virtually the entire defensive establishment. The map shows the castle walls, which were located above the embankment by the Vistula River.*

2. S. Stanisl(ai) cu(m) Capella aurata Tegell(ata). — [*the Cathedral of Saint Stanislaus with the gold-domed chapel*]

Comment: *the author refers to the Royal Archcathedral Basilica of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus on the Wawel Hill, to which the Sigismund's Chapel was added.*

3. Sielfwa huusett. — [*the building itself*]

Comment: *this is the castle building.*

4. Porten der attaquett i förste dagarne skedde för än fienden satte elden på husen i Stradom. — [*the gate that was attacked on the first days before the enemy set fire to the houses in Stradom*]

Comment: *This is the Grodzka Gate, now non-existent, located at the exit of Grodzka Street.*

5. En Port och Thorn ruinerat af våra Stücken, där och brechen ähr skutin. — [*Gate and tower ruined by our guns and cannons; this is where a hole was shot*]

Comment: *this is the Nowa Gate and the Bakers' Tower at the end of Sienna Street.*

6. G(ene)ral Würtz Approcher. — [*General Würtz's siege trenches*]

Comment: *this refers to Paul Würtz (1612–1676), the future governor of Krakow.*

7. Battarier. — [*batteries*]

Comment: *Swedish gun and cannon batteries.*

8. den Porten K(ungliga). M(ajestät). sigh först bemechtigede. — [*the king captured this gate first*]
 Comment: *number “8” is missing on the plan. Given the fact that the first gate captured by the Swedes in Krakow was the one recorded under no. 4, this probably refers to the first gate captured in Kazimierz (Bocheńska Gate). Two such items are noted on the plan.*
9. Förstaden Stradom afbrendh där nu ware Soldater logera. — [*the suburb of Stradom that has been burned down, where our soldiers are now quartered*]
 Comment: *Stradom was officially a suburb of Kazimierz (from 1419).*
10. Förstaden Clepardh afbrendh. — [*the Kleparz suburb that has been burned down*]
 Comment: *from 1366 an independent town, it did not have defensive walls.*
11. Andra huus afbrende. — [*other houses that have been burned down*]
 Comment: *this refers to the destruction of separate enclaves located to the west of the town walls (Grabary, Biskupie).*
12. Jude Staden. — [*Jewish Town*]
 Comment: *Jan Olbracht removed the Jews from Krakow in 1495 and moved them to the former village of Bawół. The Jewish settlement was clearly separated from Kazimierz, i.a. by a fence and a stone wall.*
13. Casimirs. — [*Kazimierz*]
 Comment: *a town since 1335, Kazimierz had defensive walls.*
14. Broo öfwer Weichseln. — [*bridge over the Vistula River*]
 Comment: *it was a permanent bridge with a wooden structure, called the Royal Bridge, connecting Krakow with Stradom, across the Old Vistula River.*
15. Clöster der K(ungliga). M(ajestät). logerar. — [*the monastery where the king lives*]
 Comment: *The Monastery of the Canons Regular in Kazimierz.*

16. Clöster för våra siuka Soldater. — [*the monastery for our sick soldiers*]
Comment: *the Augustinian monastery located in Krakow's Kazimierz with the adjoining Church of St Catherine of Alexandria and St Margaret.*
17. Wårt läger. — [*our camp*]
Comment: *the Swedish camp.*
18. Weichselströhmen. — [*Current of the Vistula River*]
Comment: *at the level of Krakow and Kazimierz there are two currents: the northern, so-called Old Vistula (until the 16th century it was the main branch) and the proper, southern one. At the time of the siege, the levels of the currents were low.*
19. En Flottbroo af våra slagen öfer Weichseln. — [*the pontoon bridge built by our soldiers over the Vistula River*]
Comment: *a Swedish temporary military bridge built with connected boats or barges.*
20. Crakow. — [*Krakow*]
Comment: *a legally separate city since 1257.*