



The catalogue of architectural objects

Jean-Yves Blaise, Iwona Dudek

► To cite this version:

Jean-Yves Blaise, Iwona Dudek. The catalogue of architectural objects. Architectural transformations on the Market Square in Krakow. A systematic visual catalogue, AFM Publishing House / Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, 2016, 978-83-65208-47-7. halshs-01951524

HAL Id: halshs-01951524

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01951524>

Submitted on 11 Dec 2018

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Architectural transformations on the Market Square in Krakow

A systematic visual catalogue

Jean-Yves BLAISE

Iwona DUDEK

The catalogue of architectural objects

Section two sums up what we know of each object's evolution (localisation, lifeline and transformations, sources, illustrations, visualisations, *etc.*). The presentation we have adopted is this of a *catalogue*, with for each object the following content:

- Each object is identified by means of a *leading name*. When possible, we have tried to list the main alternative names, used at one time in history to identify the object.
- The object's relative localisation inside the Market Square is presented on a schematic map. For some objects, the localisation is approximate : it is represented as a "probability cloud".
- The information (facts and hypotheses) concerning the object's evolution over time is described in a twofold way. Short paragraphs mention the historical context (function and role of the object, details about guilds, crafts, *etc.*). *Chronological charts* then list historical sources backing up each transformation in a condensed way.
- Three different visualisations are used to summarise and distribute in time various doubts concerning the dating of events, the occurrence of a given event, or possible consequences of a given event.
- In the majority of cases we have also inserted illustrations showing how the objects may have looked like at each step of their evolution.

This catalogue lists only individual architectural objects the existence of which is confirmed at least by the one of the following criteria: a) archaeological relics; b) at least one textual source describing the artefact in a way that excludes the possibility of it being only a function inside another architectural object; c) iconographical or cartographical sources (excluding hypothetical reconstructions).

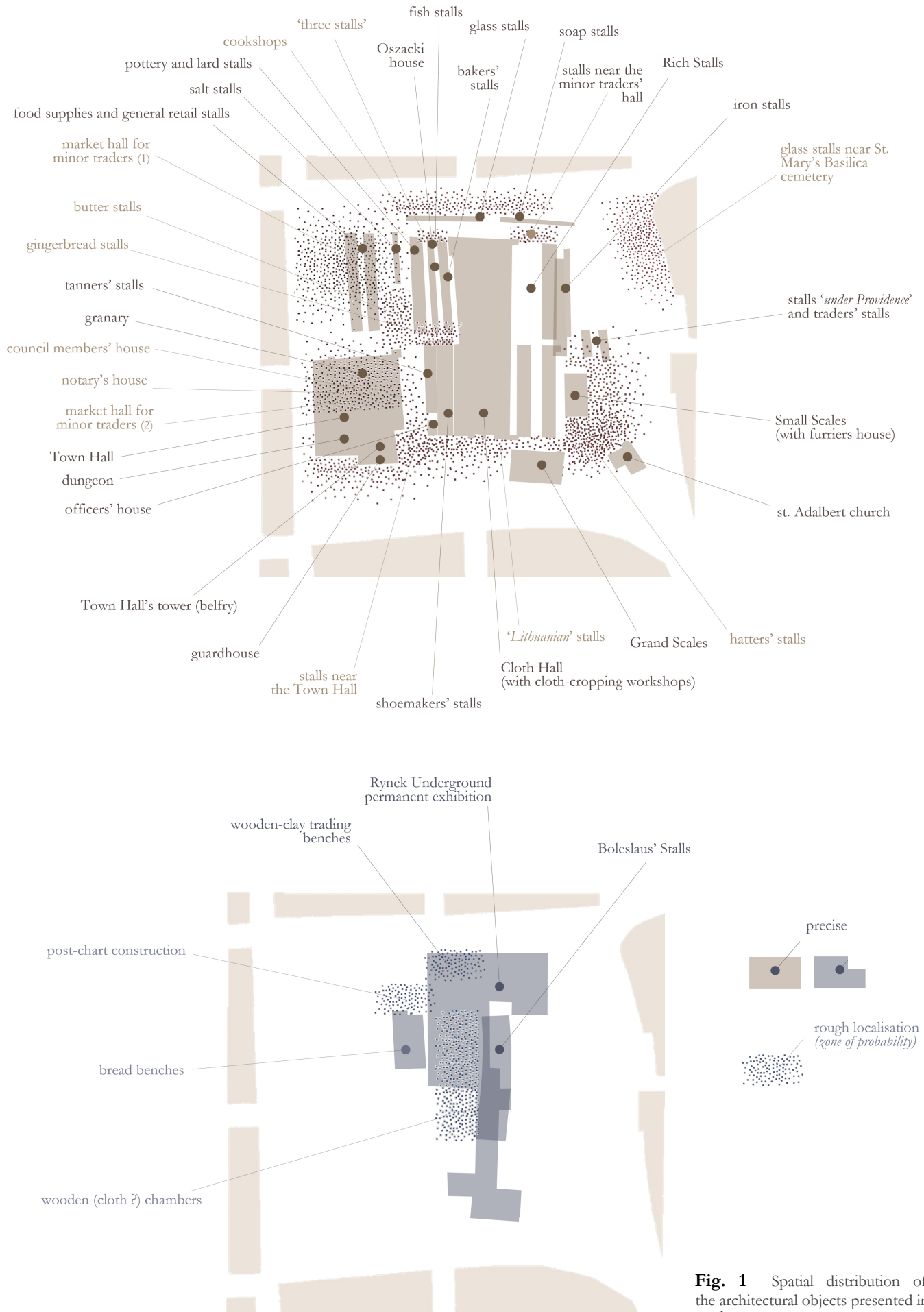


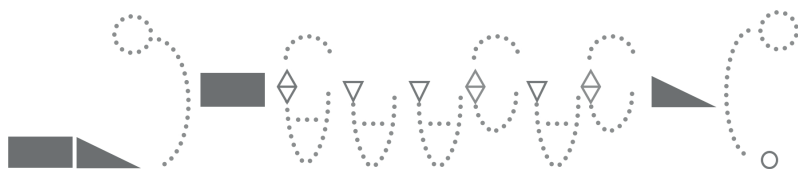
Fig. 1 Spatial distribution of the architectural objects presented in the catalogue.

[aut. I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

The catalogue's architectural objects (alphabetical order)

Contents

bakers' stalls / <i>jatki piekarskie</i>	47
Boleslaus' Stalls / <i>kamienne kramy handlowe (bolesławowskie)</i>	55
bread benches / <i>ławy chlebowe</i>	59
butter stalls / <i>kramy masłane</i>	65
Cloth Hall (with cloth-cropping workshops) / <i>Sukiennice (z postrzygalniami)</i>	67
cookshops / <i>kramy warzeczne</i>	79
council members' house / <i>dom ławników</i>	81
dungeon / <i>kabaty</i>	83
fish stalls / <i>jatki rybne</i>	89
food supplies and general retail stalls / <i>jatki wielorakie</i>	93
gingerbread stalls / <i>kramy kicblarskie</i>	99
glass stalls / <i>kramy szklarskie</i>	103
glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery / <i>kramy szklarskie koło cmentarza NMP</i>	107
granary / <i>spichlerz</i>	111
Grand Scales / <i>Wielka Waga</i>	117
guardhouse / <i>odwach</i>	125
hatters' stalls / <i>kramy kapelusznicze</i>	131
iron stalls / <i>kramy żelazne</i>	133
'Lithuanian' stalls / <i>kramy litewskie</i>	137
market hall for minor traders / <i>smatruż</i>	139
notary's house / <i>dom notariusza</i>	143
officers' house / <i>dom oficerski</i>	145
Oszacki house / <i>domek Oszackich</i>	147
post-chart construction / <i>budowla połokacyjna</i>	151
pottery and lard stalls / <i>jatki garncarskie i sadelne</i>	153
Rich Stalls / <i>Kramy Bogate</i>	159
Rynek Underground permanent exhibition / <i>Rynek Podziemny</i>	167
salt stalls / <i>kramy solne</i>	169
shoemakers' stalls / <i>jatki szewskie</i>	175
Small Scales (with furriers house) / <i>Mała Waga (z domem kuśnierskim)</i>	181
soap stalls / <i>kramy mydlarskie</i>	189
St. Adalbert church / <i>kościół św. Wojciecha</i>	195
stalls 'under Providence' and traders' stalls / <i>kramy pod Opatrznością i kramy kramarskie</i>	201
stalls near the minor traders' hall / <i>budy pod Smatrużem</i>	205
stalls near the Town Hall / <i>kramy przed Ratuszem</i>	209
tanners' stalls / <i>jatki garbarskie</i>	211
Town Hall / <i>Ratusz</i>	217
'three stalls' / <i>trzy kramiki</i>	225
Town Hall's tower (belfry) / <i>Wieża Ratuszowa</i>	227
wooden (cloth ?) chambers / <i>drewniane kramy (sukienne ?)</i>	237
wooden-clay trading benches / <i>drewniano-gliniane ławy kramarskie</i>	241



A removed single-storey commercial building built of wood. It was used to sell bread.

* * *

baker (*pistor*) [1], (backmann, backster, baxter, beck, becker, furner) [2]

* * *

There were *white* and *black* bakers. Whites bakers were *citizens of Krakow*: they could bake both ‘white’ bread (from wheat flour), and ‘dark’ bread (from rye flour). By contrast, black bakers had their headquarters *outside the city walls*: they were only allowed to bake ‘dark’ bread.

Bread could be sold only in the stalls located on the Market Square, and never directly from a baker's workshop, a bakery or on the streets. Selling the bread was a task entrusted to women only. [3]

* * *

The masters of the bakers' guild were wealthy. ... *in the rear of the houses of bakers, besides bakeries and warehouses of flour and cereals there were large pigsties, in which bakers kept a big number of pigs. Breeding pigs was facilitated by the fact that bakers had a significant amount of bran at their disposal, as well as superfluous unsold bread.* ...

In 1468 the town council ordered bakers:... *to graze their pigs only outside the city walls under penalty of one 'ferton' [4]. The pasturing should be supervised by swineherds. It was stipulated that if a pig was found to be running on the Market Square or on the streets of the city, it would be seized without delay. ... [5]*

* * *

In 1545, statutes of the bakers in Krakow: ... *prescribed that stoves should not be larger [?] than 2174 ells, and forbade baking bread twice a day.* ... [6]

* * *

In 1575, the bakers guild's house was located on *Mikolajska* street, close to the New Gate. [7]

Visual measure of complexity for the *bakers' stalls*.

The diagram for the bakers' stall is unsurprisingly close to this of its neighbour (in time and space) the pottery and lard stalls.

Long and complex, it underlines the considerable number of doubts that remain concerning the artefact's evolution (three confirmed transformations with unknown consequences, and three potential transformations – *i.e.* based on circumstantial evidences).

The doubts concerning ‘identity’ are represented by two forks – the first fork underlines doubts concerning the first chain of evolution of the bakers stalls, the second one informs that archaeological relics discovered in this location were not explicitly identified.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Jellonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578–1591)*, T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998, p. 244

Note 2. cf. *A List of Occupations*, [on-line] Ancestry.com, <<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~usgwkidz/oldjobs.htm>>, accessed 04 II 2013

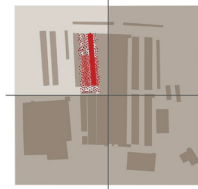
Note 3. cf. *Dzieje najstarszego cechu w Polsce.*, (2006) [on-line] Forum piekarzy, piekarnictwa i branż piekarniczych, <<http://www.forum.opp.pl/viewtopic.php?p=437>>, accessed 25 II 2010

Note 4. *Ferton* – an old/ancient Polish coin equal to the fourth part of a value of the current basic fine.
cf. Słownik Języka Polskiego [on-line] <<http://www.sjp.pl/ferton>>, accessed 05 III 2013

Note 5. cf. *Dzieje najstarszego...*, op. cit.

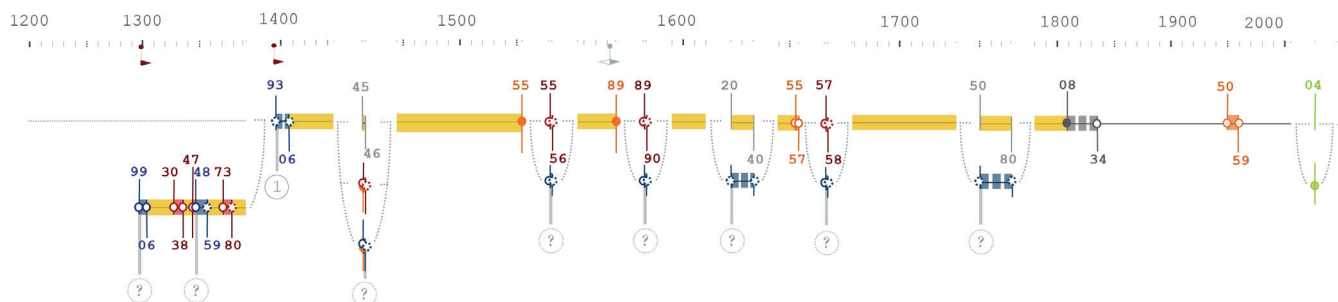
Note 6. cf. Chotkowski M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV wieku.*, Kraków 1891, p. 47

Note 7. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część I (1568–1577)*, T. V, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1997



bakers' stalls / *jatki piekarskie*

<i>stacione pistorum</i>	[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]
<i>bancos panus</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 23]
<i>banca panis</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 33]
<i>insitias pistoris</i>	[Jelonek-Litewka K., et al., 1997, p. 92]
<i>ławy (jarki) chlebowe</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]
	[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]
<i>jatki piekarskie</i>	[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]



?

<p>(1309–1310) – Eastern building built out of fir wood, trees cut down after 1308.</p> <p>(1284–1310) – Western building built of pine and fir wood, trees cut down after 1283, 1308 and 1309.</p> <p>[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]</p> <p>Eastern building constructed after 1302 – 1308, and western building after 1299 – 1309.</p> <p>[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]</p> <p>The buildings were constructed at the beginning of the 14th century.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 23]</p> <p>1306 – Władysław Łokietek grants Krakow mayors' Albert and Henry the right to charge rents from 'bread stalls'.</p> <p>[<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i>, 2006, pdf]</p> <p>In the passageway between the two buildings a coin dating back to Władysław Łokietek (1320–1333) was found.</p> <p>[Reyman-Walczak B., 2006, p. 174]</p>	<p>Construction of two longitudinal commercial buildings situated alongside the nowadays Cloth Hall.</p> <p>These buildings were separated by an interior passageway with a gutter made with pine boards. Traces of stoves and presence of various grains suggest that these buildings could be the <i>bread benches</i>.</p> <p>[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]</p> <p>Two hypotheses should be considered:</p> <p>a) the bread benches were the first element in the bakers' stalls evolutionary chain – cf. <i>bread benches</i>;</p> <p>b) the bread benches were an independent object.</p> <p>first quarter of the 14th century – The bread benches are mentioned (29 notes with the names of owners).</p> <p>[Tyszka P., 2001, p. 99]</p> <p>2004 – Archaeological excavations of bread benches (<i>bancos panus</i>, <i>banca panis</i>) revealed: two wooden buildings (fir wood) forming two parallel, 30 meters long rows, with an interior passage (3 meters wide). Maximal width of each building does not exceed 5 meters.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008], [Niemiec D., 2008, pp. 85–86]</p> <p>2004 – Archaeological excavations revealed that: both building were constructed out of wood of coniferous trees, ground beams were placed directly on the ground without traces of underpinning; the ground beams were supported by crosswise beams in the corners; the interior of the buildings was constituted of a dirt floor, hardened with broken bricks and roof tiles mixed up with sand and clay.</p> <p>[Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90], [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 49–57, pp. 129–137]</p> <p><i>stacione pistorum</i> [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
---	--

1306 [Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf]

Władysław Łokietek grants Krakow mayors Albert and Henry the right to charge rents from 'bread stalls'.

[Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf]

1358 [Bartoszewicz K., 1890, p. 8]

King Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality (22 bread stalls). The king expresses the wish that 'the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings'.

[Bartoszewicz K., 1890, p. 8]

1358 [Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf] Casimir III the Great allows bakers to grind flour in their own mills or in the mills belonging to the municipality.
[Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf]

?

1394, 1441 and 1451 – information about bread benches
[Tyska P., 2001, pp. 105, 123]

1376 ? – 1402 – transformation of the nearby Cloth Hall

These commercial facilities could have been abandoned around the middle of the 15th century, as well as in the second half of this century.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89]

1393 ??
1406 ?? at the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries – town's expenses on the neighbouring pottery stalls (*casae lutifigulum*) and reform of the bread trade.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1406 – construction of 20 stalls for the potters' guild
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

in use until the beginning of the 15th century
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

Removal of the bread benches, probably as a consequence of a raising of the ground level on the Market Square (which resulted in a number of inconveniences – difficulty of access though the original openings, differences in level between the outside and the floor ground of commercial spaces, ...).
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 91]

The bread benches were in use until the beginning of the 15th century.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

The bread benches were in use until the end of the Middle Ages.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 23–24]

1394, 1441, 1451 – Information about 'quarters' (*quartalis*) of bread benches mentioned in sources, suggests they had a cross-shaped layout. (*quartalis versus cameras pannorum, quartalis versus garrulatorium*)
[Tyska P., 2001, p. 123]

Later, on this location were built the stalls, that functioned until the 19th century.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]

1

1373–1380 – Repairs in the bread benches buildings (see *bread benches* section) and banking up of its floor ground.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89], [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

Early *bread benches* (that previously occupied this zone) were used until the beginning of the 15th century.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

Bread benches (or bakers' stalls) mentioned in the second half of the 14th century.
[Tyska P., 2001, p. 101]

1393 ??
1406 ?? at the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries – town's expenses on the neighbouring pottery stalls (*casae lutifigulum*) and reform of the bread trade.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1406 – construction of 20 stalls for the potters' guild
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

before the middle of the 14th century – construction or maintenance of the ensemble of bread benches with a cross-shaped arrangement
[Dryja P., et al., 2010, p. 185]

1376 ? – 1402 – transformation of the nearby Cloth Hall

Approximate period of construction of the bakers' stalls (taking over from the early *bread benches* ?), corresponding to a reform of the bread trade.

Two hypotheses have been proposed:

- The bakers' stalls are arranged in two parallel rows of buildings with an intersecting passageway (cross-shaped arrangement). The pottery stalls are an independent building, located to the north of the bakers' stalls and perpendicularly to them.
[Tyska P., około 1450, il. 5], [Tyska P., 2001, p. 118]
- The bakers' stalls and the pottery stalls are located in one single ensemble (cross-shaped arrangement). The pottery stalls are situated in the northern part of the ensemble.
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [MHmK, 1450–1478]

Considering how scarce sources are, other possibilities could be thought of.

second half of the 14th century – two parallel rows of buildings – at least 14 stalls in each of them – with an intersecting passageway.
[Tyska P., 2001, p. 101]

1394, 1441, 1449 – Information about 'quarters' (*quartalis*) of 'bread benches' mentioned in sources, suggests they had a cross-shaped layout. (*q.versus cameras pannorum, q. versus garrulatorium*).
[Tyska P., 2001, pp. 113, 123–124]

1431–1476 – 10 notes about 'bread benches' (34 different stands are mentioned)
[Tyska P., 2001, p. 112]

1444 – 1445 – The north-west end of the bread benches is mentioned as being close to the market hall for minor traders (*versus garrulatorium*).
[Tyska P., 2001, pp. 123–124], [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 6]

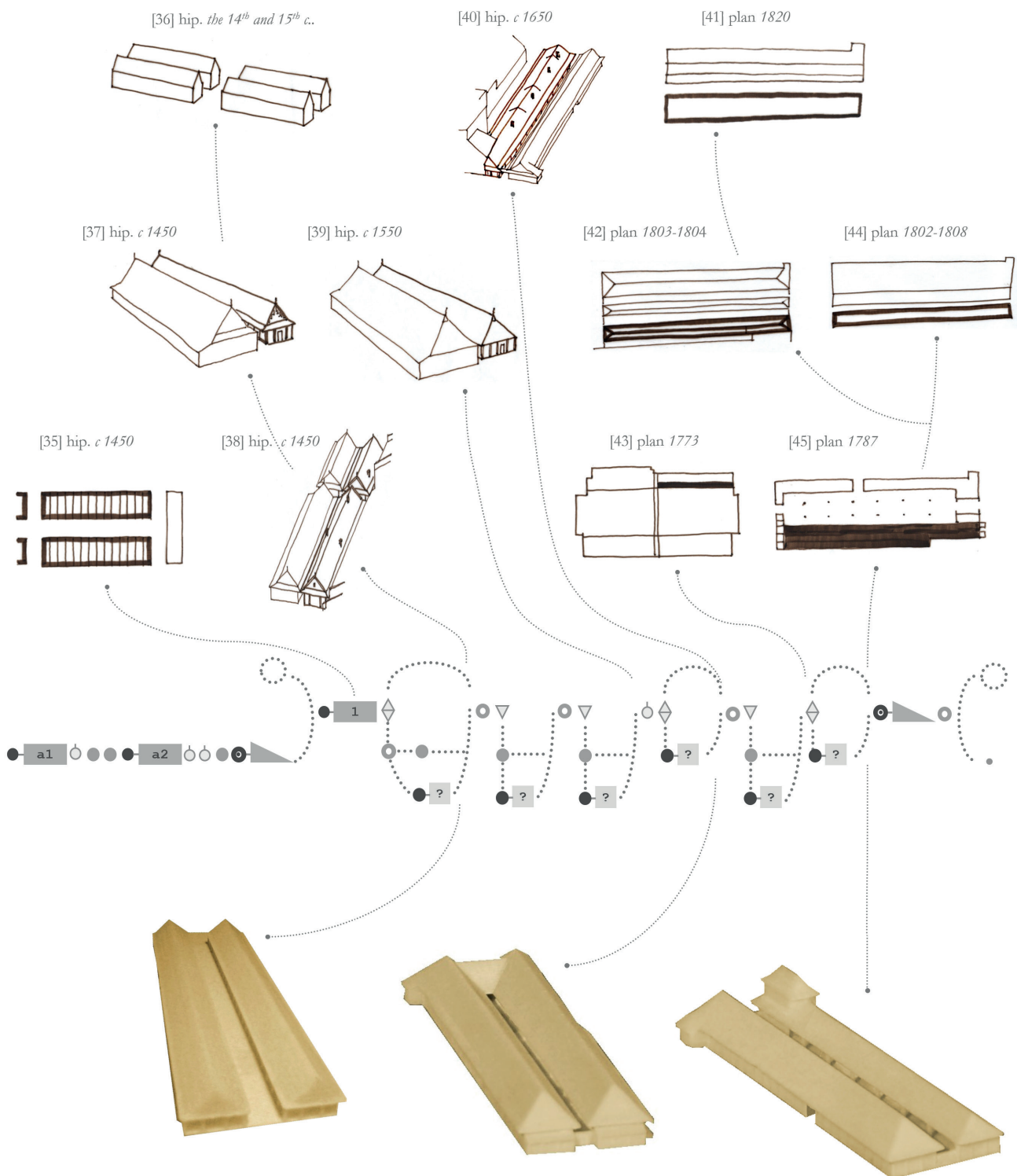
Some of the hypothetical reconstructions propose a cross-shaped asymmetric arrangement (the northern quarters are shorter).
[MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyska P., 1390–1410, il. 1], [Tyska P., 1390–1399, il. 2], [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 6], [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 5], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

		<p>The market hall for minor traders (located in the north-western part of the Market Square) is destroyed by fire. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 40, 52, 247]</p> <p>The bakers' stalls were also located in that zone, the possibility that they caught fire should not be excluded.</p> <p>1445 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52] In 1446, 1447 and 1455 the west part of bread benches is mentioned as being close to the stands of the salt traders (<i>salicide</i>). [Tyska P., 2001, pp. 1, 17–188]</p> <p>In 1446, the pottery stalls are mentioned to be situated perpendicularly to the bread benches and to the Cloth Hall. [Tyska P., 2001, pp. 112, 118]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 5]</p>
	?	<p>Possible reconstruction of the stalls.</p> <p>wooden structure [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141]</p> <p>1445 ? 1446, 1447 and 1455 – bread benches (or bakers' stalls) are localised close to 'salt benches' (<i>salicide</i>). [Tyska P., 2001, pp. 117–188]</p> <p>1446 ? 1542 – The Town's rental accounts mention 23 'bread stalls'. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., <i>Makieta...</i>, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., <i>Rynek krakowski...</i>], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p>
		<p>1555 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]</p> <p>Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – a portion of the bakers' stalls catches fire and burns. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]</p>
	?	<p>1555 – fire [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]</p> <p>1555 ? A trade facility on the Market Square 1556 ?? was indispensable for bakers, presumably they did not wait a long time before reconstructing.</p> <p>Repairs after the fire.</p> <p>wooden structures [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [MHmK, II pol. XVI w.], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 189], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p>
		<p>1589 07 March 1589 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]</p> <p>Fire of the shoemakers' stalls. The bakers' stalls catch fire and a portion of them burn. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]</p>
	?	<p>1589 ? 1590 ??</p> <p>Reconstruction of the wooden stalls.</p>
		<p>1614 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]</p> <p>The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p>
	?	<p>1620 ?? A hypothetical restitution showing the 1640 ?? Market Square around 1650 shows such a brick building attached to the western wall of Syndrówka. [Civitas..., 2007]</p> <p>Construction of a two-storey brick building attached to the western wall of Syndrówka could introduce some modifications (<i>i.e.</i> shortening) of the bakers' stalls.</p> <p>two-storey brick building, two windows facing the north</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban 103], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban 17]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007]</p>

	<p>1655 ? 1657 ?</p> <p>1655–1657 – during the Swedish occupation of Krakow [<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i>, 2006, pdf]</p>	<p>Partial dismantling of the bakers' stalls.</p> <p>Swedish soldiers used wood from the bakers' stalls as firewood. ... <i>Youth and journeymen of the bakers' guild, outraged by the oppression and violence of the Swedish soldiers, as well as by the dismantlement and confiscation of the bakers' stalls the wood of which Swedes used as firewood, were eager to undertake actions against the invader, attacked and insulted the Swedes, to such an extent that the City Council had to invite the senior members of the bakers' guild to "...admonish your brothers and ask them to behave modestly, ask them not to say any old thing and not to answer them [Swedes] back..."</i> [<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i>, 2006, pdf]</p>
<p>?</p>	<p>1657 ? 1658 ??</p> <p>after the Swedish army left the town</p>	<p>Reconstruction of the stalls, either in the same or in a modified form.</p> <p>1667 – listed as a municipal property [plan 1667 JG]</p> <p>1773 – The overall width of the northern group of stalls (<i>i.e.</i> bakers' stalls and pottery stalls) appears as smaller than this of the southern group of stalls (<i>i.e.</i> shoemakers' stalls and tanners' stalls). [plan 1700_1773], [plan 1773], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1773_Derisha]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1700_1773], [plan 1773], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1773_Derisha]</p>
<p>?</p>	<p>1750 ?? 1780 ??</p> <p>1750–1790 – Fish stalls were constructed on the Market Square only in the second half of the 18th century. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p> <p>1773 – Maps show that the northern group of stalls (bakers' and pottery stalls) is less wide than the southern group (shoemakers' and tanners' stalls). [plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha]</p> <p>1785 – The northern group of stalls (bakers', pottery and fish stalls) wider than the southern group of stalls (shoemakers' and tanners' stalls). [plan kółtająowski 1785]</p>	<p>Possible modification of the stalls arrangement due to the introduction of the fish stalls.</p> <p>1785 – The northern group of stalls is represented as three parallel rows of buildings – this group of stalls seems to be wider than before. [plan kółtająowski 1785]</p> <p>1787 – ... <i>Just by the Cloth Hall in a long and narrow building were the bakers' stalls...</i> [Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8], [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1787 – The bakers' stalls are described as aligned with the shoemakers' stalls – white bread is sold here. They are compared to the shoemakers' stalls (a vaulted and stone/brick building). However it is hard to say what exactly is comparable (position, height, shape, <i>etc.</i>). [Murray E., 1787, pp. 123–124]</p> <p>1796–1809 – In front of the bakers' stalls and the fish stalls were the lard stalls and the pottery stalls. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p> <p>1797 – The bakers' stalls are mentioned. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]</p> <p>1802–1808 – Two groups of building are represented, separated by an uncovered passage running from the south end on two thirds of their length. [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808]</p> <p>1803–1804 – The northern group of stalls is represented as three parallel rows of buildings. [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1807–1808 – An inventory of real estate in Krakow mentions the bakers' stalls as number 11, <i>all in wood and in a bad state</i>. It is described as being longer (54 fathoms, approx. 96 meters) than the pottery stalls (51 fathoms, <i>e.i.</i> approx. 91 meters). [Münch H., 1959, p. 11]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 93]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan kółtająowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>

R	1808 1834 ?	<p>1808 – Dismantling of 33 bakers' stalls. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p> <p>Until 1837, iconographic sources do not allow to confirm that the bakers' stalls were completely removed. [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p> <p>Plans [plan 1832–1836] and [plan 1834] show some constructions in this part of the Market Square.</p> <p>The stalls are not represented on the <u>1834</u> plan. [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1850 – Some constructions are visible on a painting (It is not clear though, whether they correspond to the bakers' stalls or not). [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p>	<p>Dismantling of the bakers' stalls (33 stalls were removed). [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93], [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>Some stalls could be preserved until 1837 – some constructions are still visible behind the <i>Oszacki house</i>. [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127] i [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p> <p>1807–1808 – An inventory of real estate in Krakow mentions the bakers' stalls as demolished (number 11, <i>Bäckers Kräme</i>). The German text adds: <i>municipal property, close to the Cloth Hall, entirely of wood and in bad condition</i>. Length recorded: 54 (local) fathoms (around 96 meters) [Münch H., 1959, p. 11]</p> <p>1808 – Dismantling of 33 bakers' stalls that were falling into ruins as a result of negligence. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p> <p>1817 – Marked as a stone and brick built building. [plan 1817]</p> <p>1820 – A row of stalls meant to be removed is represented. [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>1834 – A row of stalls is still represented. [plan 1834]</p> <p>1834 – The building is not represented. [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1840 – The building is not visible behind the Oszacki house on a drawing, but this could be due to the painter's will to privilege foreground objects. [Brodowski, 1840, PIK.1752]</p> <p>The dismantlement of the wooden stalls on the western part of the Market square in May 1854 followed the resolution of the Town Council (from December 2nd 1851). Buildings were to be dismantled progressively, at the end of renting contracts. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1], [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p> <p>iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119]?, [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]?, [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	1950 ? 1959 ?	<p>in <u>the fifties of the 20th century</u> [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p>	<p>Destruction of (a part?) of the archaeological layers during the construction of a sewage system. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
	2004	<p>2004 [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141] [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 223], [Zaitz E., 2006]</p> <p>August / September 2004 [Firllet E., 2010, p. 16]</p>	<p>Archaeological explorations during a change of paving on the Market Square. Exploratory works inside the zone occupied by the stalls (E. Zaitz). [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [Zaitz E., 2006]</p> <p>Relics of a Gothic stone wall attributed to one of the stalls (<i>“fish, lard traders’ or bakers’”</i>) were found. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p> <p>Archaeological excavations (E. Zaitz) – relics of wooden buildings (bread benches) dated back to the 14th century were found. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]</p> <p>iconography: [XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il. 62], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 49], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 50]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>



[CNRS, *Tactichronie*, 2009]

Graph of potential interactions for the bakers' stalls – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. Graphics concerning the bread benches (possible antecedents of the bakers' stalls) are shown independently (*cf.* bread benches). The data concerning the artefact's early form and arrangement is scarce. Several hypothetical solutions are discussed and they generally propose a global hypothesis for the whole northern group of stalls (pottery and fat stalls, fish stalls, gingerbread stalls and bakers' stalls).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Boleslaus' Stalls / kamienne kramy handlowe (bolesławowskie)



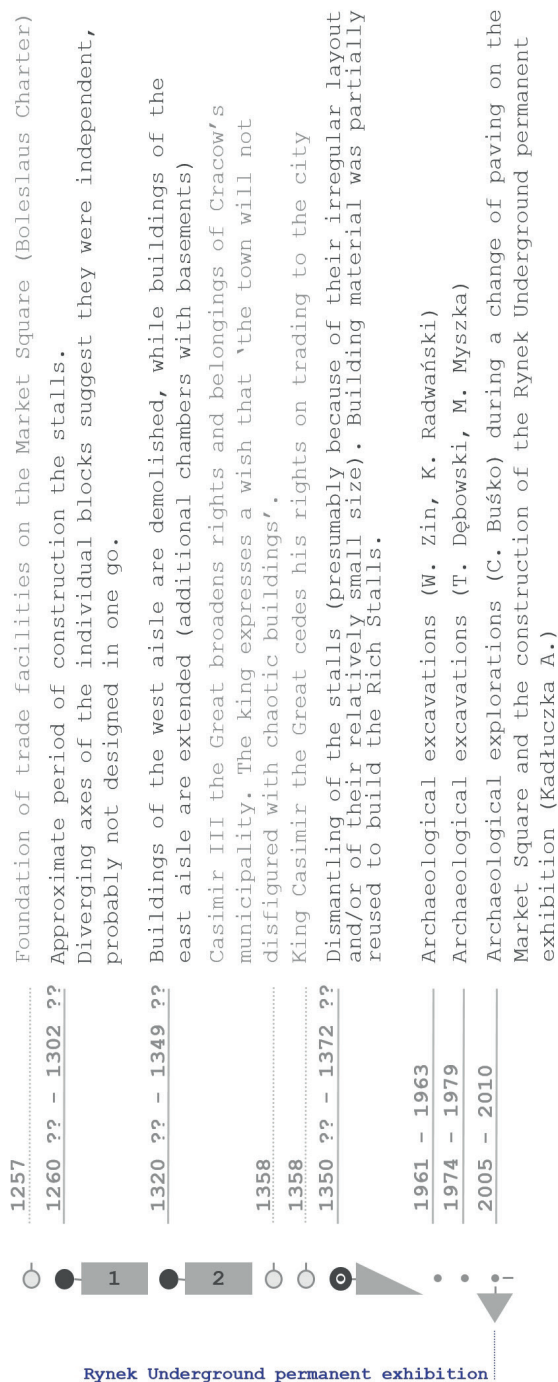
Visual measure of complexity for the *Boleslaus' Stalls*.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram

There are however serious differences of interpretation concerning the filiation of these stalls (*cf. chronological chart*).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

An ensemble of stone trading buildings – their exact function is still a moot point. A fragment of their relics is exposed to the public inside the *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition*.



Graph of potential interactions for the *Boleslaus' Stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

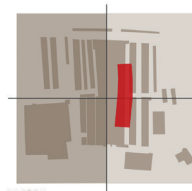
Two phases of development have been identified.

The stalls did not last very long, and were most probably fairly quickly removed in order to leave the place for the Cloth Hall and the Rich Stalls.

The relics of the *Boleslaus' Stalls* have been investigated three times over the years. The most recent archaeological studies were undertaken together with the construction of the underground structures designed for the *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition*. Fragments of the artefact's relics are now a part of the exhibition. The remaining relics were preserved.

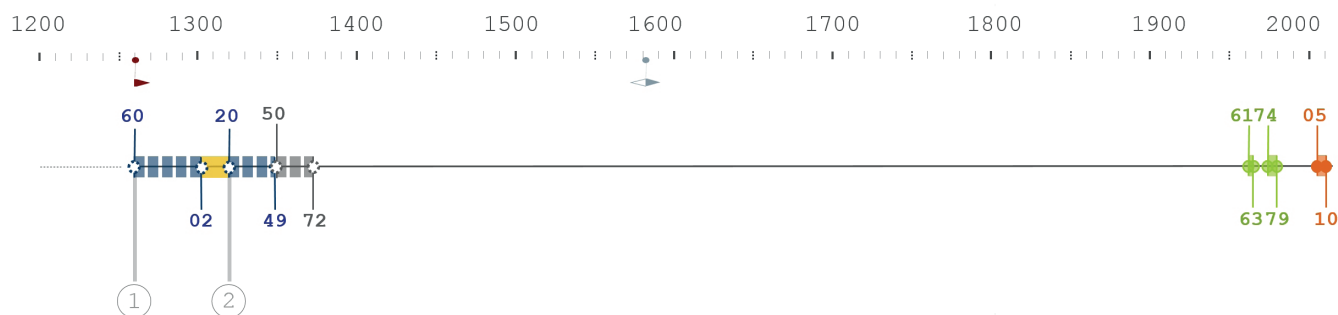
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Boleslaus' Stalls / kamienne kramy handlowe (bolesławowskie)



kramy Bolesławowskie

[Strona Podziemia Rynku, [on-line] *Plan podziemi*]



1257
05 VI 1257
[KDMK I, nr I, p. 1]
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]

Foundation of trade facilities on the Market Square (Boleslaus Charter).
[KDMK I, nr I, p. 1], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]

1

after 1257
[Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]

Following 1979 archaeological investigations by Dębowski and Myszka, construction dated as contemporary of either Wacław II (1291–1305) or Łokietek (1306–1333).

1260 ?? [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]
1302 ?? probably during the second half of the 13th century
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 20, 243], [Buško C., 2007, p. 227]

1302 – a document mentions *cloth chambers*
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 24]

Approximate period of construction the stalls.

Diverging axes of the individual blocks suggest they were independent, probably not designed in one go.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 24], [Buško C., 2007, p. 227]

a) The stalls should be considered as the first phase of the *Cloth Hall*.
(Sudacka A.)

b) The stalls should be considered as the first phase of the *Rich Stalls*.
(C. Buško)

c) The evidence is not sufficient at this stage to associate Boleslaus' Stalls either with the Cloth Hall, or with the Rich Stalls. In the context of this catalogue the use of these names does not refer only to functions. It implies an undeniable and continuous lifeline connecting phases of evolution of an artefact that retains and preserves an 'identity' (never mind the variations of form). This concept of 'identity' should not be restricted to the function of an edifice: it encompasses a variety of notions such as location, name, social and symbolic aspects, function, *etc.*

A cross-shaped arrangement of stone built buildings with an intersecting pathway and an interior paved street; the first storey partially in a basement (2/3 of its height are underground), without direct access from the outside
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]

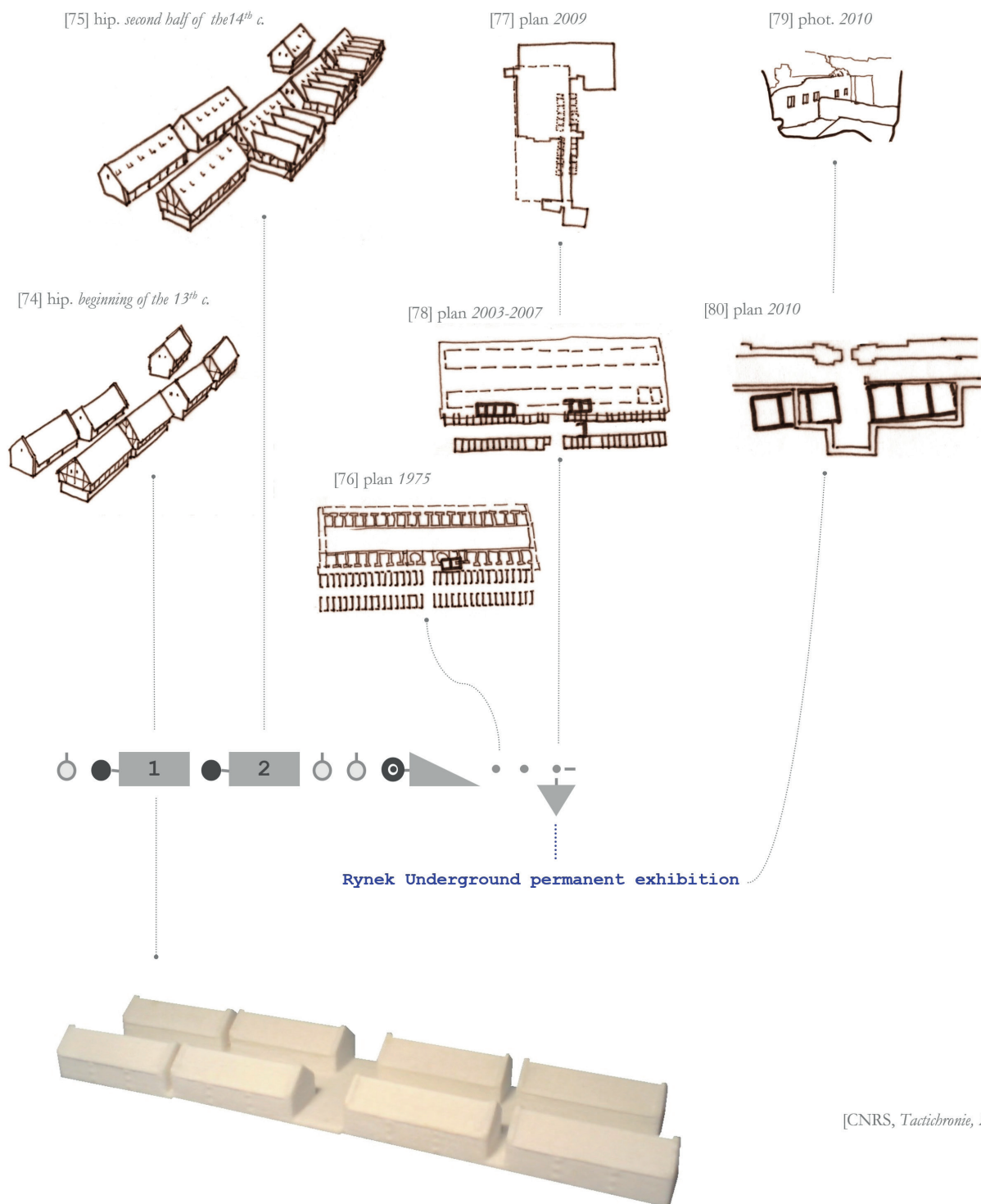
A two-storey ensemble of stone buildings, with ground floors embedded partially in the ground (2/3 underground), without access from the outside.
second level: most likely wooden-clay constructions used for various trading purposes. A 5 meters wide axis street divided the ensemble and was not aligned with the Market Square's frontages. It was originally unpaved – probably paved starting from the middle of the 14th century.
[Buško C., 2007, p. 227]

iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 20], [XX., 2010, UMCS]

maps and plans: [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2009]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, faza I, pocz. XIII w.], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 101], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 115, il. 3], [XX, Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 114]

2	1320 ?? 1349 ??	<p>before the middle of the 14th century [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 164]</p> <p>not later than the middle of the 14th century [Dryja P., et al., 2010, p. 185]</p> <p>second half of the 14th century [Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]</p>	<p>Buildings of the west wing are demolished, while buildings of the east wing are extended (additional chambers with basements). [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, pp. 164, 168], [Dryja P., et al., 2010, p. 185], [Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]</p> <p>maps and plans: [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2009]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, faza II, przed 1350], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 102], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 115, il. 3]</p>
	1358 1358	<p>[Kraków. Nowe studia..., 2007] [Wikipedia, <i>Kalendarium historii Krakowa</i>]</p> <p>[KDMK I, nr XXXII, p. 36] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p>	<p>Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality. The king expresses a wish that <i>'the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings.'</i></p> <p>King Casimir III the Great cedes his rights on trading (on the Market Square) to the city.</p>
R	1350 ?? 1372 ??	<p>The stalls remain until the <u>sixties or seventies of the 14th century</u>. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 235–236, 243]</p> <p>The stalls remain until the <u>middle of the 14th century</u>. [Buško C., 2007, p. 229]</p> <p>1376 ?? – 1402 – construction of the Gothic Cloth Hall [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 235–237]</p> <p>The stalls were demolished around the <u>middle of the 14th century</u>. [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 168]</p>	<p>Dismantling of the stalls – presumably because of their irregular layout and (or) of their relatively small size. Building material was partially reused to build the Rich Stalls. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 235–236, 243], [Buško C., 2007, p. 227]</p> <p>The Rich stalls were built over the eastern row of the Boleslaus' Stalls. [Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]</p>
	1961 1963	<p>[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85] [Zin W., Grabski W., 1966]</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations (W. Zin, K. Radwański) – fragments of stalls were identified. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]</p> <p>The fragment was identified as belonging to the first Cloth Hall, and dated back to king Bolesław Wstydlivy (Boleslaus the Chaste). [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1975]</p>
	1974 1979	<p>1975–1979 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]</p> <p>1974 – archaeological investigations by Teofil Dębowski and Marian Myszka [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations (T. Dębowski, M. Myszka) [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]</p> <p>The fragment was identified as belonging to the first Cloth Hall, and dated back to kings Waclaw II or Władysław Łokietek. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]</p>
S	2005 2010	<p>beginning of 2005 [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]</p> <p>Investigations started in August 2005. [Buško C., 2007, p. 225]</p> <p>2005 – 2010 – archaeological works and change of paving [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]</p> <p>27th September 2010 – the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> opens</p>	<p>Archaeological explorations (C. Buško) during a change of paving on the Market Square and the construction of the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> (Kadłuczka A.). [Buško C., 2007, p. 227], [Kadłuczka A. 2006, p. 66]</p> <p>Conservation and adaptation of the underground relics of the stalls in the context of the museum exhibition. [Hajok D, Gazeta Wyborcza, 11 XI 2010], [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010], [Mamica M., 2005–2006]</p> <p>Four groups of chambers – lower level preserved only, up to where beams were engaged in the wall – can be interpreted as relics of chambers mentioned in the 1257 Boleslaus Charter. [Kadłuczka A. 2006, p. 66]</p> <p>Fragments of the stalls are now embedded inside the newly built <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i>.</p> <p>iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 20], [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 223], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 10], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 9], [Woch B., 2009, MHmK] [XX., 2010, UMCS], [Marciniak A., <i>kamienne kramy</i>, 2007–2010]</p> <p>maps and plans: [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, WK 19/2006, il. 12], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan 2009]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *Boleslaus' Stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Two phases of development have been identified for this object. Although the ensemble's layout has been unveiled during archaeological investigations, the form of the stalls remains hypothetical.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *bread benches*.

This simple and short diagram underlines the fact that there are no differences in the interpretation of the data.

[aut. I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A removed wooden building, situated in the west part of the Market Square, that was most probably used to sell bread. Its layout and assumed function are known thanks to archaeological relics.

baker (backmann, backster, baxter, beck, becker, furner)[1] (*pistor*) [2]

The 1394 statutes of the Krakow guild of bakers prescribed that... *a baker or a brewer at whose place a false weight or measure would be found, will lose the right to exercise his job for one year. In case of repeated transgressions against the norms a baker was supposed to be expelled from the town.* ... [3]

A Town Council's regulation from December 1405, established that... *after the upcoming Christmas, no baker should hold more than a dozen of pigs – all pigs exceeding the prescribed number would be confiscated by the Town* ... This draconian rule was commuted in January 1406 – a baker could hold up to 16 pigs, and another household member had the right to keep up to 14 pigs (30 pigs in total). Pigs exceeding this number should be donated to a hospital. [4]

The act from 1405 stated that ... *a baker who baked too small rolls was punishable by up to two months of closing of his bakery.* ... [5]

Under article 20 of the bakers' guild statutes from 1458, ... *anyone in the guild, who would leave a meeting of the guild without the permission of senior members, or stand up to them, would be fined 3 grosz. Therefore, acts of the guild prohibit entering the guild assembly with any kind of weapon.* ... [6]

In the medieval society, black (rye) or white (wheat) bread, was the staple diet, and considered also as goodies for children. Medieval medicine recommended that children should eat unleavened bread or bread made from millet in order to build up their natural immunity. [7]

Note 1. cf. *A List of Occupations*, [on-line] Ancestry.com, <<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~usgwkidz/oldjobs.htm>>, accessed 04 II 2013

Note 2. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578–1591)*, T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998, p. 352

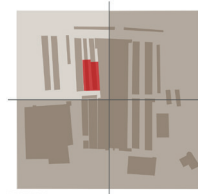
Note 3. cf. Chotkowski M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV wieku.*, Kraków 1891, pp. 18–19

Note 4. *Ibidem*, p. 9

Note 5. *Ibidem*, pp. 14–15

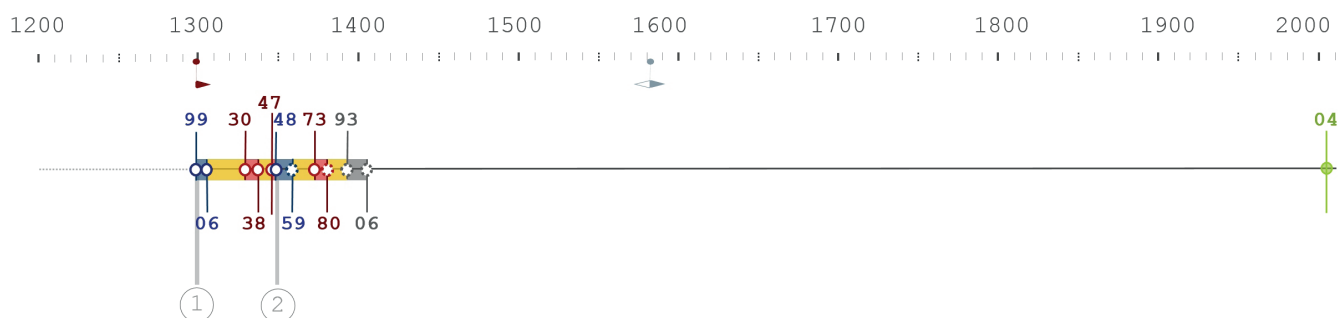
Note 6. *Ibidem*, pp. 35–36

Note 7. cf. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Dossier pédagogique – L'enfance au Moyen Age*, [on-line], <<http://classes.bnf.fr/ema/grands/051.htm>>, accessed 15 X 2010



bread benches / *lawy chlebowe*

<i>acione pistorum</i>	[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]
<i>kramy chlebowe</i>	[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]
<i>bancos panus</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 23]
<i>banca panis</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 33]
<i>scampa panis</i>	[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 109]



1

(1309–1310) – Eastern building built out of fir wood, trees cut down after 1308.

(1284–1310) – Western building built of pine and fir wood, trees cut down after 1283, 1308 and 1309.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

Eastern building constructed after 1302–1308, and western building after 1299–1309.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]

1299 ?
1306 ?
The buildings were constructed at the beginning of the 14th century.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 23]

1306 – Władysław Łokietek grants Krakow mayors' Albert and Henry the right to charge rents from 'bread stalls'.
[Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf]

In the passageway between the two buildings a coin dating back to Władysław Łokietek (1320–1333) was found.
[Reyman-Walczak B., 2006, p. 174]

Construction of two longitudinal commercial buildings situated alongside the nowadays Cloth Hall.

These buildings were separated by an interior passageway with a gutter made with pine boards. Traces of stoves and presence of various grains suggest that these buildings could be the *bread benches*.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]

first quarter of the 14th century – The bread benches are mentioned (29 notes with the names of owners).
[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 99]

2004 – Archaeological excavations of bread benches (*bancos panus*, *banca panis*) revealed: two wooden buildings (fir wood) forming two parallel, 30 meters long rows, with an interior passage (3 meters wide). Maximal width of each building does not exceed 5 meters.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008], [Niemiec D., 2008, pp. 85–86]

2004 – Archaeological excavations revealed that: both building were constructed out of wood of coniferous trees, ground beams were placed directly on the ground without traces of underpinning; the ground beams were supported by crosswise beams in the corners; the interior of the buildings was constituted of a dirt floor, hardened with broken bricks and roof tiles mixed up with sand and clay.
[Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90], [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 49–57, pp. 129–137]

stacione pistorum [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]

maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]

1306 [Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf]

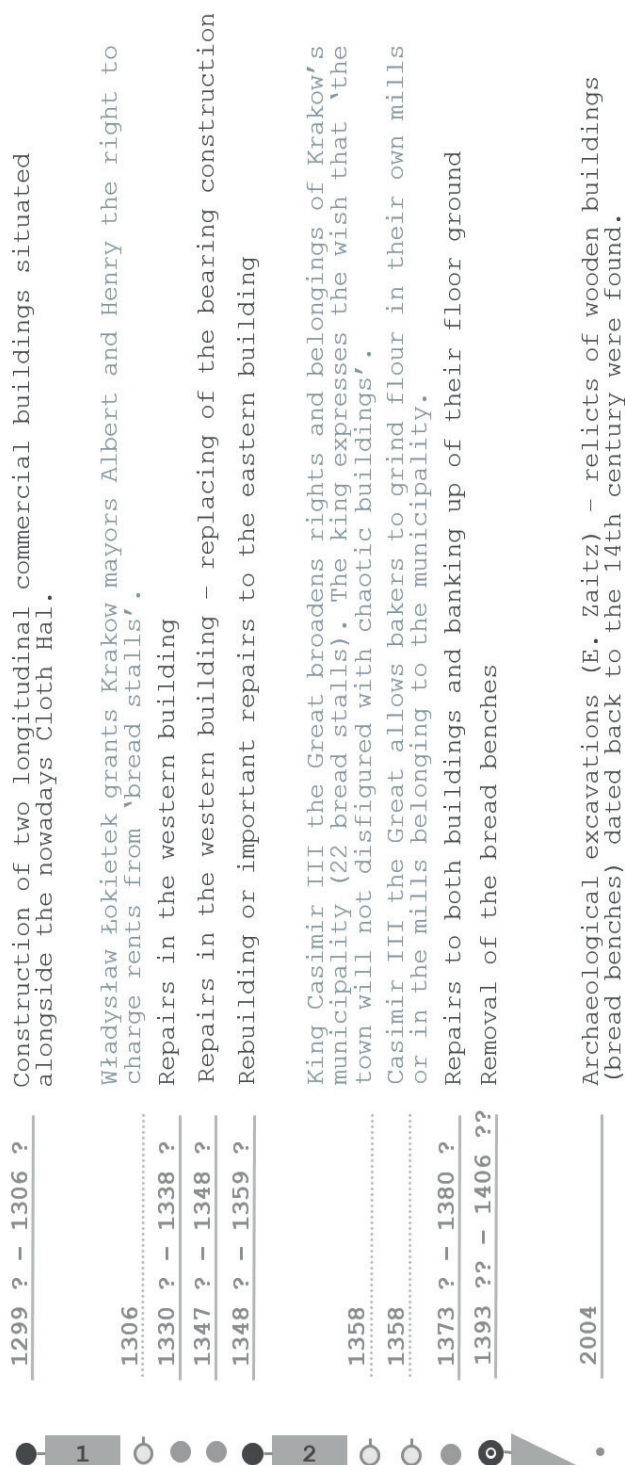
Władysław Łokietek grants Krakow mayors Albert and Henry the right to charge rents from 'bread stalls'.
[Dzieje najstarszego..., 2006, pdf]

Pine and larch cut down between 1330 and 1338, fir and larch cut down in 1329 and 1330.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]
Repairs took place between 1330 and 1338.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]

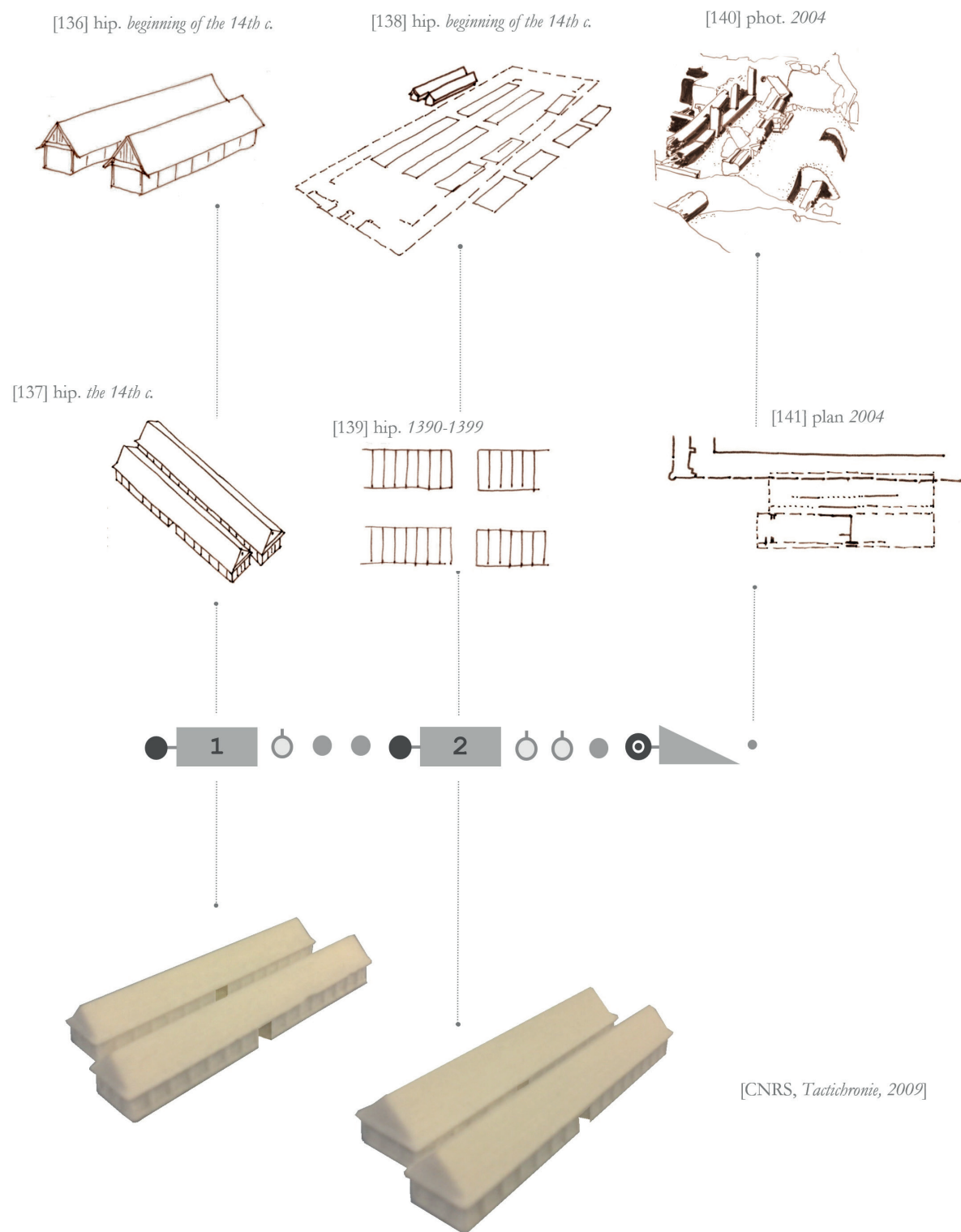
Repairs in the western building – pine wood, fir wood and larch wood were used.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86], [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90]

	1347 ?	1346 – [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86] after 1346 – [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]	Repairs in the western building – replacing of the bearing construction (changed for oak wood). [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]
2	1348 ? 1359 ??	The oak wood used in repairs was cut down between 1347 and 1357. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86] 1347–1357 – repairs in the eastern building, 1353–1355 – repairs in the western building, [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89] Note: dendrological dating gives us an idea when the trees were cut, but not when the wood was actually used for the transformation of the bread benches.	Rebuilding or important repairs to the eastern building. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89] The structure of the eastern building was partially replaced. The west wall of the eastern building was moved (about 1,5 meter) towards the western building, thereby narrowing the passageway. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86] second half of the 14th century – Notes mentioning the bread benches could be interpreted in the following way: <i>the bread benches formed two parallel rows of buildings, each row consisted of at least 14 stalls.</i> [Tyszką P., 2001, p. 101] iconography: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 49], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 50] hypothetical reconstructions: [Bojęs-Białasik A., <i>Rekonstrukcja...</i> , 2008], [Bojęs-Białasik, <i>Szkic...</i> , 2008], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 101] maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 2], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 1]
	1358	[Bartoszewicz K., 1890, p. 8]	King Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality (22 bread stalls). The king expresses the wish that <i>'the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings.'</i> [Bartoszewicz K., 1890, p. 8]
	1358	[<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i> , 2006, pdf]	Casimir III the Great allows bakers to grind flour in their own mills or in the mills belonging to the municipality. [<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i> , 2006, pdf]
	1373 ? 1380 ??	wood used in repairs to the eastern building – oak cut down after 1372–1373 wood used in repairs to the western building – cut down in 1373 [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86] The western building was repaired after 1372–1373, and the western building in 1373. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89]	Repairs to both buildings and banking up of their floor ground. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89], [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86] Probably after 1373 the interior level of the bread benches was banked up (more than 50 cm). [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90] iconography: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 49]
R	1393 ?? 1406 ??	1394, 1441 and 1451 – information about bread benches [Tyszką P., 2001, pp. 105, 123] 1376 ?–1402 – transformation of the nearby Cloth Hall These commercial facilities could have been abandoned around the middle of the 15th century, as well as in the second half of this century. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 91]	Removal of the bread benches, probably as a consequence of a raising of the ground level on the Market Square (which resulted in a number of inconveniences – difficulty of access though the original openings, differences in level between the outside and the floor ground of commercial spaces, ...) [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 91]

	<p>dismantled in <u>15th c.</u> [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89]</p> <p><u>at the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries</u> – town's expenses on the neighbouring pottery stalls (<i>casae lutifigulum</i>) and reform of the bread trade. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]</p> <p><u>1406</u> – construction of 20 stalls for the potters' guild [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]</p> <p>in use <u>until the beginning of the 15th century</u> [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]</p>	<p>The bread benches were in use until the beginning of the 15th century. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]</p> <p>The bread benches were in use until the end of the Middle Ages. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 23–24]</p> <p>1394, 1441, 1451 – Information about 'quarters' (<i>quartalis</i>) of bread benches mentioned in sources, suggests they had a cross-shaped layout. (<i>quartalis versus cameras pannorum, quartalis versus garrulatorium</i>) [Tyska P., 2001, p. 123]</p> <p>On this location were built the stalls, that functioned until the 19th century. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]</p>
2004	<p><u>2004</u> [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 223], [Zaitz E., 2006]</p> <p>August / September <u>2004</u> [Firlert E., 2010, p. 16]</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations (E. Zaitz) – relicts of wooden buildings (bread benches) dated back to the 14th century were found. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 49], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 50]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *bread benches* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Two phases of development have been identified, as well as two groups of recurring transformations (repairs). The period of removal of the benches is approximate.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *bread benches* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. Hypothetical restitutions of both evolutionary steps of the bread benches are based on results of archaeological excavations.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

butter stalls / *kramy maślane*



Removed, most probably wooden commercial installations situated in the west part of the Market Square between the Town Hall and the salt stalls – their form and structure remain unknown.

Home-made butter was meant for consumption but not necessarily as a fresh product, it was often melted and salted. It is quite common to find in inventories and accounts used to describe pantries, notes mentioning quantities for *this year's pots of butter* and *last year's pots of butter*. [1]



Visual measure of complexity for the *butter stalls*
No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram – this however can be due to scanty sources.
Until now no relics could be attributed to the *butter stalls*.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Wyczański A., *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI wieku i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Instytut Historii PAN, PWN, Warszawa 1969, p. 20

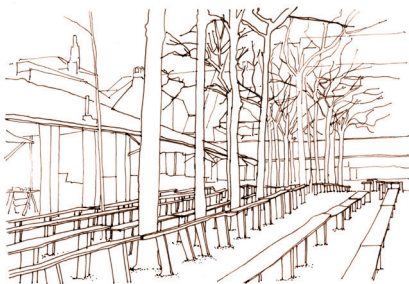
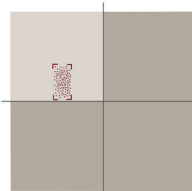


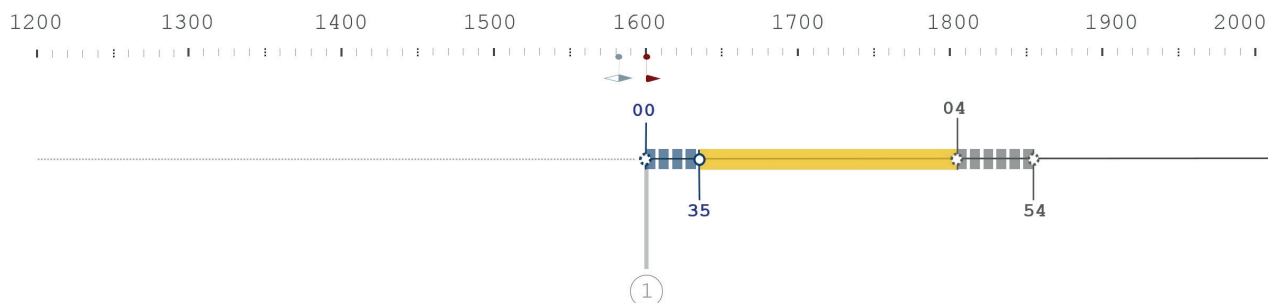
Fig. 2 Brussels, butter stalls (*marché au beurre*) removed in 1869. (analogous example). Such trade facilities could have various forms – from covered buildings to simple wooden benches. XX, *Bruxelles, ancien marché au beurre*, redrawn (I. Dudek) from a 19th century photograph.

Graph of potential interactions for the *butter stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.
While the visual measure of complexity does not underline any particular inconsistency in the interpretation of the historical evidence, the graph of potential interactions does show the scarcity of sources available concerning this object.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



butter stalls / *kramy maślane*

kramy maślane [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]



Approximate period of construction of the stalls.

most likely a simple wooden structure

1635 – An entire row of butter stalls was situated between the Town Hall and the salt depot.
[Tomkowicz S, 1929, p. 40]

first half of the 17th century – Localised on the west side of the Market Square in front of a salt depot, its rear facing the 'herring' stalls (food supplies and general retail stalls?).
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]

1797 – A note mentions the butter stalls without specifying their number.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]

On a hypothetical reconstruction of the Market Square in the 15th century, a row of wooden stalls, positioned where the butter stalls could have been situated, are represented.
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

analogous objects: [XX, *Bruxelles, marché au beurre*_1, 1820–1869]

1

They already existed in the first part of the 17th century.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]
1600 ??
1635 ?
1635 – A row of butter stalls is mentioned.
[Tomkowicz S, 1929, p. 40]

1614 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

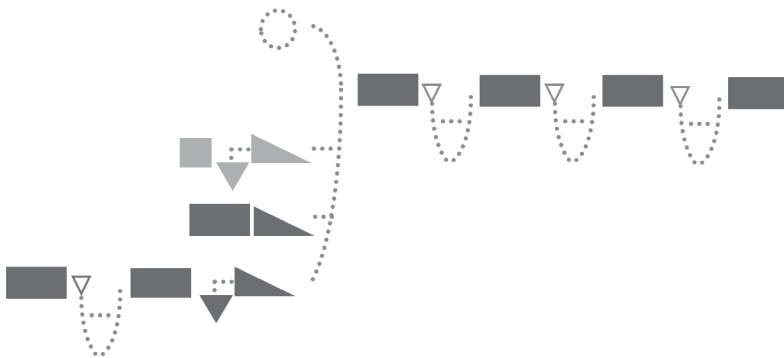
The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

R

1797 – A note mentions the butter stalls without specifying their number.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]
1804 – A portion of the wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square is dismantled.
1804 ?? [Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line]
1854 ??
The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854.
[Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 863–864], [Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line]

Approximate period of dismantling of the butter stalls.

Cloth Hall (with cloth-cropping workshops) / *Sukiennice (z postrzygalniami)*



Visual measure of complexity for the *Cloth Hall*.

The fork in the beginning of the diagram shows that identification of the first element of the Cloth Hall's evolutionary chain is a moot point (resulting from different interpretations of the same data).

The remaining part underlines three transformations for which we lack information about the actual impact – modification of the building's shape and (or) layout or not.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A large commercial building located in the central part of the Market Square – originally used to trade fine woollen fabric, nowadays used as a sort-of mall including a museum and catering activities.

merchant (*negotiator*) [1]; woollen cloth weavers (*pannifices*) – produced various woollen; combers or kempsters (*pannitonsores*) – who combed the fibres removing the short fibres and arranging the fibre in a flat bundle, with all the fibres going the same direction [2]; fuller, tucker or walker (*fullones*) – were involved in the cleansing of cloth (particularly wool) to eliminate oils, dirt, and other impurities, and making it thicker. Fullers, tuckers or walkers intervened in the production of woollen fabrics after the carders (the carder combed out and cleaned wool). [3]

The Cloth Hall in Krakow was founded by prince Bolesław V the Chaste. The Boleslaus (Bolesław) chart from the 5th of June 1257 already mentions them:

...from the stalls, in which woollen cloths are sold, or hucksters stalls – because we built them according to the promise of our own expense, we will charge the five sixths of the rent, while the mayors will receive one-sixth. ... [4]

... A list of food and goods prices from 1396 (issued by Royal officials and Krakow's City Council) stated among others: one ell of a good woollen cloth costs 3 grosz, one ell of 'cwelich' (a simple linen cloth) 1 ½ grosz, one ell of English woollen cloth costs 14 grosz, one ell of white or grey Krakow woollen cloth costs 2 grosz and 4 denars, one ell of fleecy cloth called "loden" costs 2 grosz, etc. ... [5]

Statutes of the woollen cloth weavers' guild (confirmed in 1660 by king John II Casimir Vasa) prescribed the guild's obligations, for example: *... the one who wants to become the guild's master should declare his craft tasks and competences. The one who produces the wool cloths, shall be registered as a woollen cloth weaver, kilim makers, felters, and others shall be registered separately. Every one should do his own job without meddling in the work of others ...* [6]

Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część III (1592–1597)*, T. VII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1999, p. 301

Note 2. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w. Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach.*, drukiem m. Muzeum przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, pp. 9, 21

Note 3. cf. *A List of Occupations*, [on-line] Ancestry.com, <<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~usgwkidz/oldjobs.htm>>, accessed 15 II 2013

Note 4. cf. Węclawowicz T., *Założenie miasta w Krakowie – czyli o symbolicznym wymiarze Wielkiej lokacji z roku 1257*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 21, 2007, pp. 15–16

Przypis 5. cf. Chotkowski M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV wieku.*, Kraków 1891, p. 13

Note 6. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze...*, op. cit., p. 20

1342 13 October 1342
[ADmK, *Katalog...*, 1907, p. 8]
[Wikipedia, *Kalendarium historii Krakowa*]

King Casimir III the Great introduces a regulation that restricts the cloth trade to the area of the Market Square.

The cloth imported to the town could only be sold in the cloth stalls, called later the Cloth Hall.

[Wikipedia, *Kalendarium historii Krakowa*]

... Casimir III the Great king of Poland, approves the statutes of the broad of Krakow aldermen concerning: the ground property in the town, proscription, gambling, injury's certificates, cloth trade, riots with use of weapon, ...

[ADmK, *Katalog...*, 1907, p. 8]

1354 06 October 1354
[ADmK, *Katalog...*, 1907, p. 10]
[Wikipedia, *Kalendarium historii Krakowa*]

Introduction of the royal decree forbidding "foreigner with a foreigner" trading – the position of the local merchants is strengthened.

... Casimir III the Great king of Poland, allows foreign traders to sell their goods in the town to citizens of Krakow and of the kingdom. Any trade between two foreign merchants is forbidden. ...

[ADmK, *Katalog...*, 1907, p. 10]

1358 07 December 1358
[ADmK, *Katalog...*, 1907, p. 11]
1358
[*Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007],
[Wikipedia, *Kalendarium historii Krakowa*], [KDMK I, nr XXXII, p. 3607 XII]

King Casimir III the Great cedes his rights on the majority of the trade facilities he owns on the Market Square to the city.

Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality. The king expresses a wish that 'the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings'.

[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007], [Wikipedia, *Kalendarium historii Krakowa*]

?

This arrangement lasts until the: sixties or seventies of the 14th century;
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 235–236, 243]
1350 ??
1376 ?? until the middle of the 14th century;
[Buśko C., 2007, p. 229]

The cloth stalls are abandoned and dismantled.

a) The *Boleslaus' Stalls* are abandoned
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 235–236, 243], [Buśko C., 2007, p. 229]

b) The *wooden (cloth?) chambers* are abandoned.
[Buśko C., 2007, p. 225], [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007, p. 160]

The wooden Cloth Hall was replaced by a new stone and brick built edifice.
[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007, p. 160]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 115, il. 2], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 115, il. 3], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 121, il. 12]

1372 1372
[Glogler Z., 1900]

Krakow gets the staple right from king Louis the Great.
Hungarian and Silesian merchants transporting goods to Poland were obliged to pass through the town of Krakow – they were compelled to unload their goods and display them for sale for a certain period.
[Glogler Z., 1900]

1	<p>1358 – Two cloth-cropping workshops are mentioned – <i>duas camera sive casa in quibus panni tondentur</i>. [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 25]</p> <p>1368 – a loan to build a ‘cloth shop’, 1376–1390 – the majority of construction works, 1390 – completion works, 1390–1391 – expenses on the hall’s paving, 1397–1398 – notes about expenses, small expenses until 1402 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 236–237], [Piekosiński F., Szujski J., 1877–1878, cz. II, pp. 331, 334, 337]</p>	<p>Construction of the Cloth Hall and of two cloth-cropping workshops adjacent to it. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 236–237]</p> <p>Bottom parts of the Gothic hall built of stone, upper parts of brick, two gable walls with ogive gates, cobbled interior. Two chambers in each of its western corner housed the cloth-cropping workshops. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, pp. 83–86]</p> <p>1358 – Two cloth-cropping workshops are mentioned – <i>duas camera sive casa in quibus panni tondentur</i>. [Tomkowicz S., 1926, pp. 25–26]</p> <p>1390 – The whole building is mentioned for the first time as one object (as a hall rather than as stalls) – <i>pannitheca</i>. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 236–237]</p> <p>1393 – Expenses on a cloth-cropping workshop (<i>Super rasorio</i>) are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 84]</p> <p>since 1402 – Expenses on the Cloth Hall are mentioned in municipal registers. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 236–237]</p> <p>1408–1416 – 16 inventories of individual cloth chambers. [Tyszką P., 2001, p. 108]</p> <p>1419–1430 – 35 inventories of individual cloth chambers. [Tyszką P., 2001, p. 108]</p> <p>1431–1476 – 8 mentions of individual cloth chambers. [Tyszką P., 2001, p. 112]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Łuszczkiewicz W., <i>Widok Sukiennic w XV wieku, 1400–1499</i>], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., <i>Makieta...</i>, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., <i>Rynek krakowski...</i>], [Tyszką P., 1390–1410, il. 1], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 1450], [MhmK, <i>Sukiennice</i>, 2011], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 121, il. 12]</p>
?	<p>1430 ?? notes from 1437 1437 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]</p>	<p>A fulling mill (<i>camera plicacionis alias Faldkamer</i>) is established nearby the Cloth Hall. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]</p> <p>1444 – A fulling mill situated nearby the northern cloth-cropping workshop is mentioned – <i>taberna plicaturae panini, Faldkamer und Schergadem of dem Hünermargte</i>. [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 26]</p>
	<p>before the middle of the 16th century [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 237]</p> <p>1523 ? 1553 ? 1523, 1530, 1535, 1537, 1547 (1551, 1552, 1553) – expenses on the cloth-cropping workshops [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 84, 85]</p>	<p>Conversion works – the hall is divided into two storeys, a new ceiling is built. Works on the cloth-cropping workshops.</p> <p>1523, 1530, 1535, 1537, 1547 (1551, 1552, 1553) – expenses on the cloth-cropping workshops (<i>pannitondium</i>) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 84, 85]</p>
	<p>04 November 1555 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 237], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 85]</p>	<p>Edifice partially destroyed by a fire – fire starts in the shoemakers’ stalls and spreads to the neighbouring buildings. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 237]</p>

2	<p>1556, 1557, 1559 – works on the cloth-cropping workshops [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 85–86]</p> <p>1555 1559</p> <p>1557 – rebuilding of the Cloth Hall (works on parapet), 1558 – construction of exterior staircases (Jan Frankstijn), 1559 – completion works (painting) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238], [Architektura gotyku, 1995, p. 119]</p>	<p>Works on the cloth-cropping workshops and rebuilding of the Cloth Hall (by master Pankracy, Jan Frankstijn, J.M. Padovano) – introduction of a barrel vault intersected by lunettes, and of a parapet, alteration of the roof (a gable roof replaced by a butterfly roof – in accordance with the 1544 fire regulations), construction of staircases in front of the gable walls. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238]</p> <p>1544 – A ‘fire security’ regulation adopted by the City Council ordered the construction of fire walls between houses (so as to avoid fire from spreading). As a result the Gothic steep roofs were replaced by butterfly roofs hidden behind decorative parapets.</p> <p>(November 23rd) 1555 – (December 19th) 1556, 1557, 1559 – works on the cloth-cropping workshops [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 85–86]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.] maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG]</p>
	<p>1560</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007, p. 207]</p>	<p>The market hall for minor traders is – in terms of function – transferred to the Cloth Hall (on the first floor of the building, accessible through exterior staircases). [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007, p. 207]</p> <p>1581 – works on the cloth-cropping workshops (<i>pannitondium</i>). [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 86]</p> <p>1667 – The Cloth Hall is represented on a plan. [plan 1667 JG]</p>
	<p>1589</p> <p>night from the 6th to the 7th March 1589 [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]</p>	<p>Fire of the shoemakers’ stalls. The southern cloth-cropping workshop catches fire and burns. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]</p>
?	<p>1598 1599</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 86–91]</p>	<p>Reconstruction of the southern cloth-cropping workshop.</p> <p>(June 11th) 1598 – (October) 1599 – works on the south cloth-cropping workshop (dismantling and reconstruction) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 86–91]</p>
3	<p>1599–1611</p> <p>1599 1611</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238], [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 26]</p>	<p>Construction of an additional storey over the Cloth Hall’s intersecting passageway (with a small tower housing a staircase). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238]</p> <p><i>Langierówka</i> (a tenement), mandator J. Ciepielowski [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238]</p> <p><i>Syndrówka</i>, the northern cloth-cropping workshop, housed a flat (in 1613 the flat of alderman A. Belza, called later on ‘<i>mieszkanie syndrowskie</i>'). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 92]</p> <p>Name Syndrówka refers to the building’s owner: ‘<i>syndyk</i>’ (a municipal receiver). [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 83, note 77]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban5], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Richter W., 1830, ban110], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., <i>Restauracja...</i>, il. 63], [Ekielski A., około 1850], [Matejko J., 1857, ban6], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban240], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128], [XX. <i>Plan Sukiennic i Kramów...</i>, przed 1868], [Krieger I., około 1868, ban249], [Walter H., około 1868], [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., <i>Ochrona...</i>, il. 13], [XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [Krieger I., 1875, ban250], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, od Szewskiej], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom]</p>

			<p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [Opaliński P., <i>Jatki szewskie</i>, 2006], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Opaliński P., w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 112], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i>, 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1803–1804], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1813], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
4	1641	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238]	<p>Addition of a supplementary storey over the Cloth Hall's intersecting passageway (mason August Litwinek). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban5], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., <i>Restauracja...</i>, il. 63], [XX., przed 1857, MHmK 1560/VIII], [Beyer K., 1858, ban239], [Walter H., około 1859], [Gryglewski A., około 1865, ban242], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban240], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban244], [XX. <i>Plan Sukiennic i Kramów...</i>, przed 1868], [Krieger I., około 1868, ban249], [Walter H., około 1868], [Rzewuski W., po 1868, ban245], [Czachórski W., przed 1873], [XX., przed 1873, Kadluczka A., <i>Ochrona...</i>, il. 13], [Krieger I., 1874–1875, ban246], [Krieger I., 1875, ban250], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, od Szewskiej], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [Opaliński P., <i>Jatki szewskie</i>, 2006], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i>, 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008]</p>
?	1647 ? 1660 ??	<p><u>turn of the forties and fifties</u> of the 17th century [Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i>, 2007, p. 247]</p> <p>1647, 1652, 1657 – inventories of the northern cloth-cropping workshop [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 91–92]</p>	<p>Renovation of the cloth-cropping workshop(s). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 92]</p> <p>1667 – Indicated as a municipal property on a plan. [plan 1667 JG]</p> <p>1647 (August 6th), 1652 (December 12th), 1657 (September 13th) – Inventories of the northern cloth-cropping workshop (called also <i>Belzowska cloth-cropping workshop</i>) indicate its location in <i>front of the salt depot</i>, as well as the poor condition of the building. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 91–92]</p>
	1700	[Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i> , 2007, p. 259]	<p>Renovation of the upper parts of the Cloth Hall. [Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i>, 2007, p. 259]</p> <p>1700 – Notes about the poor condition of the upper parts of the Cloth Hall (hosting the market hall for minor traders) – the City Council assigns money for its renovation. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 31]</p> <p>1765 (January 14th) – Inventory of both cloth-cropping workshops – buildings are in poor condition, the necessity to renovate them is mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 92]</p> <p>1778 (May 21st) – Inventory of the northern cloth-cropping workshop comments on the poor condition of the building: ... <i>the front wall in cracks</i> ..., ... <i>an entrance hall without flooring</i> ..., ... <i>a hole in the cellar's vaulting (covered with planks)</i> ..., ... <i>the back wall in cracks and dangerously inclined towards the Cloth Hall's chambers</i> ..., ... <i>windows are shattered, the flooring is old and in poor condition, ... roofing is diaphanous and decayed</i> ..., <i>stoves are shattered</i> ... – the necessity to renovate is mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 92–94]</p> <p>1787 – Murray mentions the Cloth Hall as a large hall built by Casimir III the Great in 1370, with the side stalls occupied mostly by woollen cloth weavers, but also by some druggers (<i>i.e.</i> pharmacists). In the middle of its length the hall is intersected by a passageway, inside which the linen traders sell their products. [Murray E., 1787, p. 123]</p>

		<p>Short-term renovation works due to a visit of king Stanisław II August in Krakow. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 239]</p> <p>9 chambers belong to the town and 25 are private ones. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 88]</p> <p>1792 – Description of the Cloth Hall: the hall is 180 ells long and 42 ells large, vaulted building, ... <i>decayed in four places</i> ..., ... new flooring ..., 36 stalls (two chambers in each corner are occupied by the cloth-cropping workshops, 5 municipal chambers, 1 chamber administrated by an official who stewards the king's properties, 1 chamber belonging to the <i>Akademia Krakowska</i> (now known as the Jagiellonian University), 25 private chambers.</p> <p>First storey is accessible by two exterior staircases. The attic is empty, roof construction is rotten, ... <i>the rain enters inside through empty windows and wets the ceiling</i> ..., roofing is <i>ruined, rotten and with holes in it</i>. A necessary roof replacement is mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości</i>..., 2007, pp. 83–86]</p> <p>1792 – Description of the northern cloth-cropping workshop: two-storey building with <i>the front wall in crack</i>. The ground floor consists of a vaulted entrance hall, one vaulted chamber and a way out leading to a paved backyard. The first floor is composed of a hall, one chamber, a kitchen and a way out leading to a 'balcony' that <i>falls into ruin</i>. The second floor consists of two chambers. The attic is covered by an old roof in poor condition. The basement of the edifice is composed of two vaulted cellars with damped walls. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości</i>..., 2007, pp. 28–30]</p> <p>1792 – Description of the southern cloth-cropping workshop: two-storey building with an entrance from the Town Hall's side. The storeys consist of a communication hall and chambers. The attic is covered by an old roof in poor condition. The basement of the edifice is composed of two vaulted cellars with damped walls. <i>At the ground floor level, close to this edifice there is a building (used by the tanners)</i>. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości</i>..., 2007, pp. 27–28]</p>
1801 ? 1803 ?	<p>since 1803 situated in the Cloth Hall [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92] [Tomkowicz S., 1926, pp. 34–35]</p>	<p>After the demolition of the Small Scales the function of weigh house is moved to the Cloth Hall – two municipal chambers situated in the north-west quarter of the Cloth Hall are dedicated to it. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92], [Tomkowicz S., 1926, pp. 34–35]</p> <p>1807–1808 – The Cloth Hall is identified as a building number 5. [Münch H., 1959]</p> <p>1820 – <i>la Draperie</i> (drapery) [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1803–1804], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1813], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1834]</p>
1846	[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 47]	<p>Introduction of a stable for army horses in the building. [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 47]</p> <p>1832–1836 – The Cloth Hall is all Hall marked as a property not to be sold. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1836], [plan 1850]</p>
1871	[Banach J., 1998, p. 379]	<p>Alteration of the roofing over the Cloth Hall – new zincd covering.</p> <p>iconography: [Krieger I., 1869–1871, ban21], [Czachórski W., przed 1873], [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., <i>Ochrona</i>..., il. 13], [Krieger I., 1872–1875, MHmK_1809/K]</p>

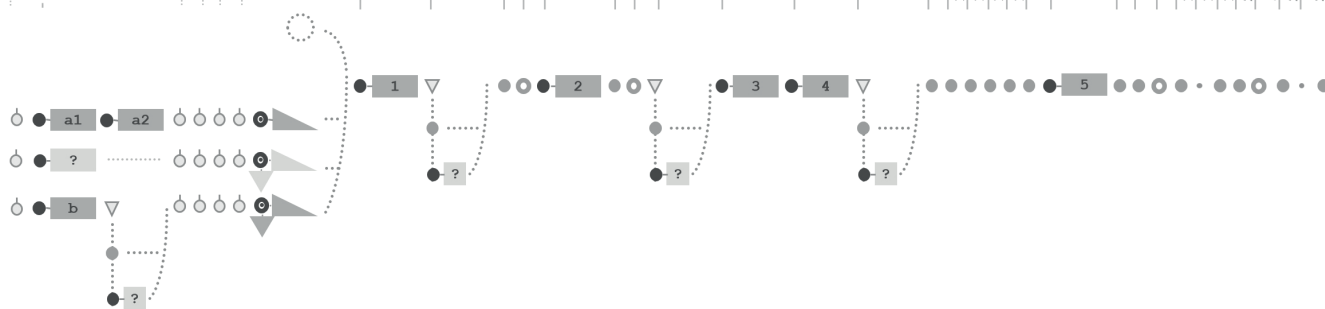
	1873	In 1873 (April 28th) – the City Council finally decided to set up in Krakow, a municipal unit of professional firemen. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010]	A part of the building is occupied by a unit of professional firemen – facilities for firemen, their horses and fire fighting equipment. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010] iconography: [Krieger I., 1872–1875, ban236], [Krieger I., 1872–1875, ban237], [Krieger I., 1874–1875, ban246], [Krieger I., przed 1875, ban250], [Krieger I., 1872–1875, ban167], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, il. 149], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, <i>od Siennej</i>], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, <i>od Szeńskiej</i>], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom], [Krieger I., 1875, ban238]
5	1876 1879	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 239] [<i>Architektura gotyku</i> , 1995, p. 119] [Kaczmarczyk P., Bereza W., 2006]	Extension and refurbishment of the Cloth Hall (Tomasz Pryliński)– construction of arcades along the eastern and the western facades, of avant-corps over the intersecting passageway, Neo-Gothic and Neo-Renaissance style, introduction of skylights in the roof. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 239], [Kadłuczka A., 2010, p. 153] iconography: [Pryliński T., 1878, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 166], [Krieger I., zapewne 1879, ban262], [Krieger I., 1879–1880, ban271], [XX., po1880, MNK III-PL-4757], [Ajdukiewicz T., 1881, ban113], [Krieger I., 1882–1884, ban97], [Krieger I., przed 1884, ban22], [Kossak J., Tondos P., 1886, ban117], [XX, 1886–1888, ban116], [Rzewuski W., 1890, ban93], [XX, 1895, ban95], [XX, około 1895, poczt.], [XX., około 1901, w Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., <i>Rynek...</i> , il. 24], [Klein J., po 1901, ban87], [Krieger I., 1901–1907, ban261], [XX, 1911, ban12], [Rząca T., 1911–1912, MHF 3727/II], [XX., 1912–1913, ban14], [XX., 1914, ban274], [XX, około 1928, w Frančić M., <i>Kalendarz...</i> , p. 21], [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1966/II], [XX, przed 1938, poczt.], [Kołowca S., przed 1940], [Bułhak J., MHF KW760/90], [Kuzmienko J., około 1954], [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.], [Markowski S., około 1997, poczt.], [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 2]
	1880 1888	since 1880 – introduction of commercial functions, 1883 – National Museum is opened. 1888 – construction of pent roofs [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 241]	Introduction of commercial functions inside the newly constructed arcades (a post office and a patisserie) and of a museum on the first floor. The roof terraces are replaced by flat pent roofs. iconography: [XX., po1880, MNK III-PL-4757], [XX., około1901, w Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., <i>Rynek...</i> , il. 24], [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1966/II], [XX, przed 1938, poczt.], [Kuzmienko J., około 1954], [XX., TK-3, 1935–1939], [XX., Sukiennice, 1926–1946], [[Kołowca S., <i>Kraków...</i> , 1930–1939], [XX, przed 1926, NAC 1-U-2337-1], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-1], [XX, 1932–1941, NAC 1-U-2603-1], [XX, 1938, NAC 1-U-2599-8], [XX, 1926–19146, NAC 1-U-2337-2]
	1904 ? 1917 ?	in the beginning of the 20th century during the presidency of Leo [Kaczmarczyk P., Bereza W., 2006, p. 2] from 1904 until February 21st 1918 – presidency of Leo [Wikipedia, 2011]	Extension of the Cloth Halls' underground. [Kaczmarczyk P., Bereza W., 2006, p. 2] The undergrounds of the Cloth Hall were extended – public toilets were constructed nearby the northern and the southern gable walls. [Kaczmarczyk P., Bereza W., 2006, p. 2]
	1945	January – February 1945 [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010]	Fire of the Cloth Hall provoked by the German army on leaving the town. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010] During its evacuation the German army confiscated the majority of the vehicles belonging to the municipal firemen and lit several fires – fire of the Cloth Hall for example. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010]
	1955 1959	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 241], [Kaczmarczyk P., Bereza W., 2006, p. 6]	Major restoration – roof conversion, change of interior arrangement, conservation works and repairs on the parapet. iconography: [Kuzmienko J., około 1954]

	<p>1960 ¹⁹⁶⁰ [Architektura <i>gotyku</i>, 1995, p. 119]</p> <p>1963 1961–1963 (Lenkiewicz) [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 90]</p>	Architectural investigations (Technical University of Krakow)
	<p>1974 ¹⁹⁷⁴ – archaeological investigations of the <i>wooden (cloth?) chambers</i> (T. Dębowski i M. Myszka) [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]</p> <p>1979 1975–1979 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]</p>	Conservatory restoration (PKZ) – change of paving inside the Cloth Hall, restoration and conservation works, archaeological investigations. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242], [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]
	<p>1992 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]</p> <p>1994</p>	Conservation works on the parapet and its mascarons (PKZ). iconography: [Markowski S.,około 1997, poczt.], [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.]
	<p>2002 July 31st 2002 [PolskaLokalna.pl, 31 VII 2002].</p> <p>2002 2002 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242], [Gazeta.pl, 03 XII 2003]</p>	<p>Destruction of a fragment of the parapet – a portion of the parapet and two original mascarons are torn away (a big advertising panel fixed to the parapet comes off during a gusty day). Mascarons were replaced by copies. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242], [Gazeta.pl, 03 XII 2003]</p> <p>After the accident the local authorities ordered a removal of all advertising panels from the buildings surrounding the Market Square. Until the drawing up of new regulations advertising panels were forbidden in and around the Market Square. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]</p> <p><i>... Today during the afternoon, in Krakow and its surroundings a particularly heavy storm broke. Gale force winds uprooted several dozen trees, broke power lines and overhead lines. A portion of the Cloth Hall's parapet also came off. ...</i> [PolskaLokalna.pl, 31 VII 2002]</p> <p><i>... Fragments of mascarons as well as rubble of the parapet were collected yesterday following the fall off of the Tchibo (a coffee brand) advertising panel. Fragments were moved to a warehouse (Dobrego Pasterza street). The regional chief conservator Andrzej Gaczol will examine the material collected. ...</i> [Gazeta.pl, 06 VIII 2002]</p>
	<p>2002 June 2002 [Gazeta.pl, 31 V 2005]</p>	<p>Repairs of the parapet [Gazeta.pl, 31 V 2005]</p> <p>The parapet was soon repaired but it took three years for the new elements to be painted. <i>... I hope that the white mark [unpainted portion of the parapet] will disappear from the Cloth Hall later this week – says Maciej Dadak, Director of the Municipal Building Board in Krakow. He ensures that the mark was to be painted the previous week, but that works had to be delayed due to problems with the new paving, which prevented the contractor from setting up the appropriate scaffolding. I hope that this week I'll get permission to start the actual painting. We have a contractor, the paint, the colour is chosen – says Maciej Dadak. In accordance with the recommendations of the conservator the white mark will be painted with a 'dirty-like' colour that will match this of the rest of the parapet. ...</i> [Gazeta.pl, 31 V 2005]</p>
	<p>2004 2004 [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 94]</p> <p>since August until October 2004 [Firlet E., 2010, p. 16]</p>	<p>Archaeological explorations during a change of paving on the Market Square (PKZ). Relics of an artefact localised inside the zone occupied by the 'tenement over the Cloth Hall's intersecting passageway' were found. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 94], [Janczykowski J., 2006, p. 71]</p> <p>rubble masonry, Gothic bricks, calcareous mortar [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 94]</p> <p>maps and plans: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2]</p>

		<p>Archaeological explorations (C. Buško) during a change of paving on the Market Square and the construction of the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> (A. Kadłuczka). [Buško C., 2007, p. 225], [Hajok D, <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i>, 11 XI 2010], [MNK, <i>Nowe Sukiennice</i>, 2010]</p> <p><i>Following the Traces of European Identity of Kraków – Underground Tourist Trail in Main Market Square</i> project: Conservation of the remains of the Rich Stalls, the Boleslaus' Stalls and the Grand Scales, as well as of the relics of the cemetery and settlement dating from before the town's location – adaptations of fragments of relic to the needs of the museum exhibition. [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]</p> <p>2005 – 2010 – archaeological excavations and a change of paving on the Market Square [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]</p> <p>2007–2010 – <i>New Cloth Hall</i> project: During the renovation 120 tons of debris were moved from the construction place; flooring, electrical installation, skylights windows and doors were replaced. 5000 square meters of walls were painted and covered with plaster. The roof construction was modified, eastern pent roof was re-transformed into a terrace, two elevators were introduced. (ARCHECON) [MNK, 2010], [Kadłuczka A, 2010]</p> <p>August 2005 – beginning of the works [Buško C., 2007, p. 225]</p> <p>August 2007– November 2009 – <i>New Cloth Hall</i> project [projekt Nowe Sukiennice, 2010]</p> <p>Description of the works planned. [Kaczmarczyk P., Bereza W., 2006, pp. 6–11]</p> <p>iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 223], [Kalarus T., 2005-a], [XX., Bereza/2006, il. 6], [Krzan P., około 2009], [Bednarczyk J., 24 IX 2010], [Krzan P., X 2010], [XX P., WK, 27/2010, p. 156, il. 1], [XX P., WK, 27/2010, p. 156, il. 2], [XX P., WK, 27/2010, p. 156, il. 9], [Marciniak A., <i>Sukiennice</i>, 2007–2010], [Woch B., 2009, MHmK], [XX., 2009, DP]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007]. [plan 2009], [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [XX., 2004, WK 19/2006, il. 12], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [XX., <i>Sukiennice-rzut</i>, 2006]</p>
--	--	--

1257	Boleslaus Chart confirms the construction of the stalls for the cloth trade

-----	Approximate period of construction of the first cloth stalls
-----	- The stalls mentioned in the Boleslaus Charter should not be considered as the first element of the Cloth Hall's evolutionary chain.
-----	- The Boleslaus' Stalls should be considered as the first element of the Cloth Hall's evolutionary chain
-----	- The wooden (cloth ?) chambers are the first element of the Cloth Hall's evolutionary chain.
-----	- The stalls mentioned in the Boleslaus Charter could be another building, the relics of which are still not discovered
1342	King introduces a regulation that restricts the cloth trade to the area of the Market Square
1354	Royal decree forbidding "foreigner with a foreigner" trading
1358	King cedes his rights on the majority of the trade facilities he owns on the Market Square
1372	Krakow gets the staple right from king Louis the Great
1376 ?? - 1402	Construction of the Cloth Hall and of two cloth-cropping workshops adjacent to it.
1430 ?? - 1437	A fulling mill is established nearby the Cloth Hall
1523 ? - 1553 ?	Conversion works - the hall is divided into two storeys, a new ceiling is built. Works on the cloth-cropping workshops
1555	Edifice partially destroyed by a fire
1555 - 1559	Works on the cloth-cropping workshops and rebuilding of the Cloth Hall
1560	The market hall for minor traders is - in terms of function - transferred to the Cloth Hall
1589	Fire of the shoemakers' stalls. The southern cloth-cropping workshop catches fire and burns
1598 - 1599	Reconstruction of the southern cloth-cropping workshop
1599 - 1611	Construction of an additional storey over the Cloth Hall's intersecting passageway (with a small tower housing a staircase)
1641	Addition of a supplementary storey over the Cloth Hall's intersecting passageway
1647 ? - 1660 ??	Renovation of the cloth-cropping workshop(s)
1700	Renovation of the upper parts of the Cloth Hall
1789	Short-term renovation works due to a visit of king Stanislaw II August in Krakow
1801 ? - 1803 ?	The function of weigh house is moved to the Cloth Hall
1846	Introduction of a stable for army horses in the building
1871	Alteration of the roofing over the Cloth Hall
1873	A part of the building is occupied by a unit of professional firemen
1876 - 1879	Extension and refurbishment of the Cloth Hall (Tomasz Pryliński)
1800 - 1888	Introduction of commercial functions inside the newly constructed arcades (a post office and a patisserie) and of a museum on the first floor
1904 ? - 1917 ?	Extension of the Cloth Halls' underground
1945	Fire of the Cloth Hall provoked by the German army on leaving the town
1955 - 1959	Major restoration
1960 - 1963	Architectural investigations (Technical University of Krakow)
1974 - 1979	Conservatory restoration (PKZ)
1992 - 1994	Conservation works on the parapet and its mascarons (PKZ)
2002	Destruction of a fragment of the parapet
2002	Repairs of the parapet
2004	Archaeological explorations during a change of paving on the Market Square (PKZ)
2005 - 2010	Archaeological explorations (C. Buško) during a change of paving on the Market Square and the construction of the Rynek Underground permanent exhibition (A. Kadłuczka).

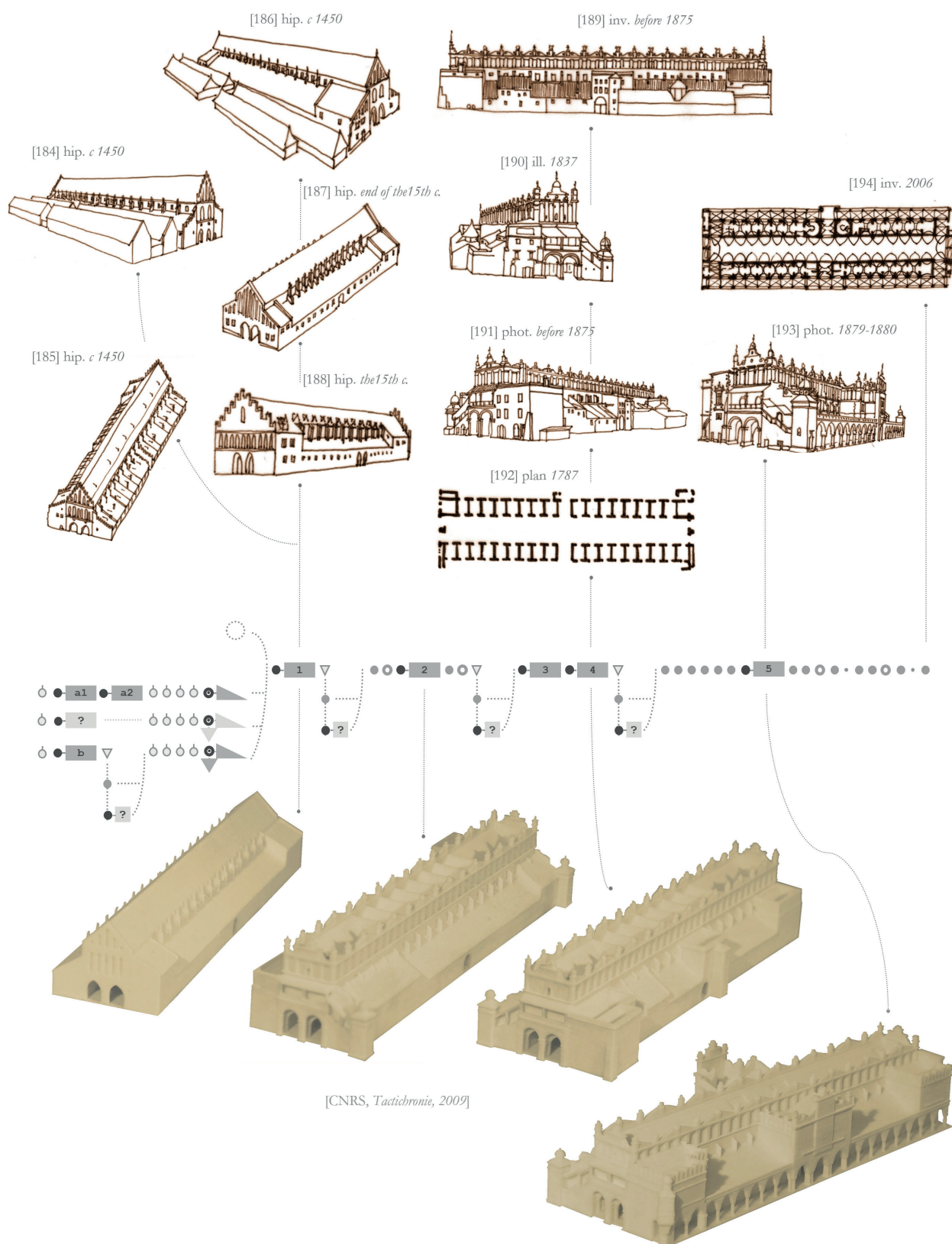


Graph of potential interactions for the *Cloth Hall* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Several mutually exclusive possibilities can be proposed for the first element of the Cloth Hall's evolutionary chain. These hypotheses require diligent, conscientious and based on facts verification, so as to reduce the amount of theoretical possibilities. So far, five phases of development have been identified for the rest of the evolutionary chain, as well as three transformations that potentially could have lead to morphological modifications.

The period of construction of the Gothic Cloth Hall is approximate (transformation 1). The 1555 fire gave way to the Renaissance transformation of the edifice, the results of the reconstruction after 1598 fire remain however unspecified. The next transformation (3) is the construction and development of *Langierówka*, and is followed by a series of recurrent transformations (*i.e.* repairs, introduction of new functions, *etc.*). The last major transformation is the 1876–1879 extension and refurbishment of the Cloth Hall. All transformations that took place afterwards had a modest impact on the appearance of the Cloth Hall.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Cloth Hall* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

The shape of the first evolutionary phase that can be considered as certain remains hypothetical – it is based on archaeological and architectural investigations of the edifice itself (however strongly transformed), as well as on some textual sources. Only the fourth phase is sufficiently documented to allow a comprehensive and consistent digital reconstruction. Earlier phases are reconstructed basing on what is known about this later phase. The Cloth Hall came to its nowadays shape during the 1876–1879 refurbishment.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

cookshops / *kramy warzeszne*



Visual measure of complexity for the *cookshops*.

The diagram underlines a difficulty with dating the period of creation.

Until now no relicts could be attributed to the *cookshops*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Removed wooden commercial buildings probably organised (at least for most of them) in one row, alongside the glass stalls (north side of the Market Square). These stalls were used for catering.

These type of stalls were used to sell one or two simple dishes prepared beforehand and brought on the market in a cauldron. [1] (See also *Garküche* or *greasy spoon*).

Note 1. cf. XX, *Garkuchnia* [on-line], Wikipedia,

<<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garkuchnia>>, accessed 01 X 2011

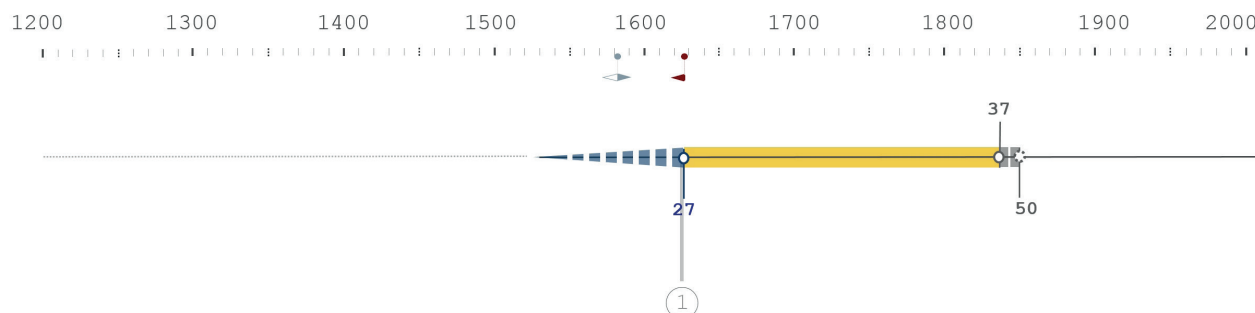


Graph of potential interactions for the *cookshops* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one phase of development has been identified for these stalls, however hard to date. The period of dismantling is also relatively ill-defined.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

cookshops / *kramy warzeszne*



Unknown period of construction of the cookshops.

1

... ??
1627 ?

1627 – first mention of the cookshops
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1627, 1629 – The stalls *start close to the northern entrance to the market hall for minor traders* (at that period localised on the first storey of the Cloth Hall) *and end up in the neighbourhood of the 'herring stalls', opposite to the salt depot.*
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1643 – cookshops mentioned without specifying their number

1741 – 11 stalls are mentioned.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, pp. 73–74]

1760 – 11 stalls are mentioned.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 76]

Approximately 19,5 meters long when translated from ells. The width of individual stalls varied between 1,9 and 3,6 meters.

1792 – 16 stalls are mentioned.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 84], [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 63]

1797 – These stalls were used to sell simple dishes prepared beforehand.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]

1824, 1827 – A row of wooden stalls situated to the north of the glass stalls is represented. These could be cookshops.
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban 119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban 127]

1836 – Two rows of stalls are represented to the north of the Cloth Hall.
[Zaleski M., 1836, ban 158]

iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban 119]?, [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban 127]?, [Zaleski M., 1836, ban 158]?, [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

1614

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]

The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

R

1837 ?
1850 ??

1836 – Wooden stalls occupying this area are still represented.
[Zaleski M., 1836, ban 158]

1837, 1840 – Only some individual sheds are represented in this area.
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban 120]?, [Brodowski J., 1840, ban 252]?

around 1850 – The cookshops are not represented.
[Ekielski A., około 1850]

The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854.
[*Encyklopedia Krakowa*, 2000, pp. 863–864], [Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line]

Approximate period of dismantling of the cookshops.

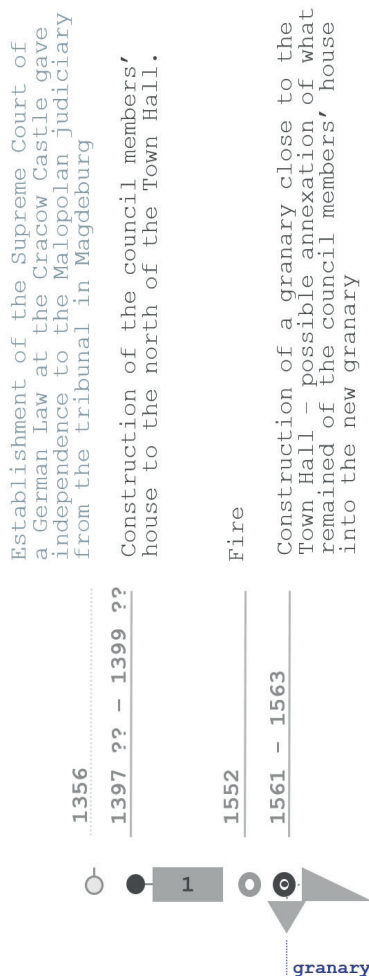
council members' house / *dom ławników*



A municipal building named inside historical sources. Its accurate localisation, form, type of construction as well as the exact function of this building remain hypothetical.

The Supreme Court of a German Law at the Krakow Castle – *Ius supremum Magdeburgense castri Cracoviensis*, (ger. Der Oberhof des deutschen Rechts auf der Burg zu Krakau) was appointed by king Casimir the Great. Its role was to apply the rules of the Magdeburg Law in Krakow. The court functioned until 1791. Before its creation, the appeal court for citizens of Krakow was the Court in Magdeburg.

The establishment of the Court (5th October 1356), gave independence to the Malopolan judiciary from the tribunal in Magdeburg. [1]



Visual measure of complexity for the *council members' house*.

Doubts in the interpretation of the data are visible on the diagram – the character of the destructive phase is unclear (a demolition or a partial annexation by another architectural object).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

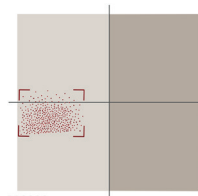
Note 1. cf. XX., *Sąd wyższy prawa niemieckiego* (2011), [on-line] Wikipedia
<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C4%85d_wy%C5%BCszy_prawa_niemieckiego>, accessed 26 I 2011

Graph of potential interactions for the *council members' house* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one step in the evolution has been identified at this stage. We do not have any information concerning any other modification (not even repairs). The artefact's destruction phase is preceded by a stage of degradation (a fire). The *council members' house* could have been demolished or partially dismantled as a result of this fire and the remaining elements could have been annexed by the granary constructed in this zone soon after.

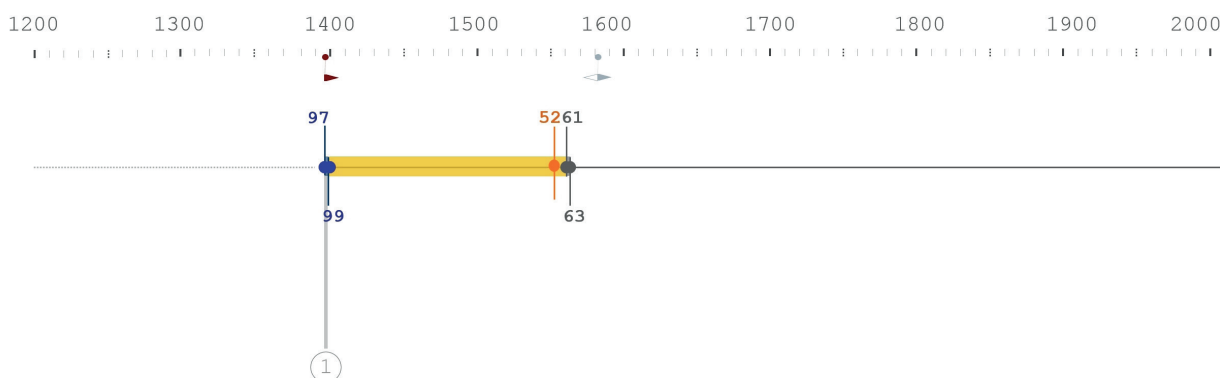
Up to now no relics could be attributed to the *council members' house*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



council members' house / *dom ławników*

<i>pretorium iudiciale scabinorum</i>	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
<i>pretorium scabinorum</i>	[Wawel-Louis J., 1890, p. 23]
<i>pretorium iudiciale vel consistorium dinghaus</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 42]
<i>dinghaus</i>	[Wawel-Louis J., 1890, p. 23]



1356 05 October 1356
[Wikipedia, *Sąd wyższy...*, on-line]

Establishment of the Supreme Court of a German Law at the Krakow Castle gave independence to the Malopolan judiciary from the tribunal in Magdeburg.
[Wikipedia, *Sąd wyższy...*, on-line]

Ius supremum Magdeburgense castri Cracoviensis [Wikipedia, *Sąd wyższy...*, on-line]

1	1397 ?? 1399 ??	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 42] [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 30]	Construction of the council members' house to the north of the Town Hall. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp.42, 231] masonry (?), municipal property, housing function (?), a court where a panel of judges, or a judge and two jurors, decide on cases (?) [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 42] The localisation of this object remains unclear.... <i>The council members' house is likely to have been seated inside the Town Hall, but it could as well (...) like in Torun be a separate and independent building...</i> [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 30] hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478]?, [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]?, [Duch W., 11_MHK, 2010], [Komorowski W., Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 116, il. 5], [XX, Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 108]
	1552	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Fire [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
R/S	1561 1563	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64] [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 36]	Construction of a granary close to the Town Hall – possible annexation of what remained of the <i>council members' house</i> into the new granary. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 231], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 36] ... <i>Granarium civitatis eo loco, ubi antea schmetterhaus, impensis civitatis est aedificatum, superne novo cinctum, depictum et ornatum ...</i> [Muczkowski J., 1906, p. 18], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 36]

dungeon / *kabaty*



Visual measure of complexity for the *dungeon*.

The diagram shows there are little doubts about how to interpret the data available, except for one transition, the results of which are not clear.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

A removed building built against the Town Hall that housed the town's prison for minor criminals and debtors. The courtyard located between the dungeon and the Town Hall building, was used for executions.

The medieval judicial procedure distinguished two main types of civil prisons (*incarceratio civilis*): for debts and for capital crimes.

Prisoners of the first category were kept in the dungeon, whereas criminals were detained in the basement of the Town Hall – close to a torture chamber. [1]

An opening existed in the entrance hall of the Town Hall, before *Izba Pańska* (the town council chamber) – this indicates that prisoners kept in the Town Hall's basement were pulled out through this opening before being presented to the court for a trial. [2]

Tortures in Krakow – ... *a dishonour on humanity*... – outlived until 1778. [3]

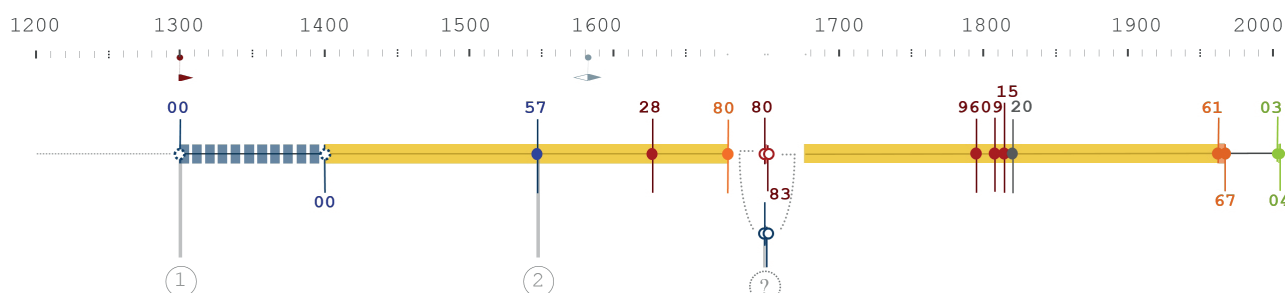
Note 1. cf. Muczkowski J., *Dawny krakowski ratusz*, RK, T. VIII, Kraków 1906, p. 36

Note 2. cf. *Ibidem*, p. 28

Note 3. cf. *Ibidem*, p. 39

dungeon / kabaty

dlużnica [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
carcer civilis [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]



1

1300 ??
 1400 ?? [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Construction of a mediaeval dungeon.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Neither the form, nor the layout of the first dungeon are known. All hypothetical reconstructions are based on later layouts of the dungeon, and (or) on analogous examples.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Christ F., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1950], [Radi C., *Christ*, 2000], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVII], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVIII], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*, [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Komorowski W., Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130], [Kabrowski A., XV w.]

2

1547
 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 231]
 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
 [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]
 Remains of walls that date from the late Middle Ages.
 [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 144]

Construction of new dungeon replacing the early medieval one.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]

a single-storey building

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 95]

foundations in rubble stone

[Łukacz M., 2006, p. 144, il. 1, 7, 8]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Balicki K., 1802, ban185], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Brodowski J., 1819, ban181], [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban186], [Gašiorowski B., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [XX., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., *Ratusz...*, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban188], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban192], [Bojgś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il. 8]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Bandurski R., *przed 1820*, w Brayer A., il. 2], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 91], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, *Kraków 1650*, 2007], [Radi C., *Christ*, 2000], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w], [Komorowski W., Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130], [Kabrowski A., XVII w]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il. 1]

1628 [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 40]

Renovation

[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 40]

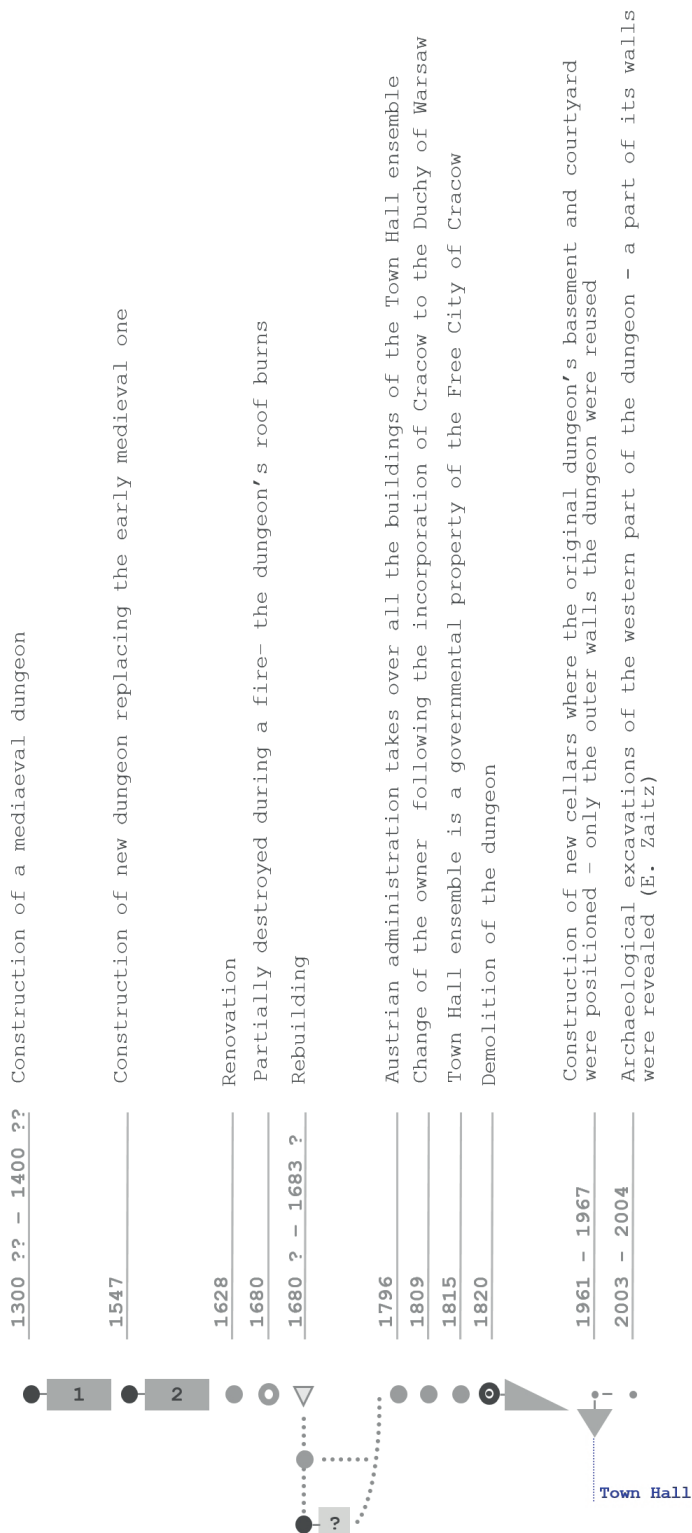
1680 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 129]
 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Partially destroyed during a fire of the Town Hall's tower (belfry) – the dungeon's roof burns.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

?	<p>1680 ? 1683 ?</p> <p>[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>Rebuilding. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>1667 – municipal property [plan 1667 JG]</p> <p>1773 – The dungeon is represented on plans. [plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha]</p> <p>1787 – Description of the dungeon (<i>two-storey prison</i>) and ground-floor plan [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1792 – Description of the building: two-storey building with four vaulted chambers located on the ground floor and seven vaulted chambers used as a debtors' prison situated on the first floor (with stoves and windows). From the backyard side a vaulted corridor, with four small windows stretched along the chambers. From the attic located above the prison there was an entry to a vaulted gallery with openings facing the south part of the Market Square (20 pillars interconnected by arcades). [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, pp. 6–7]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz XVIII w.</i>, LVII], [Radi C., <i>Schmaus i Włodek</i>, 2000], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 120], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782</i>, 2006]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan szwedzki 1702], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kółtajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794]</p>
	<p>1796</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 127]</p>	<p>Austrian administration takes over all the buildings of the Town Hall ensemble. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Balicki K., 1802, ban185], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., <i>Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801</i>, 2006]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]</p>
	<p>1809</p> <p>[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>Change of the owner following the incorporation of Krakow to the <i>Duchy of Warsaw</i>. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820</i>, 2006]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1813]</p>
	<p>1815</p> <p>[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>Between 1815 and 1846 the Town Hall ensemble is a governmental property of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i>. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Brodowski J., 1819, ban181], [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban186], [Gašiorowski B., <i>Ratusz...</i>, przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [XX., <i>Ratusz...</i>, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., <i>Ratusz...</i>, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban188], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban192]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Bandurski R., <i>przed 1820</i>, w Brayer A., il. 2], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820</i>, 2006]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1820ir]</p>

R	1820 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 138, 233]	<p>Demolition of the dungeon. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>maps and plans: [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1975], [Mamica M., 2005–2006]</p>
S	1961 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 218] 1967	<p>Construction of new cellars where the original dungeon's basement and courtyard were positioned – only the outer walls of the dungeon were reused. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 218]</p> <p>The Town Hall's prison chambers and newly constructed basements situated under the former dungeon (a building originally without cellars) were transformed into a café. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 218]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., po 1967] maps and plans: [plan 1975]</p>
	2003 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 10] 2004 [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 144]	<p>Archaeological excavations of the western part of the dungeon – a part of its walls were revealed (E. Zaitz). [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 144]</p> <p>iconography: [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 8], [Łukacz M., 2006, il. 1, 6–7]</p> <p>maps and plans: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>

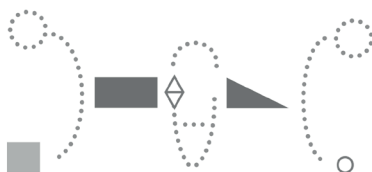


Graph of potential interactions for the *dungeon* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Two major successive phases of development of the dungeon have been identified. Besides, a destructive transformation (a fire) is followed by a series of recurring transformations (reconstruction in the previous form and change of owner). In 1820 the building is demolished and much later (1961–1967) a part of the dungeon's relics are reused during a global renovation of the Town Hall ensemble's basements. A fragment of remaining relics were revealed during an archaeological campaign in 2003–2004.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

fish stalls / *jatki rybne*



Visual measure of complexity for the *fish stalls*.

A fork in the beginning of the diagram underlines doubts about the identity of artefacts described in various sources (historical sources mention sometimes different objects under the same name).

Archaeological relics discovered in this location were not explicitly identified. The doubts concerning their identity are represented by a fork in the end of the diagram.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A wooden construction used to sell fish. Its exact form and layout remain mere conjectures. The hypothetical reconstructions that may be proposed are based in large part on analogies with other objects of the same type.

fisher (*piscator*) [1], fishmonger (*cetarius*) [2]

In 1408, a new law that regulated fish trade was enacted. The sale of fish was very strictly controlled. Anyone who brought fish to the Market Square had to prove his identity to a municipal officer and had to provide a written document stating where he got the fish from.

The same fish could be proposed to consumers for two days only, therefore in the end of the first day the unsold fishes were marked (half of the unsold fishes' tails was cut off). The second day the entire tail had to be cut off – a fish without tail could not be sold any more. [3]

The 1670 seal of the fishers' guild: ... is oval (...), a crowned eagle looking to the right in its centre – national emblem of Poland – under its claws a carp turned to the right [is represented]... [4]

The celebration called 'Konik Zwierzyniecki' commemorates a victory of the citizens of Krakow over the Tatars. The participation of members of the fishers' and rafters' guilds was decisive in this battle. [5]

Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część IV (1598–1606)*, T. VIII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 2000, p. 331

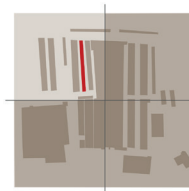
Note 2. cf. *Słownik zawodów łac.-pol.*, [on-line] <http://genepedia.pl/index.php/S%C5%82ownik_zawod%C3%B3w_%C5%82ac-pol.>, accessed 02 II 2013

Note 3. cf. Chotkowski M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV wieku*, Kraków 1891, pp. 42, 47, 65

Note 4. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w. Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach*, drukiem m. Muzeum przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, p. 17

Note 5. cf. XX. *Boże Ciało według rysunków Andriolliego*, Andriollówka Nr 18 (28.06.2011) Wydawca R. Lewandowski, [on-line] <http://www.andriollowka.pl/numer_18.php>, accessed 10 X 2011

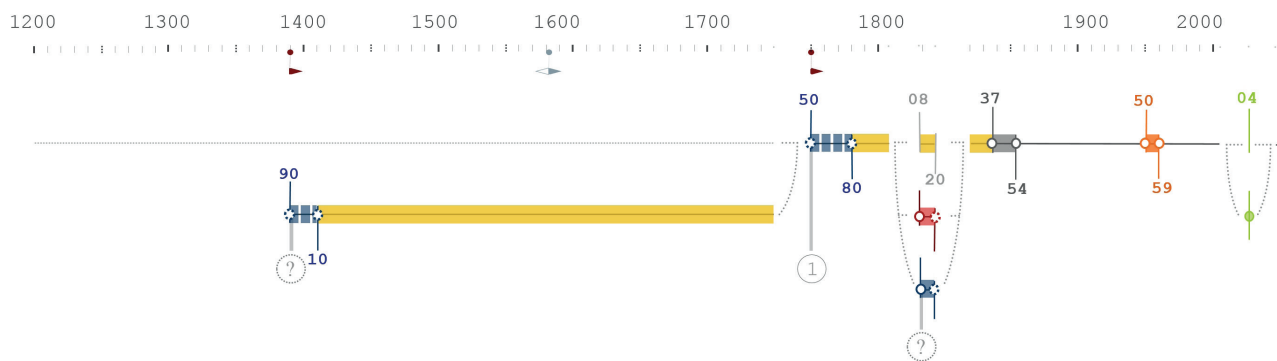
fish stalls / jatki rybne



scampa piscium
ławy rybne

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]



?

1390 ?? at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries
1410 ?? [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008],
[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 121]

Fish benches were located on the fish market (*forum piscium*, *Fischmarkt*, *fisch markt*), mentioned in 1457 and located on the eastern side of the Market Square (the fish market is also mentioned as located on the western side of the Market Square in 1438).

[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 121], [Tyszk P., 1390–1410, il. 1]

According to D. Rederowa, fishers' benches were formerly located closer to the Vistula river, in the vicinity of the Wawel Castle (and naturally closer to their homes).

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]

The early fish stalls (fishers' benches) could be movable stands without a fixed location. cf. [Boileau E., *Le Livre Des Métiers*, analyse par René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot, Paris 1879], [XX., *poissons d'eau douce*], [Olaus Magnus, 1555, *l'étal d'un poissonnier*],

In the beginning of the 15th century, fishers' benches are localised on the fish market (*forum piscium*, *Fischmarkt*) possibly close to the Town Hall (?). Food products are sold in the north-west part of the Market Square.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1481–1802 – different documents from 1481–1802: statutes and guild privileges, reports of meetings, a dispute between Krakow and Kazimierz fishermen, trade fair fees, etc.

[ANK, cech rybaków, 1481–1802]

1514 – *Fisher's benches* are mentioned.

1529, 1611 – Krakow's fishers' benches (stalls?) are mentioned.

1589 – A note on Krakow's fishers' benches (stalls?) appears in documents related to the property of the parish of St. Mary. [Smoniewski J.W., 1868, p. 41]

analogous objects: [XX., *poissons d'eau douce*], [Olaus Magnus, 1555, *l'étal d'un poissonnier*], [Albucasis, BnF fol. 80v, 1400–1499]

1

(1750–1790) – constructed only in the second half of the 18th century

1750 ?? [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]

1780 ?? 1787 – A textual description specifies where the stalls are located.
[plan Pucka 1787]

Transfer of the fish stalls to the Market Square.

The stalls were located between the bakers' stalls and the pottery stalls. 12 fish stalls (for the fishers' guild), a shed for a caretaker and a well were constructed.

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]

1601–1848 – documents concerning the fishers' guild in Krakow (1601–1848) (ANKr)

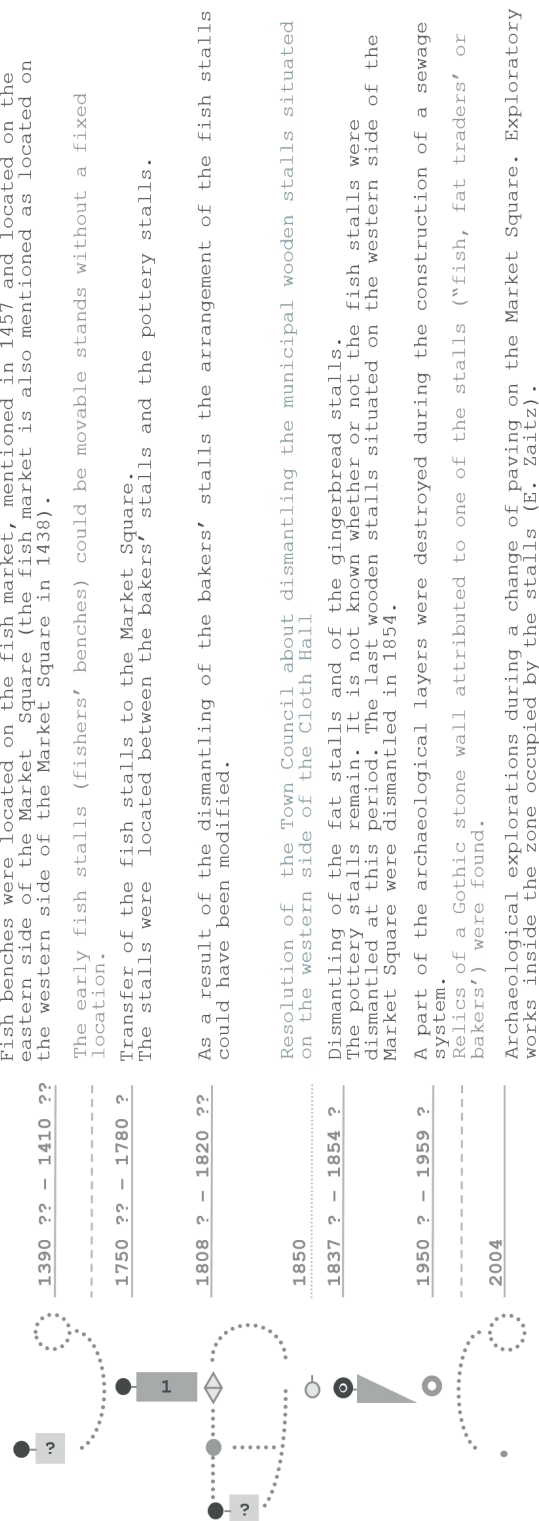
1787 – The fish stalls were located on an open space under a wooden roof.

...Close to the Cloth Hall were the pottery stalls, the lard stalls and bakers' stalls. Just by the Cloth Hall in a long and narrow building were the bakers' stalls. Between two [rows of buildings] in a long open street – presumably under 'arcades' – fish were sold...

[Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8], [plan Pucka 1787]

1787 – The stalls are built of wood. [Murray E., 1787, p. 123]

		<p>1820 – <i>a abattre</i> (to be removed) [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1832–1836], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1834]</p> <p>In Western Europe fish stalls were usually open buildings or benches with a roof or a canopy.</p> <p>analogous objects: Lille – [Le Blondel A., 1870, BmL. alb.E1.9], [Le Blondel A., 1870, BmL. alb.E1.10], [Boldoduc E., 1865, BmL.44213, pl.32], Bruges – [XX, Bruges, <i>Marché aux poissons_2</i>], [XX, Bruges, <i>Le petit marché aux poissons_4</i>], Ypres – [XX, Ypres, <i>Marché aux poissons_2</i>], Bruxelles – [XX, Bruxelles, <i>Marché aux poissons_6</i>], inne – [Beschey J.F, 1750–1799, RO 854], [Bout P., 1675–1725, MR 573], [XX, <i>Marché aux poissons_1</i>]</p>
	?	<p>As a result of the dismantling of the bakers' stalls the arrangement of the fish stalls could have been modified. It is not known whether they were relocated or modified, but their existence is confirmed by plans. [plan 1820ir], [plan 1832–1836], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1807–1808 – An inventory of real estate in Krakow mentions the fish stalls (number 9) in the south-east quarter of the Rich Stalls. [Münch H., 1959, p. 11], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808]</p> <p>1832–1836 – The fish stalls are marked as objects not intended for sale. They are shown as two (?) parallel buildings on the west side of the pottery stalls. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1834 – Fish stalls (number 7) [plan 1834], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1800–1816 – documents concerning butchers, fat traders, fishers and oilmen from 1800–1801 and 1805–1816 (ANKr)</p> <p>iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1817], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1834], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	1808 ? 1820 ??	<p>1808 – dismantling of the bakers' stalls [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p>
	1850	<p>02 XII 1850 [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392] [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1] [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p> <p>Resolution of the Town Council about dismantling the municipal wooden stalls situated on the western side of the Cloth Hall (buildings were to be dismantled progressively, at the end of renting contracts). Private stalls were successively repurchased from their owners in order to dismantle them too. [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p>
R	1837 ? 1854 ?	<p>1836 – The fish stalls are represented. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1837 – Not visible on the iconographic source. [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p> <p>1854 – The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square are dismantled. [Wikipedia, <i>Nieistniejące...</i>, on-line], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 863–864]</p> <p>Dismantling. It is not known whether or not the fish stalls were dismantled at this period. The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854.</p> <p>Dismantling of the lard stalls and of the gingerbread stalls. The pottery stalls remain. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 220–221]</p> <p>1601–1848 – documents concerning the fishers' guild dating from 1601–1848, (ANKr)</p> <p>iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p>
	1950 ? 1959 ?	<p>in the fifties of the 20th century [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p> <p>A part of the archaeological layers were destroyed during the construction of a sewage system. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
	2004	<p>[Zaitz E., 2006]</p> <p>Archaeological explorations during a change of paving on the Market Square. Exploratory works inside the zone occupied by the stalls (E. Zaitz). [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [Zaitz E., 2006]</p> <p>Relics of a Gothic stone wall attributed to one of the stalls (<i>“fish, lard traders’ or bakers’”</i>) were found. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p> <p>iconography: [XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il. 62]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>

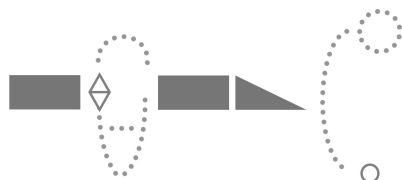


Graph of potential interactions for the *fish stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one phase of the artefact's development has been identified as certain at present. Other pieces of information available are questionable. What the relationship between the fish benches and the fish stalls was (filiation or independence) remains an open issue. Additional pieces of data would be required in order to confirm or reject the possibility of a modification of the stalls between 1808 and 1819. Finally, the identity of the archaeological relics revealed in 2004 requires additional research in order to state whether they are related or not to the fish stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

food supplies and general retail stalls / *jałki wielorakie*



Visual measure of complexity for the *food supplies and general retail stalls*.

The diagram underlines doubts that are due to scanty sources – a transformation based on circumstantial evidence, and doubts concerning the attribution of archaeological relics discovered in this zone.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

This commercial wooden building was mainly used for food trading (*i.e.* oil, groats, flour, herrings, but also other products like for example ropes) and is now removed.

oil:

In the 16th oil was produced mainly from linseed and hempseed. [1]

groats trader (*pulmentarius*) [2]

groats:

In the 16th century various kinds of groats or semolina (picked in the wild) played the role of alternative to bread. Rice was imported, rare and a very expensive product (about 18 times the price of groats). [3]

Krakow was one of the most important groats production centre. [4]

In the Middle Ages the loose products – grains, peas, beans, lentils, flour, groats, *etc.* – were measured by volume using barrels, gallons or one-quart pots. Note that these measures corresponded to different volumes than the barrels, gallons or one-quart pots used to measure liquids. In Poland the most commonly used unit of measurement for loose products was however the '*korzec*' (equivalent to approximately 98 kg). [5]

herrings:

Herrings were massively imported fishes. They were cheap, and therefore widely used all-around the country – the most common method to preserve herrings was salting. [6]

Note 1. cf. Wyczański A., *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI wieku i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Instytut Historii PAN, PWN, Warszawa 1969, p. 205

Note 2. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część I (1568–1577)*, T. V, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1997, p. 363

Note 3. cf. Wyczański A., *Studia nad konsumpcją...*, *op. cit.*, p. 18

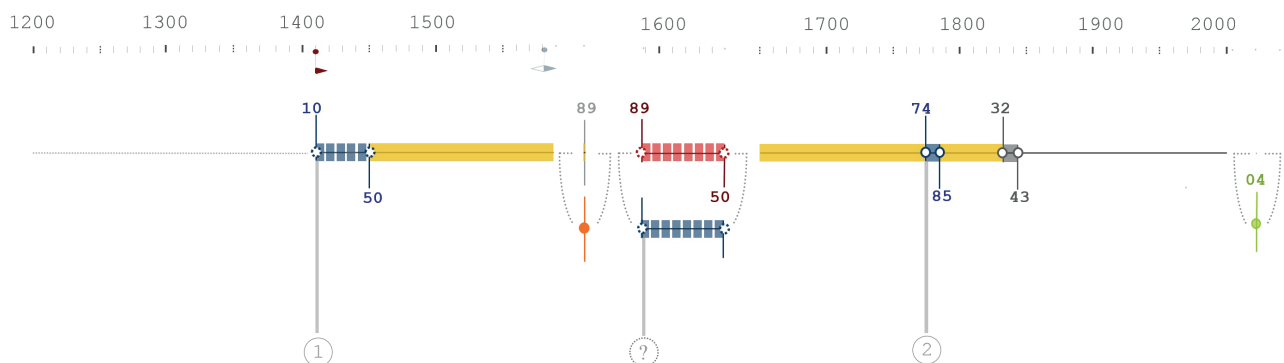
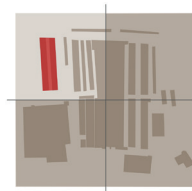
Note 4. cf. Kołaczkowski J., *Wiadomości dotyczące się przemysłu i sztuki dawnej w Polsce*, Wyd. M. Kański, Kraków 1888, p. 242

Note 5. cf. Bińczak P., *Miary długości w średniowieczu*, (2005) [on-line] Historycy.org, <<http://www.historycy.org/index.php?showtopic=9049>>, accessed 23 X 2010

Note 6. cf. Wyczański A., *Studia nad konsumpcją...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 28

food supplies and general retail stalls / *jatki wielorakie*

jatki olejne, powroźnicze, krupnicze, owsiane, śledziowe, solarzy i mączników [plan Pucka 1787]



1

In the second decade of the 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square are already completely formed.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1410 ??
1450 ??

1445 – Fire of the market hall for minor traders located in the north-western part of the Market Square.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]

1450–1500 – The food supplies and general retail stalls are represented (hypothetical reconstructions).

[MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

Approximate period of construction of the food supplies and general retail stalls – probably a wooden construction.

1445 – Fire of the market hall for minor traders located in the north-west part of the Market Square (i.e. most likely at the place where the food supplies and general retail stalls were built later)

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]

1450–1500 – Hypothetical reconstructions represent the food supplies and general retail stalls as two parallel rows of wooden buildings.

[MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

1542 – An inventory of real estate in Krakow mentions 8 ‘oat stalls’, as well as ‘rope stalls’ (no number given for the latter).

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

1589

night of the 6th to the 7th March 1589

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]

Fire of the shoemakers’ stalls – a portion of the ‘old salt stalls’ (stalls located in very vicinity of the food supplies and general retail stalls) catch fire and burn.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72]

?

Potential reconstruction or restoration of the building.

first half of the 17th century – ...[in the north-west part of the Market Square] organised in parallel rows were (...) the herring stalls, oil stalls and similar facilities. The groats stalls were the westmost of them....

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]

1589 ??

first half of the 17th century

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]

1650 ??

1667 – The stalls are shown on a plan. [plan 1667 JG]

1667 – The stalls are shown on the plan as a municipal property (cross-shaped arrangement). [plan 1667 JG]

1773 – The stalls are represented in a cross-shaped arrangement.

[plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [Civitas..., 2007], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 93]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 93], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha]

- 1614 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72] The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

Rebuilding – alteration of the arrangement, removal of the intersecting passageway

1787 – The stalls are represented without an intersecting passageway.
[plan Pucka 1787]

1792 – Sources mention: 23 'herring stalls', 2 'herring chambers', 23 'oil stalls', 24 'flour chests', *etc.*
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, pp. 83, 84], [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 63]

1794 – The stalls are represented as two parallel buildings (without an intersecting passageway).
[plan pruski 1794]

1773 – cross-shaped arrangement
[plan 1773]

1774 ? From 1785 onwards the stalls are represented without an intersecting passageway.
1785 ? [plan kołłątajowski 1785]

1796–1809 – The food supplies and general retail stalls comprised both municipal and private stalls – 'oil stalls', 'flour stalls', 'herring stalls' were municipal, 'groats stalls' and 'strzeleckie' were private. The status of 'oat stalls' is unclear.
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]

1797 – The food supplies and general retail stalls comprised: 'oat stalls', 'groats stalls', 'herring stalls', 'rope stalls', *etc.*
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]

1820 – Shown as a building intended for demolition – (*tout cela à abattre*).
[plan 1820ir]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Stachowicz M., 1794, Frančić_104], [Smuglewicz F., 1794, 1796], [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17], [Brodowski J., 1819, ban181], [Gašiorowski B., *Północna...*, przed 1820], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Gottwald, Rynek XVIII w., 2008]

maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan1700_1773], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1817], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1831], [Plan de situation, 1834]

Dismantling of the stalls started between 1832 and 1836. The whole eastern block was already demolished in 1837. In 1843 some traders were removed to the Rich Stalls. According to the plan of 1832–1836, they were relocated in the western row of the Rich Stalls.

1831 – The building is still entirely visible.
[plan 1831]

1832–1836 – The southern part of the western block is already partially dismantled.
[plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]

1836 – The sale and dismantling of these shops was carried out in 1836.
[Banach J., 1998, p. 457]

1832 ? 1837 – Only the western portion of the block is left.
1843 ? [Banach J., 1998, pp. 220–221], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]

1843 – Some traders were relocated in the Rich Stalls.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 141]

1843, 1850 – The stalls are not represented.
[Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Ekielski A., około 1850]

1834 – two parallel blocks, the western block is shortened (about 1/3 of its initial length).
[plan 1834]

1836 – The sale and demolition of these shops was carried out in 1836.
[Banach J., 1998, p. 457]

1832/1836 – All stalls are marked as properties to be sold.
[plan 1832–1836]

east block: the external part – 23 oil stalls; the internal part – north side 12 flour stalls (?), south side 13 herring stalls;
west block: internal part, north side – flour stalls (?) and herring stalls (altogether 21 stalls); external part, north side: 24 groats stalls and 2 stalls (illegible word);

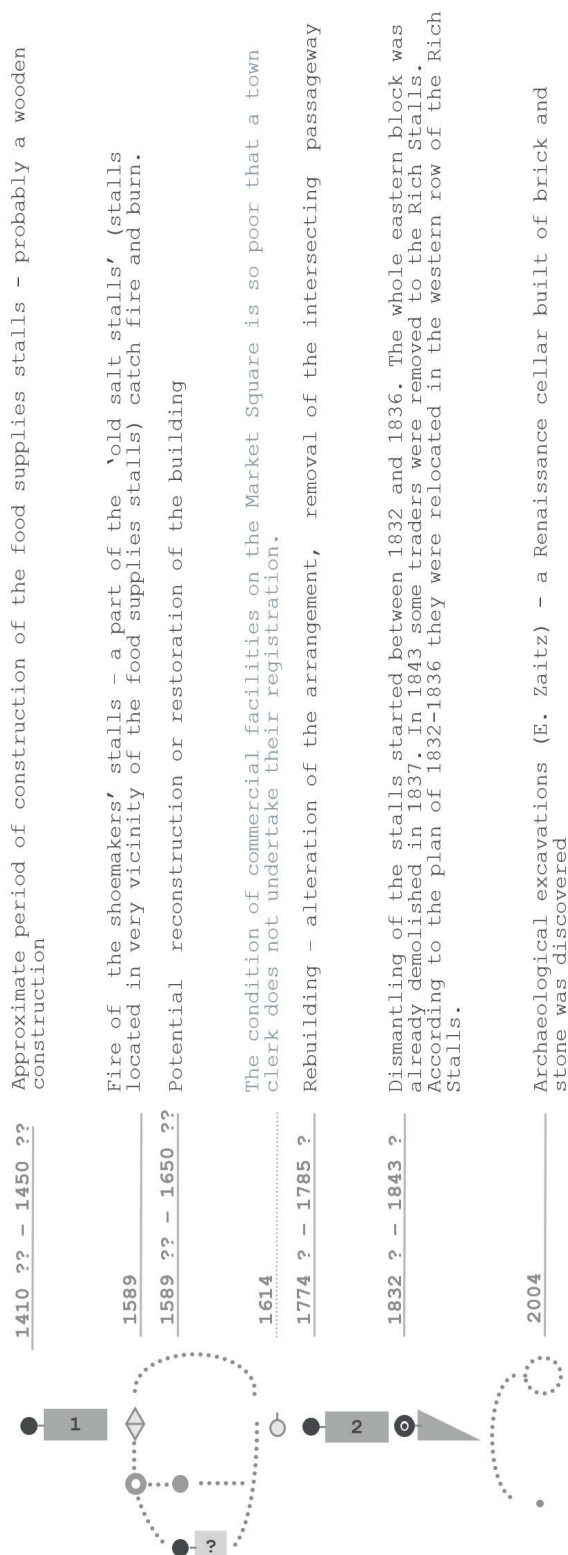
The whole eastern block of the food supplies and general retail stalls was already demolished in 1837.
[Banach J., 1998, pp. 220–221], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]

1843 – Some traders were relocated in the Rich Stalls.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 141]

iconography: [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Ekielski A., około 1850]

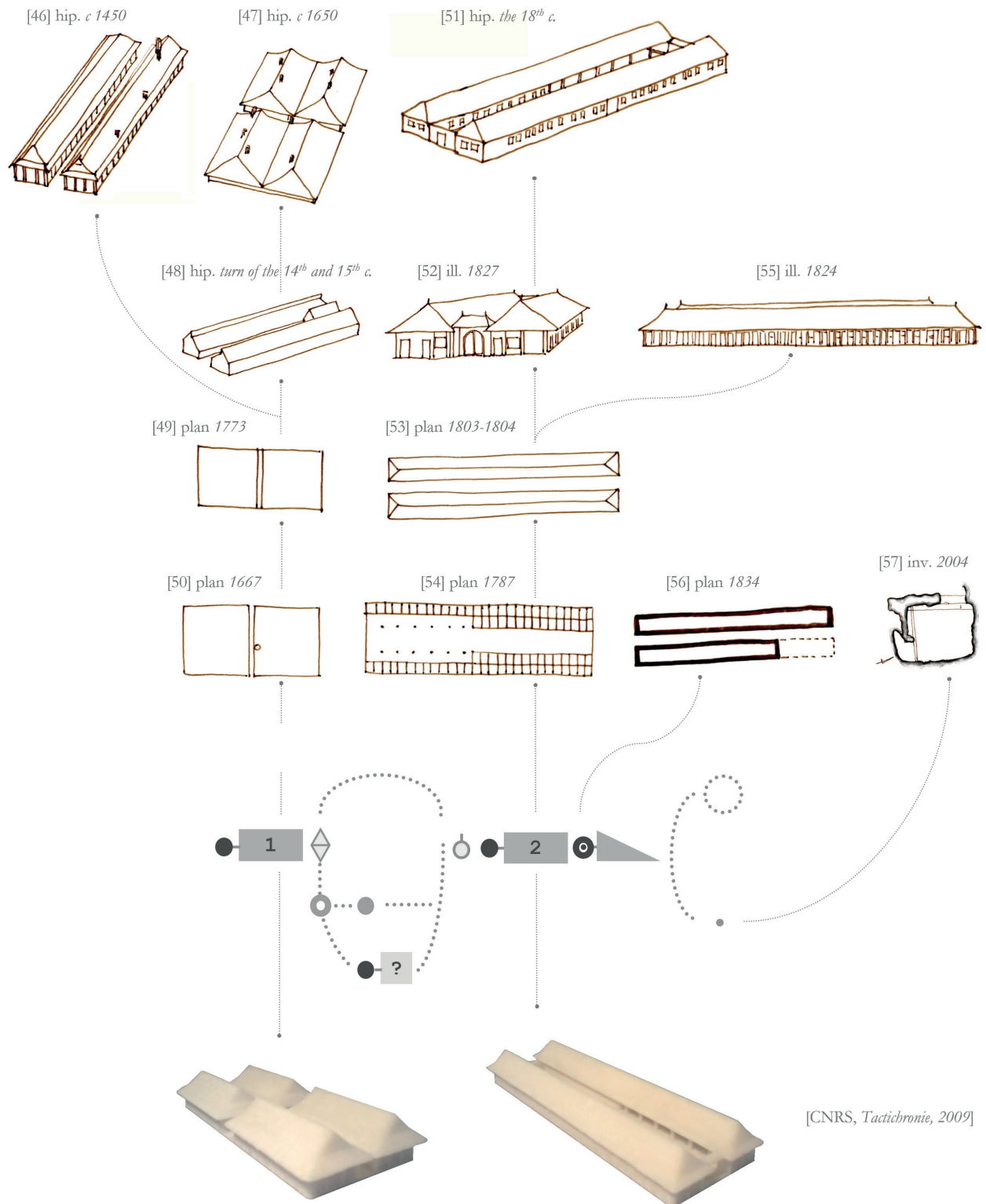
maps and plans: [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [plan 1850]

	<p>2004 [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 93–94] [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 143–144]</p> <p>July / October 2004 [Firlet E., 2010, p. 16]</p> <p>Archaeological excavations (E. Zaitz) – a Renaissance cellar built of brick and stone was discovered. [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 93–94], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 143–144]</p> <p>An utility cellar (187x200 cm), limestone, Renaissance and Gothic bricks, dirt floor. [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 93–94], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 143–144]</p> <p>iconography: [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 2, 12–15], [Łukacz M., 2006, il. 1–5], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 14], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 4], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 5]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>
--	--



Graph of potential interactions for the *food supplies and general retail stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Two phases of development have been identified. The stalls could have burnt in 1582 during a fire that started in the north-west part of the Market Square. The results of possible restorations are not known. Dating of the second evolutionary phase is approximate. The stalls were dismantled during a municipal program aimed at *cleaning the Market Square from wooden buildings in danger of fire* (this programme was continued by the 1850 resolution of the Town Council about dismantling the municipal wooden stalls situated on the western side of the Cloth Hall). In 2004 fragments of an utility cellar were discovered – there is a possibility that it is a fragment of the food supplies stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

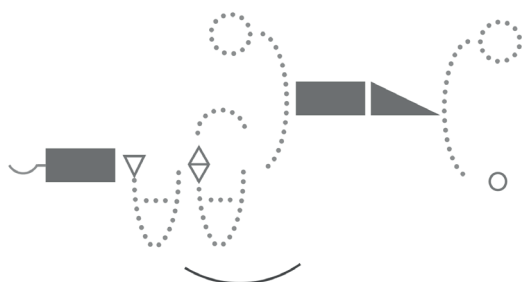


Graph of potential interactions for the *food supplies and general retail stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Two phases of development have been identified. Visual sources for the first phase are limited to general plans of the Market Square (showing the building's location, size and layout) – hypothetical restitutions of the stalls during this period have a low corroboration level. The form of the stalls in the second phase of development is better documented – both cartographic and iconographic sources exist.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

gingerbread stalls / *kramy kichlarskie*



Visual measure of complexity for the *gingerbread stalls*. This compound diagram underlines a succession of doubts: lack of confidence in the fact that all the data collected concerns the same object (both forks), difficulty with the dating, as well as with the very occurrence of some transformations based on circumstantial events.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

The gingerbread stalls have been used to sell gingerbread and all kinds of sweet delicacies. They were located near the bakers' stalls close to the Cloth Hall's western entrance (intersecting passageway).

Medieval sweets used less sugar and more honey than modern palates are accustomed to since sugar was expensive and not always available.

confectioners (*cuchleri, cuchlerones, dulcipanarii*) [1]

In the 15th and the 16th centuries confectioners were affiliated to the guild of bakers. Their independent guild emerged in 1609. In Poland the first guild of confectioners was established in Krakow. In the 17th century confectioners started to emigrate from impoverished Krakow to other cities (mainly to Toruń). [2]

The confectioners' emblem, as it appears on a 1751 stamp, is ... *a rectangular gingerbread, with a head drawn in profile* ... [3]

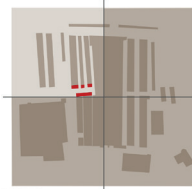
Note 1. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w.* Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach., drukiem Muzeum Przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, p. 7

Note 2. cf. XX., *Dzieje najstarszego cechu w Polsce. 750 lat piekarzy krakowskich*, [on-line] Forum piekarzy, piekarnictwa i branż piekarniczych.

<<http://www.forum.opp.pl/viewtopic.php?p=437>>, accessed 16 VI 2010

Piernik [on-line], Wikipedia <<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piernik>>, accessed 16 VI 2010

Note 3. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze...*, op. cit., p. 7



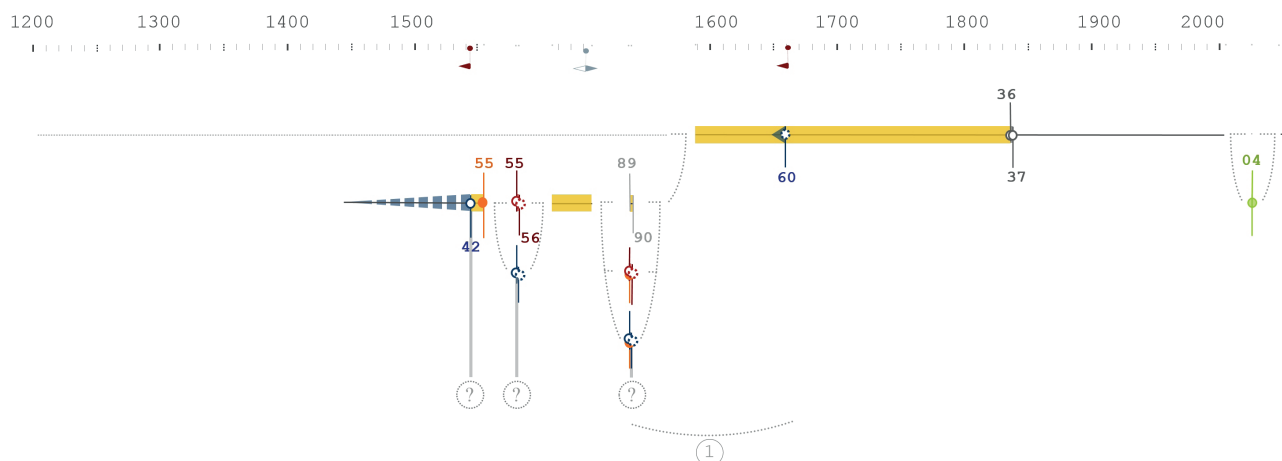
gingerbread stalls / *kramy kichlarskie*

institae in quibus kuchlerones libas vendut
jatki kichlarskie
kramy piernikarskie

[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 40]

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 83]

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]



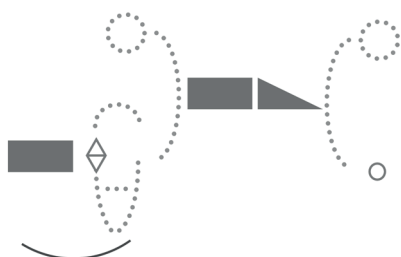
?	<p>... ??</p> <p>1542?</p> <p>1542 – Stalls in which gingerbread is sold are mentioned... <i>institae in quibus kuchlerones libas vendut...</i> [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 40]</p>	<p>Undetermined period of construction of the first gingerbread stalls.</p> <p>There is no evidence indicating, that the first stalls for confectioners were located in between the bakers' stalls and the shoemakers' stalls, as they are supposed to be in a later evolution. They were most probably wooden buildings.</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p>
	<p>1555</p> <p>[<i>Encyklopedia Krakowa</i>, 2000, p. 938]</p> <p>[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 29]</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]</p>	<p>Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – a portion of the pottery stalls and of the bakers' stalls catch fire and burn. If the gingerbread stalls were indeed located between the bakers' stalls and the shoemakers' stalls, they most probably burnt as well.</p>
?	<p>1555 ?</p> <p>1556 ??</p>	<p>Possible repairs after the fire – the form of the stalls could have been altered.</p>
	<p>07 III 1589</p> <p>1589</p> <p>[Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29],</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]</p>	<p>Fire of the shoemakers' stalls and of the tanners' stalls.</p> <p>[Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 67, 72]</p> <p>Neighbouring gingerbread stalls could have caught fire and burnt.</p>
?	<p>1589 ?</p> <p>1590 ??</p>	<p>Possible repairs after the fire – the form of the stalls could have been altered.</p>
	<p>1609</p> <p>[<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i>, 2006, pdf]</p>	<p>In Krakow an independent guild of confectioners emerged in 1609. Before that date they were affiliated to the bakers' guild.</p> <p>[<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i>, 2006, pdf]</p>
	<p>1614</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94],</p> <p>[Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p>	<p>The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p>
1	<p>1609 – setting up of the confectioners' guild</p> <p>[<i>Dzieje najstarszego...</i>, 2006, pdf]</p> <p>1589 ??</p> <p>1660 ??</p> <p>1792 – The gingerbread stalls are covered by an old roof.</p> <p>[Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 83]</p>	<p>Construction (renewal) of the gingerbread stalls.</p> <p>around 1650 – The gingerbread stalls are represented on an hypothetical reconstruction. [Civitas..., 2007]</p> <p>The utility cellar (provisionally called <i>object B</i>, cf. [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97]) could have been an outbuilding related to the gingerbread stalls.</p>

	<p>1796–1809 –...12 individual and very old gingerbread stalls... are mentioned [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 94]</p> <p>An utility cellar discovered to the north of the shoemakers' stalls has been provisionally interpreted as dating back to the 17th century. [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145]</p>	<p>1667–1773 – The stalls are not represented on plans. [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773]</p> <p>1747–1925 – different documents from 1747–1925: statutes and guild privileges, reports of meetings, a dispute between confectioners and bakers, records of apprentices and assistants, etc. [ANK, cech piernikarzy, 1747–1925]</p> <p>1787 – Two rows of stalls are represented: the first is adjacent to the north of the shoemakers' stalls and the tanners' stalls, the second is adjacent to the south of the bakers' stalls and the pottery stalls. [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1792 – A note mentions 12 gingerbread stalls (with shutters, roof in a poor condition). [Follprecht K., Źródła..., 2007, p. 83]</p> <p>... The gingerbread stalls were located on the west side of the Cloth Hall, traddling its intersecting passageway, adjoining the south side of the bakers' stalls (and fish stalls) and the north side of the shoemakers' stalls (and tanners' stalls). They considerably increased the density of housing in this area. They mostly consisted of 12 individual and very old stalls... [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 94]</p> <p>1832–1836 – 12 stalls (labelled <i>lard stalls/gingerbread</i> [?]<i>stalls</i>) intended for demolition are represented – however, they are not adjacent structures but occupy a space inside the pottery and lard stalls. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1834 – In the northern part of the shoemakers' stalls a transversal building is represented. [plan 1834]</p> <p>... In between the Town Hall tower and the Cloth Hall there was a place called "plum jam place" where one could buy fruit preserves. Close to it there were confectioners – who prepared gingerbread and cakes, ... [Unitarg, 2011]</p> <p>A wall of the tanners' stalls (uncovered in 2004), dating back to the 17th century has a stratigraphic relationship with the wall of a cellar (<i>object B</i>). The brick-built wall of the cellar (330x160 cm) is adjacent to the stone-built walls of the shoemakers' stalls. [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145], [XX, w Łukacz M., 2006, il. 27]</p> <p>object B (a cellar): Access to the cellar (floor of brick, plastered walls) was most probably possible thanks to a ladder or wooden stairs. [XX, w Łukacz M., 2006, il. 26]</p> <p>The cellar's utility level is about one meter lower than today's level. [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97], [XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il. 28]</p> <p>Walls made of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque bricks (reused material). [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 145–146]</p> <p>iconography: [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 2, 25], [Łukacz M., 2006, il. 1, 23–27]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]</p>
R	<p>1836–1837 – Dismantling of the lard stalls and of the gingerbread stalls. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 220–221]</p> <p>1836 ? [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1837 ? [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1837 – The object is not represented on a painting. [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p>	<p>Approximate period of removal of the stalls – the north row of stalls is for sure dismantled, but there is no evidence available concerning the south row of stalls.</p> <p>1836–1837 – Dismantling of the lard stalls and of the gingerbread stalls (north row). [Banach J., 1998, pp. 220–221]</p> <p>The south row of stalls is not represented:</p> <p>1837 – [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p> <p>1848 – [Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., <i>Restauracja</i>..., il. 63]</p> <p>1850 – [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>1866 – [Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131]</p>
	<p>August – October 2004 [Firlet E., 2010, p. 16]</p> <p>2004 [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 145–146]</p>	<p>Archaeological and architectural investigations (E. Zaitz, M. Łukacz) inside the zone occupied by the stalls.</p> <p>Relics of a brick-built cellar situated in the zone where the gingerbread stalls could have been located were found.</p> <p>iconography: [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 2, 25], [Łukacz M., 2006, il. 1, 23–27]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *gingerbread stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Only one phase of the object's development has been identified as certain. The gingerbread stalls are mentioned in sources quite early, but only in terms of function – their localisation is not indicated. Since in this catalogue the 'identity' of an object is not only a function-related parameter, doubts concerning specifically the identity are represented by glyphs-forks. Significant dating problems are also visible (arched lines underlining symbols of morphological transformations), as well as transformations based on circumstantial evidences.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *glass stalls*.

This compound diagram underlines our lack of confidence in the fact that all the data collected concerns the same object (doubts concern both the initial evolutionary phase and the 'identity' of the archaeological relics that have been discovered). An occurrence of a transformation based on circumstantial events, as well as dating problems are also visible.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

On the Market Square existed, and sometimes coexisted, buildings that because they had similar functions, were named in the same way. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish whether pieces of information collected concern this or that architectural object.

Historical sources and later studies use several terms that can not be unambiguously associated with the glass stalls – *jatki* or *kramy skleniczne* and *jatki* or *kramy szklarskie*. In this catalogue one and only one building, situated to the north-west of the Cloth Hall, is merely called '*glass stalls*'. We shall name the other stalls or benches – probably used for the same purposes, but located near the cemetery of St. Mary's Basilica – '*glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery*'.

In publications that focus on the function and the role of buildings in the city, both objects are usually mentioned together. In this catalogue the criterion we use to 'identify' unambiguously an artefact is not only its function. The *glass stalls* and the *glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery* were located in different places and most likely co-existed, therefore we consider them as two separate objects.

glazier, glassewryght, 'glass trader' (*vitrorus?*) [1]

Glass traders sold their products (*i.e.* panes, glass vessels, beads and glassware, much later mirrors and glasses) and bought broken glass as well. [2]

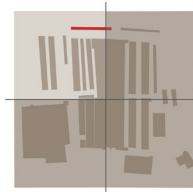
In the 16th and 17th century, Krakow and Gdańsk were two large glass trade centres in Poland. [3]

Note 1. cf. Wýrobisz, *Szkło w Polsce od XIV do XVII wieku*, Kraków Wrocław, 1968, p. 20

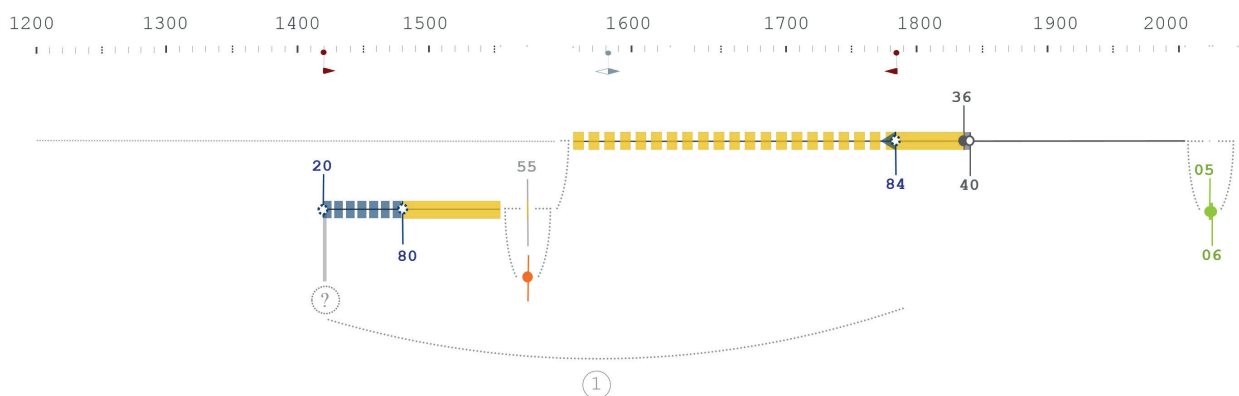
Note 2. *Ibidem*, pp. 165, 176–177

Note 3. *Ibidem*, p. 181

glass stalls / *kramy szklarskie*



jatki szklarskie [plan Pucka 1787]
jatki szklane [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 63, note 67]
kramy przed Piekarzami [Banach J., 1998, pp. 83, 85]
jatki skleniczne (?) (1792) [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]



?

In the second decade of the 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square were already completely formed. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

around 1450 – Some stalls situated where the glass stalls will be situated later are represented on hypothetical reconstructions.

1420 ??
1480 ?? [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

1490–1497 – Statutes of the Krakow guild of glaziers were written in 1490 or 1497, although the guild was created much earlier (mentioned already in 1405). [Wyrobisz A., 1968, pp. 199–200], [Kołaczkowski J., 1888, p. 107]

Approximate period of construction of the glass stalls.

[MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

1490 – Statutes of the Krakow guild of glaziers were written in 1490, although the guild was created much earlier (already mentioned in 1405).

[Wyrobisz A., 1968, pp. 199–200]

1497 – Statutes of the Krakow guild of glaziers were written in 1497.

[Kołaczkowski J., 1888, p. 107]

hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478]?, [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]?, [MHmK, II poł. XVI w]

1490 ? 1490 – [Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 199]

1497 ? 1497 – [Kołaczkowski J., 1888, p. 107]

Statutes for the guild of glaziers

[Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 199], [Kołaczkowski J., 1888, p. 107]

1555 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 237]
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 85]
[Buško C., 2006, p. 68]

The 1555 fire could affect buildings located close to the Cloth Hall.

The wooden-clay trading benches situated to the north of the Cloth Hall burnt probably at this period.

[Buško C., 2006, p. 68]

Relics of these benches may not relate to the glass stalls at all.

1

... ??
1784 ?? The first definite information confirming the existence of stalls situated to the north side of the Cloth Hall date back to 1785. [plan kołłątajowski 1785]

Construction of new stalls (or reconstruction after the fire). Later iconographic sources show the glass stalls as a wooden building with a hip roof.

1650 – On hypothetical reconstructions of the Market Square the zone occupied by the glass stalls is shown as not yet occupied.

[Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, Kraków 1650, 2007]

1760 – 29 stalls are mentioned (*kramy skleniczne*) – most probably information relates to the glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 77]

Approximately 66,6 meters long when translated from ells.

1785, 1800 – Two buildings are represented, aligned on the same axis and parallel to the north side of the Cloth Hall.

[plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan 1800]

		<p>1787 – 15 stalls, grouped in one single building and parallel to the north side of the Cloth Hall are represented. Tomkowicz describes these stalls as <i>building of unknown function</i>. [plan Pucka 1787], [Tomkowicz S., 1907, pp. 7–8]</p> <p>1792 – A note mentions 13 '<i>jatki skleniczne</i>' (these could be the glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery) and 23 '<i>kramy szklane</i>' (these could be the glass stalls, but they could also be the salt stalls since the latter were sometimes called <i>glass stalls</i> too) – both with roofs in poor condition. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 84]</p> <p>K. Follprecht localises <i>glass stalls</i> to the north of the Cloth Hall at the exit of <i>św. Jana</i> street. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 63, note 67]</p> <p>1787–1836 – represented as one long building [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1831], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1796–1809 – D. Rederowa mentions 15 wooden glass stalls situated <i>to west of the soap stalls (in their continuation), facing Sydrówka (the northern cloth-cropping workshop) the bakers' stalls and the fish stalls</i>. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p> <p>1800 – The east part of the stalls is represented on a painting. [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18]</p> <p>1800, 1803/4, 1824, 1827 – The glass stalls are represented with a hip roof. [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18] [plan 1803–1804], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127],</p> <p>1832–1836 – 15 stalls represented in one long row (like in 1787). [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1817], [plan 1831], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]</p>
	1614	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]</p> <p>The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p>
R	1836 1840 ?	<p>1832–1836 – campaign of demolition of the wooden buildings that furnished the Market Square [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 140]</p> <p>1836 – beginning of the dismantling 1837 – only 4 stalls are left [Banach J., 1998, p. 221]</p> <p>1840 – <i>I was drawing on the 25th of May 1840 and at that time sheds were being demolished</i>. [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]</p> <p>1850 – The stalls to the north of the Cloth Hall are not represented. [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>Beginning of the dismantling – out of 15 stalls only 4 are left. [plan 1832–1836], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Banach J., 1998, p. 221]</p> <p>Starting from 1840, iconographic sources do not show any stalls situated in this area. [Banach J., 1998, p. 389], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]</p> <p>1832–1836 – The stalls are represented with the mention '<i>to be sold</i>'. (15 stalls) [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>25th May 1840 – <i>I was drawing on the 25th of May 1840 and at that time sheds were being demolished</i>. [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Banach J., 1998, p. 252]</p> <p>iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	2005 2006	<p>Archaeological excavations – relics of an unidentified wooden commercial building positioned to the north and perpendicularly to the Cloth Hall have been discovered. [Buśko C., 2006, p. 68]</p> <p>These relics may not relate to the glass stalls at all.</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *glass stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one phase of development has been identified as certain. No pieces of information allow us to date the artefact's creation. Some hypothetical restitutions suggest that the north side of the Cloth Hall, where the glass stalls will be situated in the 18th century was already a built up area in 15th century. If it was so, it is likely that these constructions burnt during the 1555 fire. And during recent archaeological investigations on this site, relics of a wooden construction that apparently had burnt (in 1555 ?) were uncovered. One can not exclude at this stage that there is a relation between this early wooden construction and the glass stalls.

The glass stalls were dismantled between 1836 and 1840.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery /
kramy szklarskie koło cmentarza NMP



Visual measure of complexity for the *glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery*.

This simple and short diagram underlines the fact that there are no differences in the interpretation of the data – this however can be due to scanty sources.

Until now no relics could be attributed to the *glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Removed, most likely small, commercial, wooden buildings situated on the Market Square near St. Mary Basilica's cemetery wall.

Starting from the end of the 13th century demand for glass started to grow (the glass surfaces were getting bigger). [1]

Glaziers were organised in guilds, most often together with other professions since there was not enough of them to create an independent guild. Glaziers in Krakow formed guilds most often with painters and goldsmiths, and sometimes with carpenters.

The 1490 statutes of the Krakow guild of glaziers banned the masters from accepting more than two apprentices at the same time. It banned also...*filling the holes with bread or wax instead of soldering them on with lead...* [2]

In Krakow, the glass was delivered on the Market Square by carters. The duty was charged according to the number of horses carrying the goods. Once delivered on the Market Square the goods were divided between 'glass traders'. [3]

The large number of glass stalls in Krakow and their importance relates to the fact, that Krakow was an important glass trade centre. In other Polish towns the number of glass stalls was smaller. [4]

Glass retailing in Poland was strictly regulated and controlled by local and national authorities. Glass stalls already existed in the 14th century and were the only places where glass trading was allowed. [5]

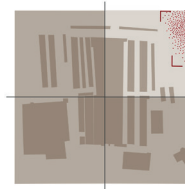
Note 1. cf. Wyrobisz, *Szkło w Polsce od XIV do XVII wieku*, Kraków Wrocław, 1968, p. 108

Note 2. *Ibidem*, pp. 125, notes: 76, 199, 203

Note 3. *Ibidem*, pp. 174, 180

Note 4. *Ibidem*, p. 177

Note 5. *Ibidem*, p. 176



glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery /

kramy szklarskie koło cmentarza NMP

vitreatrices

institae vitreatoriae

casae vitreorum

jatki (kramy) skleniczne (!)

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]

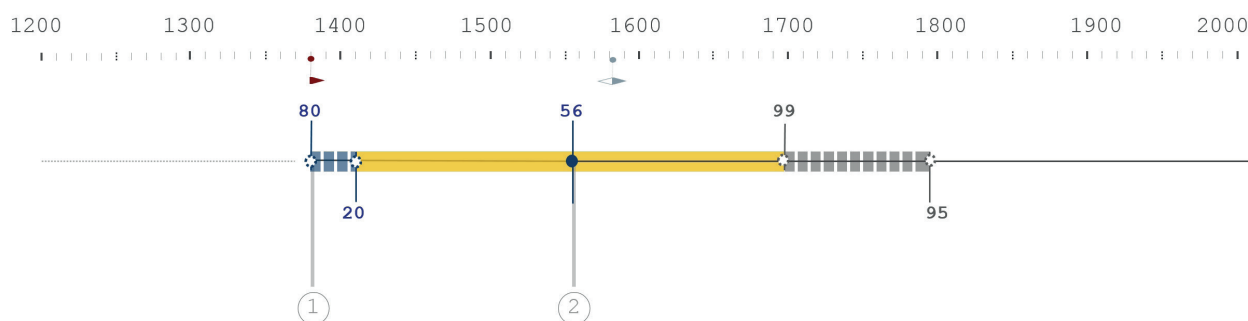
[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 40]

[Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 176]

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, pp. 72, 73],

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 63]



1

Glass stalls (or benches) already existed in Krakow in the 14th century.
[Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 176]

Glass stalls were constructed on the Market Square in the 15th century.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]

1380 ??

1420 ??

turn of the 14th and 15th centuries – municipal expenses on *casae vitreorum* (glass stalls) are mentioned.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]
In the second decade of the 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square were already completely formed.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

Approximate period of construction of the glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 72, 95], [Wyrobisz A., 1968, pp. 176–177]

Glass stalls (or benches) already existed in Krakow in the 14th century. They were situated between *Sienna* street and *Floriańska* street, along the cemetery wall of St. Mary's Basilica.

[Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 176]

1542 – 23 glass stalls situated nearby the cemetery of St. Mary's Basilica are mentioned.
[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 40], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Duch W., 11_MHK, 2010], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

Statutes for the guild of glaziers

[Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 199], [Kończkowski J., 1888, p. 107]

1490 ?

1490 – [Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 199]

1497 ?

1497 – [Kończkowski J., 1888, p. 107]

The guild of glaziers was already mentioned in 1405.
[Wyrobisz A., 1968, pp. 199–200]

2

Extension of the glass stalls near St. Mary's cemetery.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72]

16th century – 15 stalls are mentioned
[Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 176]

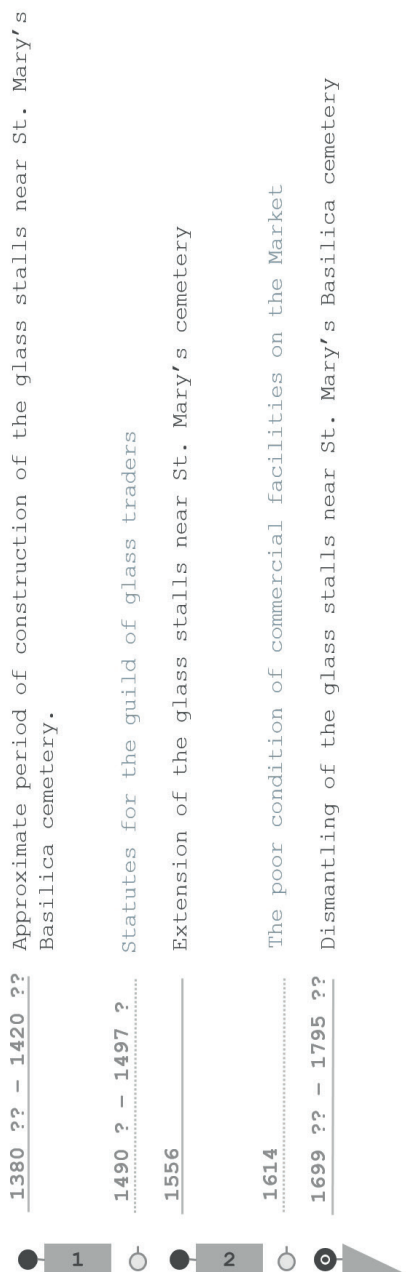
1556 – extension of the glass stalls near St. Mary's cemetery
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]
[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007, p. 208]

first half of the 17th century – situated close to St. Mary's Basilica cemetery, perpendicularly to the iron stalls.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]

1627, 1629 – Glass stalls (*jatki skleniczne* or *skleniczne*) extending between tenement number 4 and St. Mary's Basilica cemetery are mentioned.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1643 – Glass stalls (*kramy skleniczne*) start at the first entrance to the cemetery of St. Mary's Basilica (when coming from *Sienna* street), they follow the cemetery wall, and end up near the cemetery entrance facing *Floriańska* street.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 73]

		<p>1650 – On hypothetical reconstructions of the Market Square, the zone where the glass stalls should be situated is shown as an empty space. [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, Kraków 1650, 2007]</p> <p>1651 – 36 stalls are mentioned. [Wyrobisz A., 1968, pp. 176–177]</p> <p>1699 – 31 stalls are mentioned. [Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 176]</p>
		<p>The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.</p> <p>1614 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p> <p>Rain waters from the Market Square flow into the glass stalls (<i>jatki skleniczne</i>). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p>
R	<p>1699 ??</p> <p>1795 ??</p>	<p>1699 – 31 glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery are mentioned. [Wyrobisz A., 1968, p. 176]</p> <p>1760 – A note mentions 29 <i>kramy skleniczne</i> without specifying their localisation. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 77]</p> <p>1792 – 13 <i>kramy skleniczne</i>, as well as 23 <i>jatki szklane</i> are mentioned without specifying their localisation. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 84]</p> <p>1795–1796 – The wall of St. Mary's Basilica cemetery is demolished. Constructions neighbouring or leaning against the wall had to be demolished too.</p> <p>1796 – the stalls are not represented on a painting [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17]</p> <p>Dismantling of the glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery.</p> <p>Neither plans nor hypothetical reconstructions show the stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery.</p> <p>1760 – A note mentions 29 <i>kramy skleniczne</i> without specifying their localisation – it is therefore hard to state if this information does concern the glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 77]</p> <p>Approximately 66,6 meters long when translated from ells. The width of individual stalls varied between 1,4 and 2,7 meters.</p> <p>1792 – 13 <i>kramy skleniczne</i>, as well as 23 <i>jatki szklane</i> are mentioned without specifying their localisation – it is therefore hard to state if one of these notes concerns the glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 84]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *glass stalls near St. Mary's Basilica cemetery* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Two phases of development have been identified. The period of dismantling is approximate, although for sure the stalls had no chance to remain after the removal of the cemetery wall in 1795.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *granary*.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram.

While being constructed the granary annexed the relics of other artefact(s), later on fragments of its own relics have been annexed by another building.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A stone and brick building (part of the Town Hall ensemble) demolished in the early 19th century (1820). Its primary function was to serve as a granary. Only the basement of this important edifice survived the demolition. A portion of its relics was destroyed during the Second World War, another portion (two chambers) was renovated, adapted and annexed to the '*cellars of the Town Hall*'.

The relics of the council members' house, of the notary's house and of the market hall for minor traders have been annexed by the granary erected close to the Town Hall. [1]

... During the renewal of the granary after the 1632 fire, the city could not afford employing an outstanding artist. A guild master, M. Świątkowicz, created an eclectic edifice – quoting the parapet of the Town Hall. Thanks to the presence of this parapet the somewhat styleless building was considered as an 'Italian style' edifice. ... [2]

The examples of the granary, of the market hall for the minor traders as well as of the Cloth Hall show that fires were one of the main factors setting the pace of modernization of the edifices on the Market Square. [3]

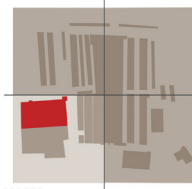
... A part of the edifice called the old Town Hall, used for a long time as granaries, is apparently deserted, therefore these granaries shall be demolished, and a new building that would beautify the town and that would prove profitable for the municipal treasury shall be constructed on this place ... [4]

Note 1. cf. Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek Główny*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2008, p. 64

Note 2. *Ibidem*, p. 246

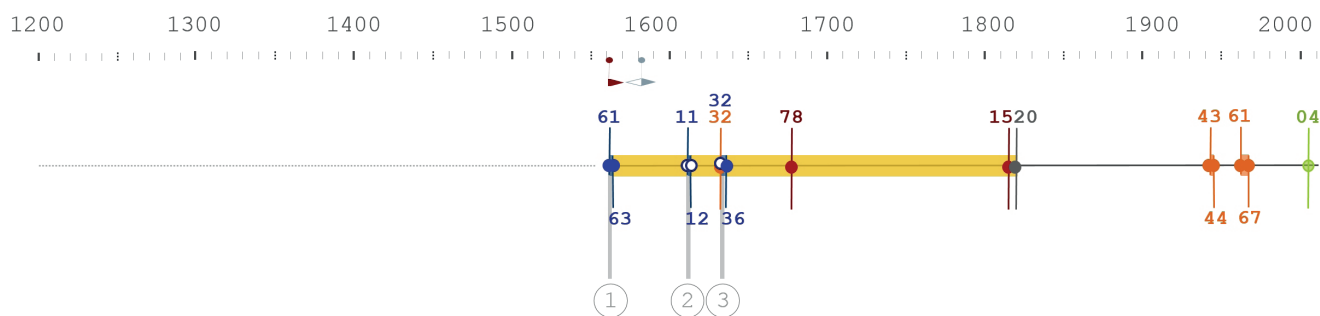
Note 3. *Ibidem*, p. 67

Note 4. *Ibidem*, p. 133, Decision taken by the Legislative Assembly of the Free City of Krakow in 1817 (article II).



granary / spichlerz

<i>granarium</i>	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
<i>Speicher</i>	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
<i>szpiklerz</i>	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]



1

1561
1563

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64]
[Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]

Construction of the granary (Stanisław Flak and Antoni Włoch) – buildings adjacent to the north wall of the Town Hall (the council members' house, the notary's house and the market hall for minor traders) are annexed by the granary.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 231], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]

The form of the granary is not known – it may have included an attic similar to this of the Cloth Hall, transformed soon before.

[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]

foundations: masonry (rubble masonry), stone and Renaissance bricks, big limestone and sandstone blocks

[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95], [Zaitz E., 2006, il. 2, p. 101], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il. 1]

1592 – The granary was close to burn.

[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]

2

1611 ?
1612 ?

1611–1612
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Foundations of a staircase were dated back approximately to the 17th or 18th century.
[Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145]

Remains of a Baroque lean-to were discovered.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]

Extension of the porch situated in front of the eastern wall.

The extension was a sort of basement structure, with a gallery topping it situated 2.5 meters above the ground. The gallery, used for communication purposes, was paved with slabs and protected entrances to the basement.

[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, pp. 42–43]

Remains of a Baroque lean-to were discovered. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95 III]

Foundations of a staircase were dated back approximately to the 17th or 18th century.
[Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145]

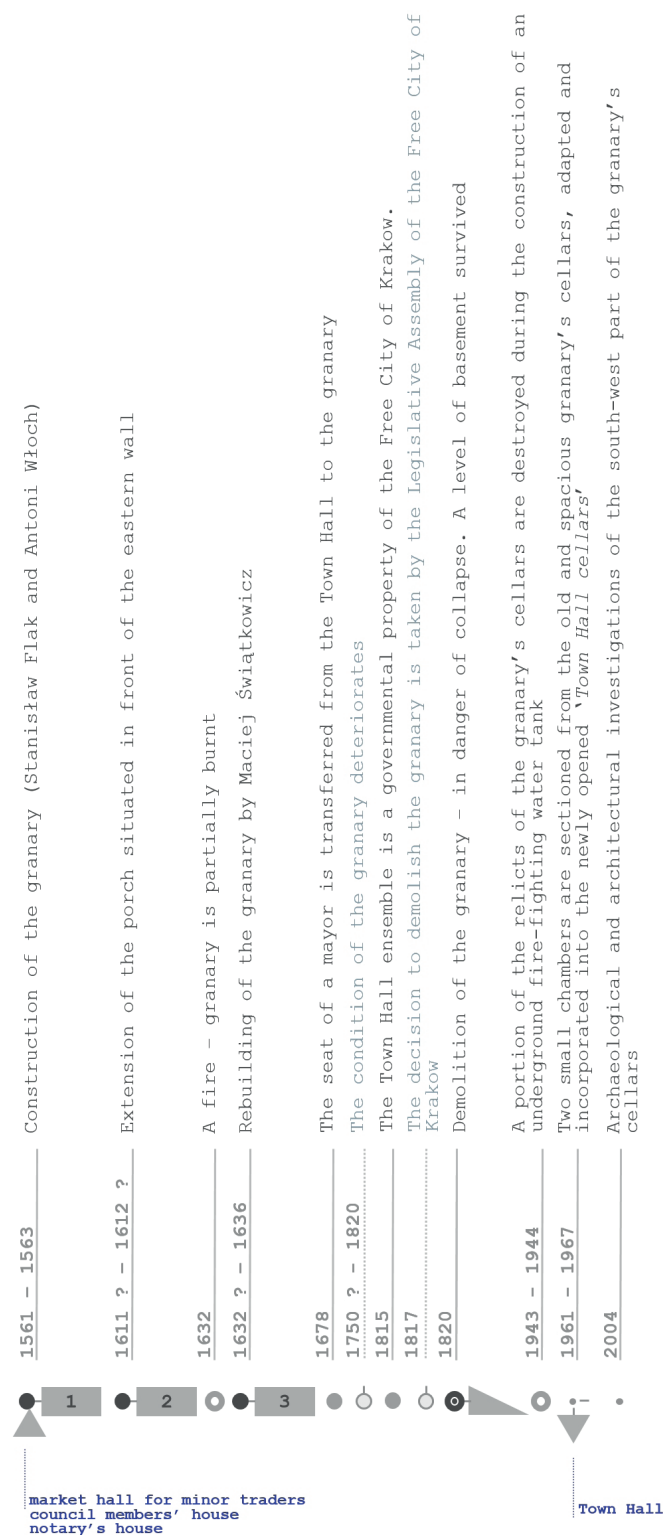
iconography: [XX., *Ulice i Rynek Główny jako tło...*, 1775], [Włodek H., 1675–1700, ban179], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802], [Brodowski J., 1819, ban190], [Gašiorowski B., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [XX., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., *Ratusz...*, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 111–113, il. 19–22]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XVIII w.*, LVII], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz 1780–1782 w.*, LIX], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 91], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, *Kraków 1650*, 2007], [Radi C., *Schmaus i Włodek*, 2000], [Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 120], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007], [Opaliński P., *Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782*, 2006], [Opaliński P., *Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820*, 2006], [Kabrowski A., XVII w.]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan Pucka 1787], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il. 1]

	<p>02 January 1632 [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, p. 41] [Grabowski, 1850, p. 13]</p> <p>1632</p> <p>1632 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 90] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p>	<p>A fire – granary is partially burnt [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 90]</p>
3	<p>1632 ? 1636</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 90, 233], [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007] [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, p. 41]</p>	<p>Rebuilding of the granary by Maciej Świątkowicz (the building was rebuilt with the help of the Sejm in Warsaw, customs revenue were donated for the reconstruction). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 90, 233]</p> <p>butterfly roof, eclectic building with a parapet, after the Cloth Hall the most important edifice on the Market Square, the upper parts of walls and probably also the parapet of the granary were covered with painted images of kings, [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 90]</p> <p>The biggest municipal object after the Cloth Hall. It replaced the former granary after a fire. Only the first floor's Gothic windows reminded the former structure. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, p. 41]</p> <p>Two entrances to a wine cellar (<i>piwnica Świdnicka</i>) were situated in the northern and western corner of the granary. This alcohol serving establishment was composed of several rooms – the most spacious of them was situated in the western part of the building, with four windows on the Market Square. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 95]</p> <p>The municipal wine cellar (<i>piwnica Świdnicka</i>), was transformed with time into a drinking den called <i>India</i>. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231]</p> <p>1667 – The granary is marked as a municipal property, the porch stretches all along the granary's eastern façade. [plan 1667 JG]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., <i>Ulice i Rynek Główny jako tło...</i>, 1775], [Włodek H., 1675–1700, ban179], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Smuglewicz F., 1794, 1796], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802], [Brodowski J., 1819, ban181], [Brodowski J., 1819, ban190], [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban189], [Gąsiorowski B., <i>Ratusz...</i>, przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [XX., <i>Ratusz...</i>, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., <i>Ratusz...</i>, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 102, 111–113, il. 3, 19–23]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz XVIII w.</i>, LVII], [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz 1780–1782 w.</i>, LIX], [Bandurski R., <i>przed 1820</i>, w Brayer A., il. 2], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 91], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i>, 2007], [Radi C., <i>Schmaus i Włodek</i>, 2000], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 120], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782</i>, 2006], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820</i>, 2006], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.], [Komorowski W., Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kółtająowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813], [plan 1820ir], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>
	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 90, 233] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p> <p>1678</p>	<p>The seat of a mayor is transferred from the Town Hall to the granary. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 90, 233]</p>
	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 112] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p> <p>1750 ? 1820</p>	<p>The condition of the granary deteriorates</p> <p>1726 – The granary requires a thorough renovation – decorative elements falls down from the parapet, walls bend forward <i>exposing passers – by to an imminent danger</i>. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 112], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, p. 46], [Klein F., 1916, p. 76]</p>

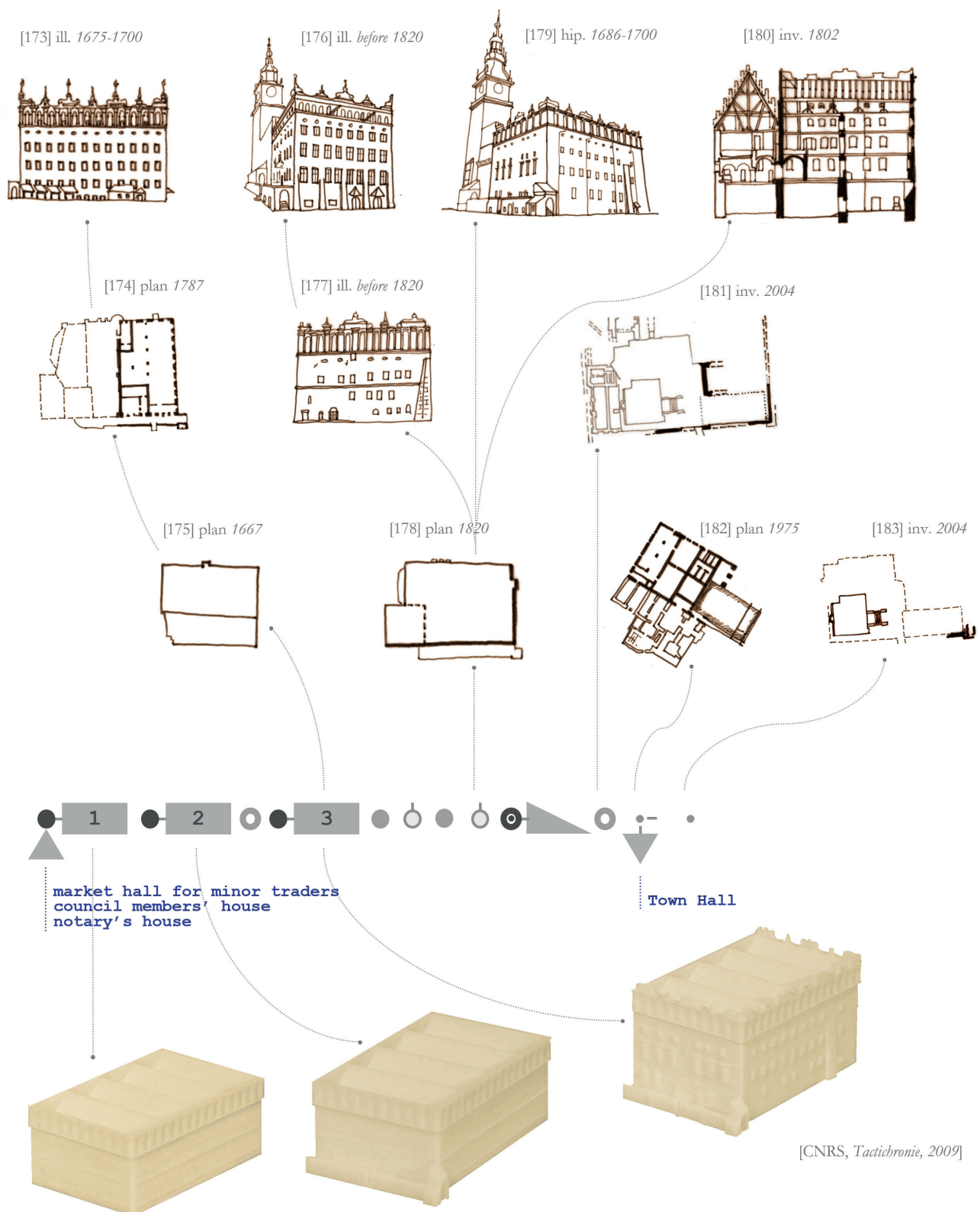
		<p>1787 – Granary's ground floor plan is represented on a plan. [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1787 – Murray mentions that the cellars of the Town Hall's ensemble are at that time inhabited by very poor families. [Murray E, 1787, p. 86]</p> <p>1807–1808 – Granary is considered as a part of the Town Hall's ensemble: <i>Rathbhaus</i> (building number 1) [Münch H., 1959, p. 11]</p>
	1815	<p>[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>Between 1815 and 1846 the Town Hall ensemble (or what remains of it) is a governmental property of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i>. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>
	1817	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134] [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, p. 47]</p> <p>The decision to demolish the granary is taken by the Legislative Assembly of the Free City of Krakow. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, p. 47]</p>
R	1820	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p> <p>Demolition of the granary – in danger of collapse. A level of basement survived. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 133–134]</p> <p>... <i>A part of the edifice called the old Town Hall, used for a long time as granaries, is apparently deserted, therefore these granaries shall be demolished, and a new building that would beautify the town and that would prove profitable for the municipal treasury shall be constructed on this place ...</i> [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134]</p> <p>1802 – inventory of the Town Hall's ensemble (plans, sections and drawings of the façades. [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802]</p> <p>1820 – <i>vielle maison de ville abattue</i> (old town house already demolished) [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1820ir], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
	1943 1944	<p>1943–1944 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 211] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p> <p>The fire-fighting water tank was constructed at the turn of 1943 and 1944. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]</p> <p>A portion of the relics of the granary's cellars are destroyed during the construction of an underground fire-fighting water tank. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 211]</p> <p>The underground fire-fighting water tank is made of... <i>very strong reinforced concrete</i>. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]</p> <p>iconography: [Kolowca S, 1943–44]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1975], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
S	1961 1967	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 234]</p> <p>Two small chambers are sectioned from the old and spacious granary's cellars, adapted and incorporated into the newly opened '<i>Town Hall cellars</i>'. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1975]</p>
	2004	<p>[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]</p> <p>Archaeological and architectural investigations of the south-west part of the granary's cellars. [Łukacz M., 2006], [Zaitz E., 2006]</p> <p>iconography: [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 102, 111–113, il. 3, 19–23], [Łukacz M., 2006, il. 13–15]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *granary* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Three phases of development have been identified. The first phase, the construction of the granary, includes the incorporation of the relics of three buildings into the structure of the granary. In 1636, after two morphological transformations, the granary had come to its final shape. The building was pulled down in 1820 – only the basement of the edifice survived the demolition. A portion of the relics was destroyed at the turn of 1943 an 1944, and in the sixties two chambers were incorporated into the newly opened 'Town Hall cellars'. The western parts of the remaining relics (chambers) were investigated in 2004.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *granary* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Although three distinct evolutionary phases of development have been identified, only the third one is documented by visual sources.

The tangible models of the first and the second phases of development are an attempt to make the best of the information we have (based on sources and analogies): *i.e.* building's layout (the same as for the third phase), three-storey brick and stone building, probably with parapet and a butterfly roof, façade's arrangement remains unknown.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Grand Scales / *Wielka Waga*



One of the two weigh houses on Krakow's Market Square, demolished at the end of the 19th century. Parts of the relics that were preserved under the Market Square are now accessible inside the Rynek Underground permanent exhibition.

ponderator – locally appointed weigher of goods called also pensarius, pensarius, poiser, podrearius or poynder. [1]

The Grand Scales was used to weigh heavy items – such as copper, iron, lead – in loads more heavy than one hundredweight. [2]

Municipal weigh houses were built in relation with trade activities. A town needed a special privilege to establish a weigh house. The goods sold in town had to be weighed in a weigh house and a special fee paid to the town. The Grand Scales in Krakow was the largest building of this type in the Kingdom of Poland. [3]

During the 2005–2006 archaeological excavations in Krakow's Main Square 'patches' of copper, as well as irregular, often porous solids, resulting of copper processing were found nearby the Grand Scales. Copper was probably worked on the site, since fragments of stoves were discovered inside the building. [4]

The trade of metals and of metal products was an important factor in the economic growth of Krakow. Copper was the most important metal in trade and production. Slovak copper was imported to Krakow from the Kingdom of Hungary. The first information about the journey of Slovak copper imported in Krakow dates back to the 13th century. The City of Krakow was given the right of storage of copper, an important trade privilege obtained from Władysław Łokietek in 1306, providing exclusivity to the city in this matter. From Krakow merchants transported it through Miechów, Piotrków, Łęczycza and Toruń down to Gdańsk, and then by sea to distant Flanders. In the tradition of the Hanseatic League (medieval trade organization) Krakow was called '*the home of copper*' – a load of one the ships transporting copper was extracted from the bottom of the Bay of Gdańsk. [5]

Visual measure of complexity for the *Grand Scales*.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram.

The relics of the Grand Scales were discovered – a part of them was incorporated into another building.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Zubko R. E., *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to Twentieth Century*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1985, [on-line] <http://books.google.fr/books?id=0L_k-XMliQIC&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr#v=onepage&q&f=false>, accessed 27.II.2013

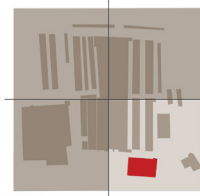
Note 2. A hundredweight (or *centum weight*) is a unit of mass. In 1764 a hundredweight (*cetnar koronny*) equalled 64,8 kg, while in 1818 only 40,55 kg. cf. *Leksykon Genealogiczny*, [on-line] <<http://www.genealogia.okiem.pl/glossary/glossary.php?definition=miara>>, accessed 02 II 2013

A hundredweight used in Krakow to weigh metals equalled 136,5 pounds (55,282 kg with 1 lb = 405 grams).

Note 3. cf. Komorowski W., *Krakowska Waga Wielka w średniowieczu*, *Rocznik Krakowski*, t. LXXII, 2006, p. 33

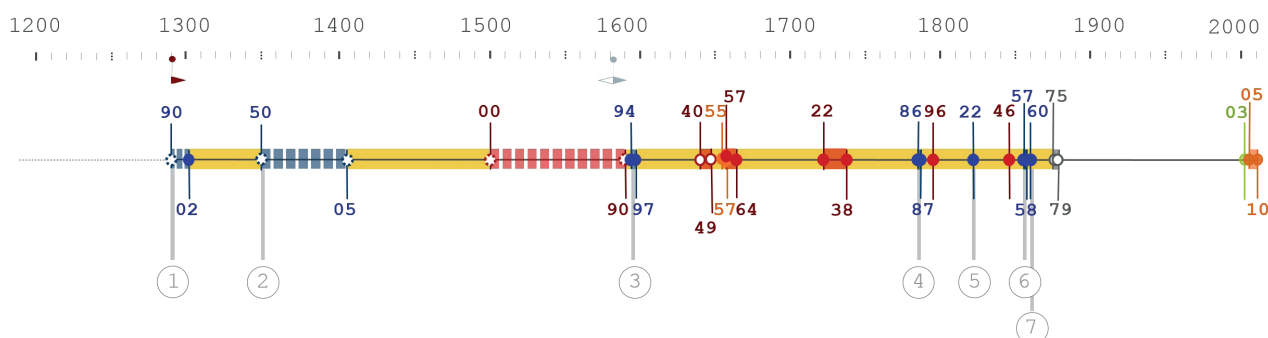
Note 4. cf. A. Garbacz-Klempka, *Miedź krótki rys historyczny i najnowsze zabytki archeologiczne*, Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza w Krakowie, Wydział Odlewnictwa, Specjalność Odlewnictwo Artystycznej Precyzji, *Informator Metale Nieżelazne* 2007, p. 238

Note 5. *Ibidem*



Grand Scales / Wielka Waga

<i>Waga Cetnarowa</i>	[Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 1029]
<i>Waga Ołowiana (Ołowna)</i>	[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 33]
<i>Dom Komisji</i>	[Komorowski W., 2007, p. 287]
	[Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i> , 2007, p. 23, note 24]
<i>Komisja</i>	[Kadłuczka A., 1975, p. 129]
<i>Eysenwooge</i>	[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]
<i>Pensa Maior</i>	[Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48]
	[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 33]
	[Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 1]
<i>pensa argenti</i>	
<i>Pensa plumbi</i>	[Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48]
<i>bluage</i>	[Piekosiński F., Szujski J., 1877–1878, p. 6]
	[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 33]
<i>Städtisches Haus</i>	[Münch H., 1959, p. 11]



1

1290 ??
1302

1302 – first mention of the building
[Komorowski W., 2006, pp. 33, 35],
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88], [Frančić M.,
1964, p. 25], [Tobiasz M., 1974, p. 124],
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]

around 1300
[Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]

The weigh house was already in use in the
beginning of the 14th century.
[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 23,
note 24]

Approximate period of construction of the Grand Scales – first
mention of the building in 1302 (*bluage*).

[Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48], [Piekosiński F., Szujski J., 1877–1878, p. 6]

wooden building (?) – All we know is that the building existed.
[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35], [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88]

The Grand Scales was used to weigh copper, lead and iron.
[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 33]

Around 1300 the building could still be a vertical post log construction.
[Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 116, il. 4], [XX, Cracovia 3D,
2011, p. 108]

2

1350 ??
1405 ??

turn of the 14th and 15th century
[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*,
2007, p. 161], [Komorowski W., 2006,
p. 35], [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007,
p. 23, note 24]

second half of the 14th century
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88], [Komorowski W.,
Sudacka A., 2008, p. 37], [Buško C., 2006,
p. 68], [Buško C., 2007, p. 230]

end of the 14th century
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]

Rebuilding – the wooden building is replaced by a stone and brick
built edifice, probably a two-storey building with a steep roof and an
interior subdivision into two parts. The eastern part with an entrance
from the St. Adalbert church side is twice bigger then the western
part, that housed gold and silver smelting workshops, as well as stalls
used to sell various metal products.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]

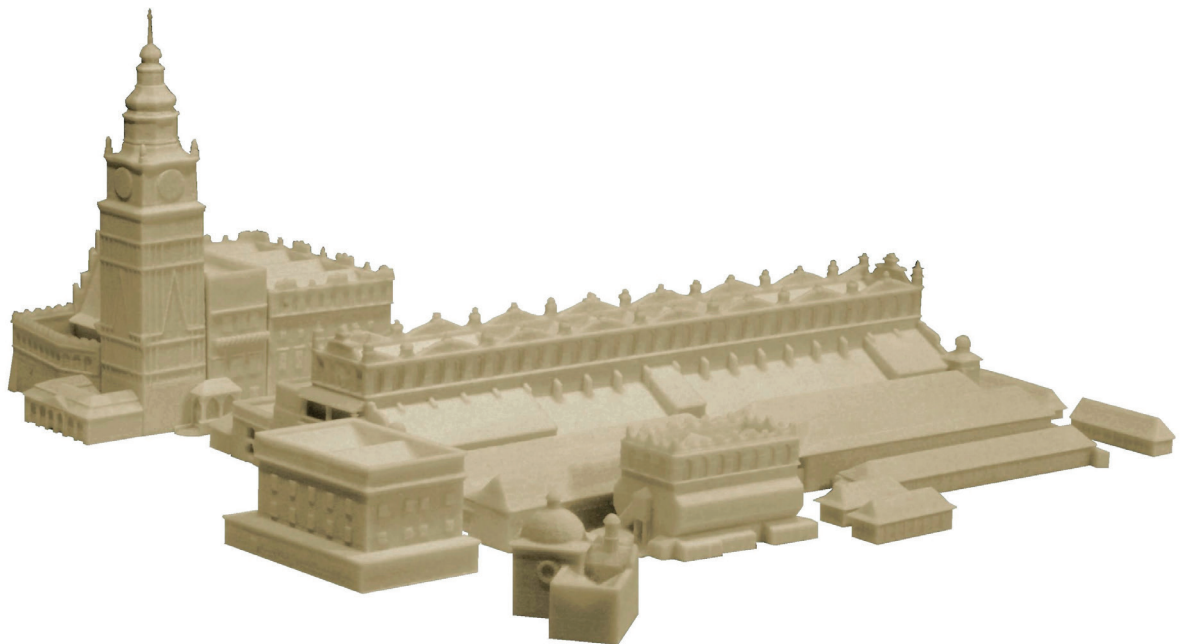
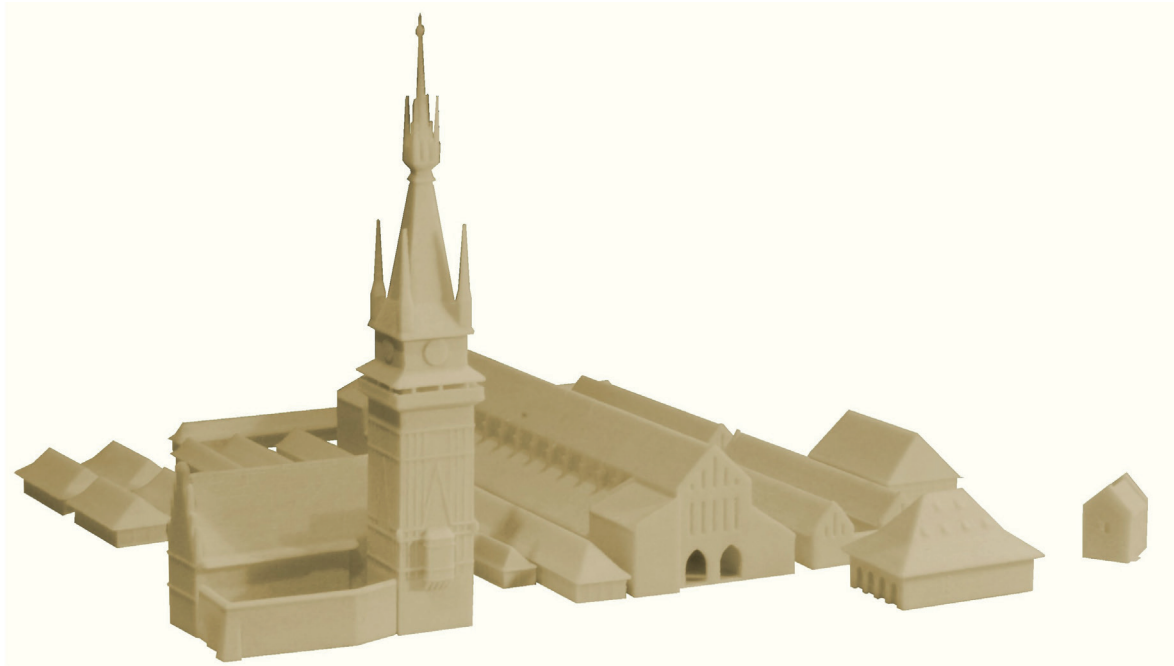
stonework with the addition of bricks, dimensions in plan: 18,75 x 16 m, thickness of
walls: 1,2 m, lime stone without course (continuous horizontal layers), probably two-
storey building covered with a steep roof.
[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]

The building housed gold and silver smelting workshops, as well as stalls used to sell
various metal products.
[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 42]

		<p>A weigh house and a smelting workshop for non-ferrous metals. The west part of the building was divided into four rooms by wooden walls – most likely stalls used to sell various metal products. External walls made of limestone – dimensions in plan: 18 x 14 m. The eastern part was paved and twice bigger than the western part, with a large entrance (3,1 m).</p> <p>[Buško C., 2006, p. 68], [Buško C., 2007, p. 231]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 124, il. 18], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, il. 17], [MHmK, <i>Wielka Waga</i>, XV]</p>
	<p>07 December <u>1358</u> [ADmK, <i>Katalog...</i>, 1907, p. 11]</p> <p>1358 [<i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i>, 2007], [Wikipedia, <i>Kalendarium historii Krakowa</i>], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 861], [Frančić M., 1964]</p> <p>1358 – mention of two weigh houses – <i>duas pensas</i> [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p>	<p>Casimir III the Great confers on the city the right to own two weigh houses. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 32]</p> <p>Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality. The king expresses a wish that '<i>the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings</i>'. [Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i>, 2007], [Wikipedia, <i>Kalendarium historii Krakowa</i>]</p>
	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 250] [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35] [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48]</p>	<p>Tasks, as well as prices of services, are fixed for both weigh houses – <i>pensa Maiori</i> and <i>pensa Minori</i>. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48], [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p>
	<p>1500 ?? <u>16th century</u> 1590 ?? [Buško C., 2007, p. 231]</p>	<p>Wooden partition walls situated in the western part of the building are replaced by stonework supporting brick vaults. [Buško C., 2007, p. 231]</p>
3	<p><u>1594–1597</u> [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p> <p>1594–1596 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 68, 248] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007, p. 209] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007]</p>	<p>Renaissance rebuilding of the Grand Scales (mason August Litwinek) – introduction of a butterfly roof and of a parapet, as well as living quarters on the upper floors, removal of the smelting workshops. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]</p> <p>A stone and brick building with a butterfly roof hidden behind a Renaissance parapet (mason August Litwinek). During the transformations the smelting workshops, as well as the lead depot were removed from the Grand Scales. Living quarters for the <i>ponderator</i> were introduced on the upper floors. The Grand Scales was still flanked by stalls and workshops of various craftsmen (<i>i.e. workshops of goldsmith and grinder, hardware stalls</i>). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 68, 248], [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007, p. 209]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i>, 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 189], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 271]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 2003–2007], [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2004, w Kłuj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan 2009]</p>
	<p>1640 ? [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007, p. 247] 1649 ?</p>	<p>Renovation</p> <p>1643 – Living quarters inside the Grand Scales are mentioned (Mikołaj Szwarc – goldsmith, Jakub Samsonowicz). [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 73]</p>
	<p>from 25th September to 17th October <u>1655</u> – siege of Krakow, victory of the Swedish army; Stefan Czarniecki, deprived of hope of relief, surrenders Krakow to the enemy on 17th October. 1657 [Wikipedia, <i>Potop szwedzki</i>]</p> <p>August <u>1657</u> – siege of Krakow, Polish-German victory [Wikipedia, <i>Potop szwedzki</i>]</p>	<p>Destructions resulting from a time of war and from the stationing of the Swedish troops in Krakow. [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]</p>
	<p>1657 [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007], 1664 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]</p>	<p>Repairs of the destructions caused by the Swedish invasion. [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248]</p> <p>1667 – Grand Scales is indicated as a municipal property. [plan 1667 JG]</p>

4	1722 1738	[Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007, p. 277]	<p>Renovation – small repairs</p> <p>1760 – 12 stalls flanking the Grand Scales are mentioned. The document references some of the owners – a grinder, a snuff trader, two tailors and a tinsmith. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 76–77]</p> <p>Approximate length of the stalls was 40,5 meters (when translated from ell).</p>
	1786 1787	<p>1786–1787 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 248], [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 23, note 24]</p> <p>1782 [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 89]</p> <p>at the end of the 18th century [Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8]</p>	<p>Alteration of the Grand Scales (at the request of general J. Wodzicki) – the Renaissance parapet is removed and the stalls adjoining the building are covered by flat terrace roofs, gaining the edifice a nickname – <i>inkwell</i>. After the transformations the building houses the seat of civil-military administrative offices (<i>Komisja Porządkowa Cywilno-Wojskowa</i>), its original function (weigh house) is transferred to the Small Scales. [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p> <p>The original function of the weigh house is transferred to the Small Scales. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 55]</p> <p>The building of the Grand Scales after the transformations is described as: <i>an important, styleless, two-storey stone and brick built edifice with numerous interior divisions, used as a guardhouse for the Austrian soldiers</i>. [Tomkowicz S., 1907, pp. 7–8]</p> <p>1787 – ... <i>an old tenement housing flats and shops</i> ... [Murray E., 1787, p. 124]</p> <p>Describing the Grand Scales, Murray gets confused over its name – calling it the Small Scales.</p> <p>1792 – Inventory of the tenement that used to be called the Grand Scales. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, pp. 23–27]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Smuglewicz F., 1794, 1796], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [XX, 1820–1822, ban51], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban5]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Kwaśniewicz A., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 121], [Opaliński P., <i>Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801</i>, 2006], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1773], [plan1700_1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołłątajowski 1785] – dziwna przybudówka od południowego-wschodu, [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]</p>
	1796	[Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 89–90]	<p>Change of function of the edifice – offices for the Austrian authorities (in the beginning commission of bookkeeping, then the head office of the directorate of construction, and finally the building is put in lease). [Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 89–90]</p> <p>1802 – Identified as a building number 6. [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]</p> <p>1807–1808 – <i>Städtisches Haus</i>, building number 6 [Münch H., 1959, p. 11], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813]</p>
5	1815		<p>Between 1815 and 1846 the building of the Grand Scales is a governmental property of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i>.</p> <p>1820 – Spotted as: <i>bâtiment inutile</i> (a useless building) [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>1834 – Spotted as building number 10 and designated to be demolished. [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan1817], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p>
	1822	<p>[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 47] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 249]</p>	<p>The edifice is adapted to become a guardhouse for troops of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i> – the porch is covered by a pent roof. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 249]</p> <p>1834 – Spotted as a <i>building of the Commission and a Guardhouse</i>. [plan 1834]</p> <p>1832–1836 – Spotted as a building not to be sold. [plan 1832–1836]</p>

		<p>iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban5], [Richter W., 1830, ban110], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53], [XX, 1840, ban61], [XX., przed 1857, MHmK 1560/VIII]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	1846	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 249]</p> <p>Austrian troops enter Krakow – creation of a post for the Austrian troops in the Grand Scales.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 249]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1836], [plan 1850]</p>
6	1857 ? 1858	<p><u>Before 1858</u> the butterfly roof of the Grand Scales was replaced by a hip roof.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 156, 249]</p> <p><u>fifties of the 19th century</u></p> <p>[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p> <p>Transformation of the butterfly roof into a hip roof and replacement of the west porch by a wooden portico.</p> <p>iconography: [Stroobant F., 1858, ban52], [Gozdarowski E., około 1858], [Sosiński J., około 1858, T.I. 1868], [Walter H., 1858–1859, ban62], [Beyer K., 1858, ban85], [XX., około 1860, ban218]</p>
7	1860	<p><u>1860</u> – Introduction of ‘arcades’ with iron columns.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 249]</p> <p>The wooden portico is replaced by a metal structure covered by a pent roof.</p> <p>iconography: [XX., po 1860, ban19], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [Gryglewski A., około 1865, ban242], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban20], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban63], [Rzewuski W., około 1865, ban90], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [XX, przed 1868, ban67], [Kozarski A., około 1868], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban222], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban226], [Rzewuski W., po 1868, ban245], [Krieger I., 1869–1871, ban21], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban64], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban65], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban66], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban92], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban91], [Krieger I., 1872–1875, ban237], [Krieger I., 1874–75, ban246], [Krieger I., 1875, ban238]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan niwelacyjny 1878]</p>
R	1875 ? 1879 ?	<p><u>1879</u> – [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p> <p><u>1875</u> – [Kadłuczka A., 1975, p. 130]</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 249]</p> <p>[Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 23, note 24]</p> <p>around 1877 – ...<i>removed more or less 30 years ago...</i> [Tomkowicz S., 1907, p.8]</p> <p>Austrian troops leave the building of the Grand Scales – dismantlement of the edifice.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]</p>
	2003	<p>2003</p> <p>[Firlot E., 2010, p. 14]</p> <p>Archaeological exploratory works (E. Zaitz).</p> <p>[Firlot E., 2010, p. 14]</p>
S	2005 2010	<p>Archaeological excavations (Buśko C.) during a change of paving on the Market Square and the construction of the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> (Kadłuczka A.).</p> <p>[Buśko C., 2007, p. 225], [Hajok D, Gazeta Wyborcza, 11 XI 2010]</p> <p>95 % of the foundations of the Grand Scales have been revealed during the archaeological works [Buśko C., 2007, p. 230]</p> <p>Conservation and adaptation of the underground relics of the Grand Scales in the context of the museum exhibition. [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]</p> <p>Works planned in the context of the exposition of the relics of the Grand Scales: clearing the relics of the rubble to its original ground level, four western chambers (with barrel vaults) dating from the 15th and the 16th centuries, as well as the eastern entry hall with the original entrance and the remains of a wooden roof construction (?) protecting the initial inner courtyard (?) are supposed to be adapted and exposed to the public. Access to the newly adapted chambers will be possible through secondary installation punctures in the north wall of the Grand Scales. A portion of the archaeological relics were left intact.</p> <p>[Kadłuczka A., 2006, p. 64]</p> <p>Adapted fragments of the Grand Scales are now embedded inside the newly built <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i>.</p> <p>iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 37] [XX., <i>Wykopalska...</i>, 2005], [Kalarus T., 2005-a], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 8]</p> <p>maps and plans: [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan 2009]</p> <p>Investigations started in August 2005. They lasted until the autumn 2006.</p> <p>[Komorowski W., 2006, p. 33]</p> <p>[Buśko C., 2007, p. 225]</p> <p><u>2005–2010</u> – archaeological works and change of paving</p> <p>[TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]</p>



Tangible models (*Tactichronie*) representing architectural objects present on the Market Square (only the objects the location of which is known are taken into consideration).

top: A view from the south-west, showing the ensemble of buildings in 1520 (*i.e.* before the introduction of the first Renaissance parapet). The form of the Grand Scales is based on the hypothetical reconstruction proposed by W. Niewalda.

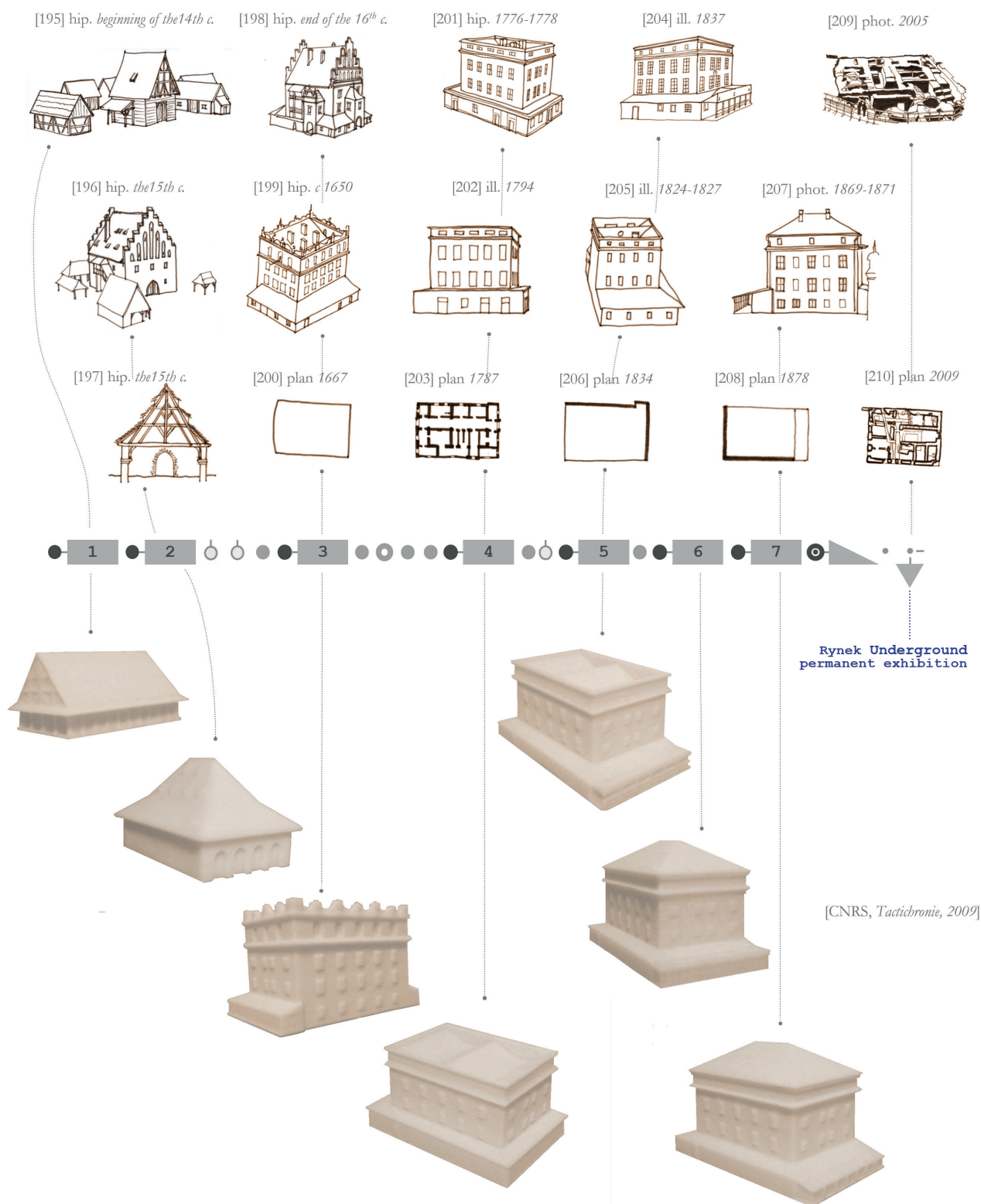
bottom: a view from the south, ensemble of buildings present in 1790 (the year during which J.W. Goethe stayed in Krakow). The form of the Grand Scales is known from iconography, textual descriptions and cartographical sources.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Grand Scales* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.
The linear layout of the diagram shows that, at this stage, although the edifice did change repeatedly over time, there are very little doubts concerning the nature and effects of the transformations that have been identified.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Grand Scales* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

A selection of hypothetical reconstructions, as well as of cartographic and iconographic sources (redrawn fragments) are presented above the diagram – giving an idea of possible morphological transformations of the Grand Scales.

Below, the set of tangible models (*Tactichronie*) worked out using historical sources, monographs concerning the Grand Scales and analogous buildings. The level of corroboration of the presented hypotheses differs for various stages of development – it is significantly low for the two earliest evolutionary phases

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *guardhouse*.

This forked diagram underlines doubts about the relationship between the two successive guardhouses: filiation or independence.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A stone and brick built edifice used as the main guardhouse of Krakow's regiment of Polish armed forces shortly before the annexation of the city to the Habsburg monarchy. Demolished and reconstructed in a new shape by Austrian authorities, definitively demolished after the second World War.

The original guardhouse was the first 'Classic Revival' building on the Market Square. [1]

... *The daily changing of the guard in front of the guardhouse (sometimes with the accompaniment of a military orchestra) was an undeniable attraction for citizens ...*

... *The last military guard left the building at noon on October 22nd 1934, ending a long-lasting tradition – that started most probably in the beginning of the 19th century ...* [2]

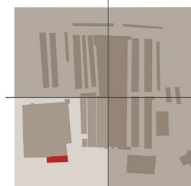
The new guardhouse, built between 1881 and 1882, ... *was ceremonially consecrated on the birthday of His Majesty ...* (18.VIII 1882) [3]

Note 1. cf. Komorowski W., Follprecht K., *Rozwój urbanistyczno-architektoniczny Krakowa intra muros w czasach nowożytnych*, p. 288 [in] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta.*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Biblioteka Krakowska, Nr 150, Kraków 2007

Note 2. cf. Jakubowski K., *Ratuszowy odwach.*, [w] *Dziennik Polski*, z dnia 21 stycznia 2006, [on-line], <http://www.fortyck.pl/art_51.htm>, accessed 13 IX 2010

Note 3. cf. Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z prac archeologicznych przy wieży ratuszowej na Rynku Głównym w Krakowie w roku 1996*. Kraków 1996, [typescript] Archiwum działu Krakowa Przedlokacyjnego Muzeum Archeologiczne w Krakowie, p. 97

guardhouse / *odwach*



kurdygarda regimentowa

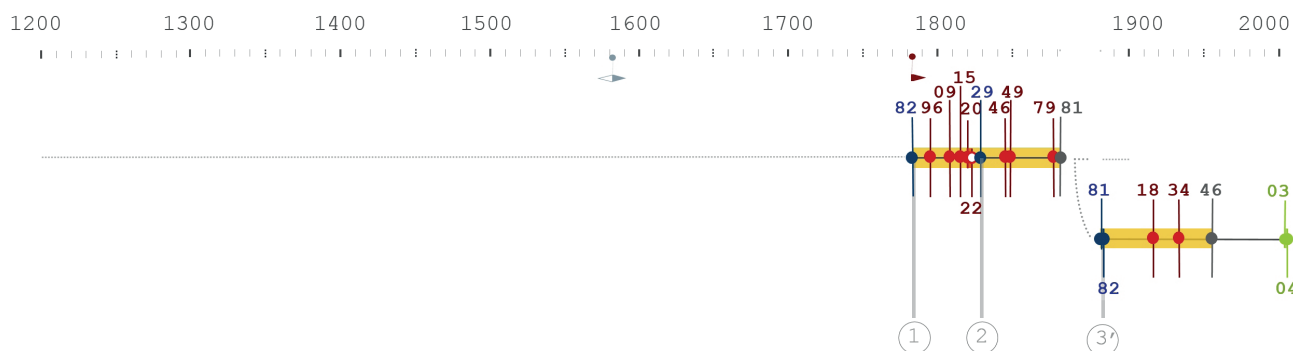
[Tomkowicz S., 1907]

kordegarda

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Hauptach

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]



1

1782

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 121, 233],
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97],
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007],
[Jakubowski K., 2006]

Construction of the Classic Revival guardhouse – the seat of the main regiment of Polish armed forces in Krakow (decision of general Józef Wodzicki). Building consisted of a chamber for the soldiers, rooms for officers and a physician, and an arrest.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 121, 233], [Jakubowski K., 2006],
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

It was a single-storey building with a backyard.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 121, 233]

1787 – guardhouse ground floor plan [plan Pucka 1787]

1792 – description of the guardhouse:... *Entering the guardhouse's hallway there are 8 blind arcades. The ceiling and beams supporting it are old, wooden boards above, old flooring in poor condition. There are wooden benches under the guardhouse on poles. Wooden wall with a masoned facing...* The interior space was composed of two rooms (one with a stove), an officers' room (with a stove and a chimney), and a 'kurdygarda' (with a stove, wooden benches and a corridor leading to a closed room with a plank bed).

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, pp. 17–18]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Balicki K., 1802, ban185], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban186], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Gąsiorowski B., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820], [XX., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., *Ratusz...*, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Rogowski, 1820–1822, ban109], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 120], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007]

maps and plans: [plan kołtatajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787]

1796

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
05th January 1796 – entering of the Austrian army in Krakow, annexation of the city to the Habsburg monarchy
[*Encyklopedia Krakowa*, 2000, pp. 1118–1119]

Austrian army enters the town – the guardhouse becomes the property of the Austrian authorities.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., *Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801*, 2006]

maps and plans: [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]

1809

15th July 1809
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 130]

Incorporation of Krakow into Duchy of Warsaw (the guardhouse changes owner).

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

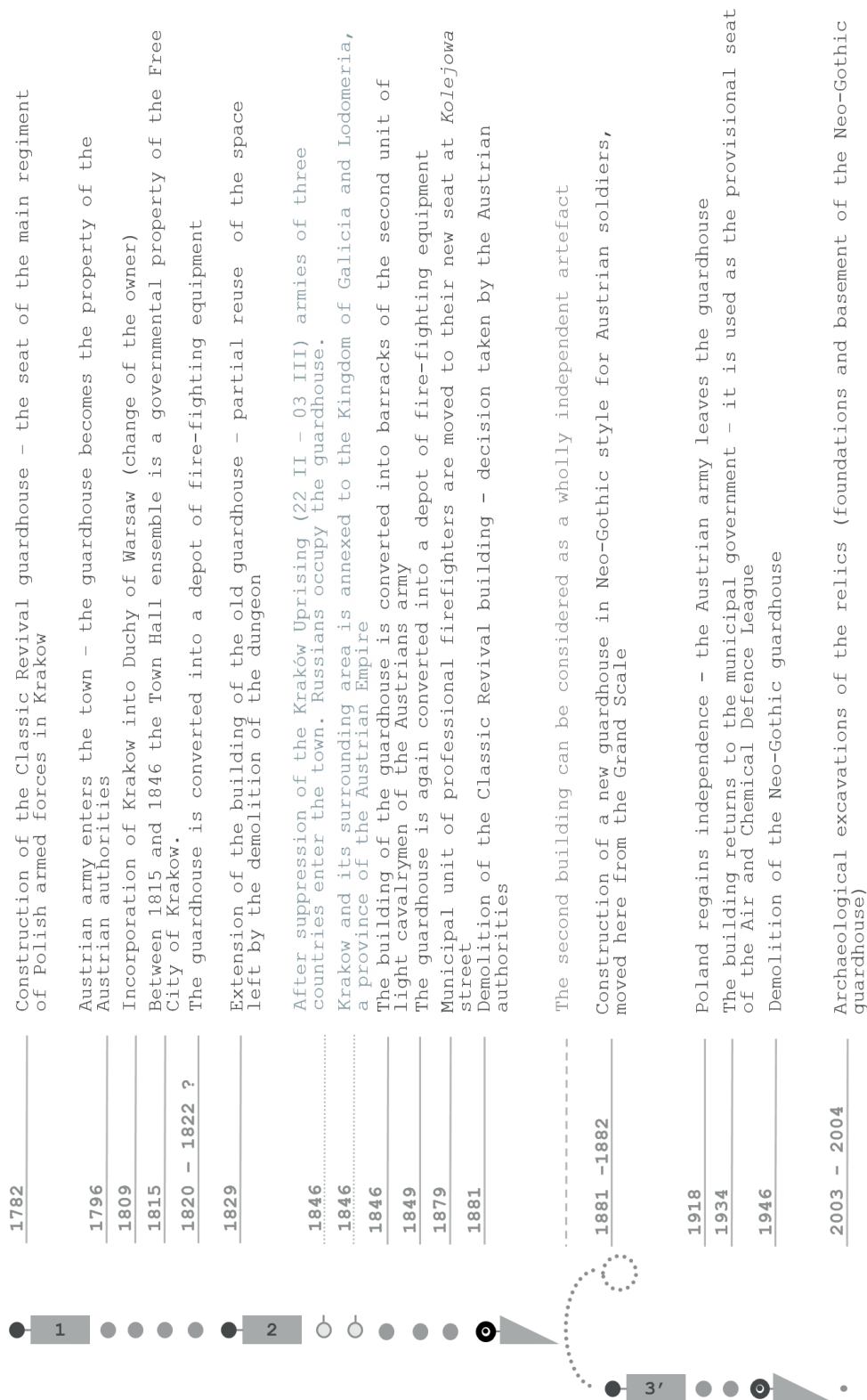
Prince Joseph Poniatowski enters the city: the two-headed Austrian eagle is knocked down from the guardhouse.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 130]

maps and plans: [plan 1813]

	1815	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Between 1815 and 1846 the Town Hall ensemble is a governmental property of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i> . [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
	1820 1822 ?	A day after the third anniversary of Kościuszko's death, on October 16th 1820, a ceremony took place to lay the foundations of the monument. After three years of works (in November 1823), the construction was completed. [<i>Historia kopca Kościuszki</i>] 1822 – A post of the militia of the Free City of Krakow is transferred to the Grand Scales, the building of the guardhouse is converted into a depot of fire-fighting equipment. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 38], [Jakubowski K., 2006]	During the construction of the Kościuszko Mound an exhibition of urns with soil from the Polish and American battlefields where Kościuszko fought was organised in the guardhouse. These urns were later on buried inside the mound. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 207] 1822 – A post of the militia of the Free City of Krakow stationed in the guardhouse is transferred to the Grand Scales – the guardhouse is converted into a depot of fire-fighting equipment. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 38] 1822 – The municipal fire brigade was based in the Cloth Hall and at that time did not have their own seat. [Jakubowski K., 2006] iconography: [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban186], [Rogowski, 1820–1822, ban109], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127] hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820</i> , 2006] maps and plans: [plan 1820ir]
2	1829	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 138, 234], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Extension of the building of the old guardhouse – partial reuse of the space left by the demolition of the dungeon. (W. Mostowski, B. Trenner, J. Wiśniewski (?)). [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] The building is converted into a depot of fire-fighting equipment. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 138] iconography: [XX., <i>Plan odwachu...</i> , 1829], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban52], [Beyer K., 1858, ban85], [Sosiński J., około 1858, T.I. 1868], [Walter H., 1859, ban89], [Walter H., około 1859], [Rzewuski W., około 1865, ban90], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban244], [Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131], [XX., przed 1868, Grabowski A. Kraków..., p. 28], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban92], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban91], [XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [Ajdukiewicz T., 1881, ban113] hypothetical reconstructions: [Radi C., <i>1829–1881</i> , 2000] maps and plans: [plan 1834], [plan 1836], [plan 1850], [plan niwelacyjny 1878]
	1846	18 February 1846 – Austrian army enters Krakow. 20–21 February – Austrians leave the town. night from 22 to 23 February – beginning of the Kraków Uprising. [Frančić M., 1964, pp. 127–129] March 1846 – Armies of three countries enter the town (Russian corps on 03 III, Austrian corps on 04 III and Prussian corps on 07 III). [Wikipedia, <i>Powstanie Krakowskie...</i> , on-line]	After suppression of the <i>Kraków Uprising</i> (22 II – 03 III) armies of three countries enter the town. Russians occupy the guardhouse. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 152]
	1846	14 November 1846 [Frančić M., 1964, p. 129]	Krakow and its surrounding area is annexed to the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, a province of the Austrian Empire. [Frančić M., 1964, p. 129]
	1846	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 152, 156], [Jakubowski K., 2006]	The building of the guardhouse is converted into barracks of the second unit of light cavalymen of the Austrian army. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 152, 156]
	1849	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 156]	Austrian cavalry leaves the building – the guardhouse is again converted into a depot of fire-fighting equipment. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 156] A municipal fire brigade was created in Krakow in 1866. A volunteer firemen association (OSP) was created in 1865 (the professional unit of firemen in Krakow was created in 1873) – in the beginning this association was wholly independent. Only in 1866 the city council authorized the president of Krakow to adopt OSP under the municipal patronage. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010]

	1879	<u>Until 1879</u> the unit of professional firefighters was located in the guardhouse. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010]	Municipal unit of professional firefighters are moved to their new seat at <i>Kolejowa</i> street. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] In the neighbourhood of this new seat of professional firefighters, facilities for horses and carriages were constructed as well. [Komenda Straży Pożarnej, 2010]
R	1881	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 156], [Jakubowski K., 2006]	Demolition of the Classic Revival building – decision taken by the Austrian authorities. [Jakubowski K., 2006], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
3'	1881 1882	<p>The new guardhouse, built between <u>1881 and 1882</u>, was ceremonially consecrated on the birthday of His Majesty... (18 VIII 1882) [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97], [Czas, 1882, nr 187, p. 2]</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 234], [Jakubowski K., 2006]</p>	<p>Construction of a new guardhouse in Neo-Gothic style for Austrian soldiers, moved here from the Grand Scales (design by S. Żołdani and J. Niedźwiedzki). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 171–172], [Czas, 1882, nr 187, p. 2]</p> <p>The new guardhouse was slightly larger than the previous one – with a two-storey corner tower and arcades. Besides its function as a guardhouse, it housed the seat of the military police and an arrest. [Jakubowski K., 2006]</p> <p>Works on the new guardhouse was almost completed in 1881, but installation of fittings lasted until August 13th 1882. Austrian soldiers entered the guardhouse on August 17th. [Banach J., 1998, p. 213]</p> <p>Building with a basement, stone and brick foundations. [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 144], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97]</p> <p>iconography: [Krieger I., 1882–1884, ban97], [XX, 1881–1884, ban115], [Kossak J., Tondos P., 1886, ban117], [XX, 1886–1888, ban116], [Rzewuski W., 1890, ban93], [XX, 1895, ban95], [XX, około 1895, poczt.], [XX, przed 1899, ban94], [XX., około 1901, w Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., Rynek..., il. 24], [Klein J., 1901, ban87], [XX., po 1901, ban130], [Krieger I., 1901–1907, ban261], [XX, przed 1907, poczt.], [XX, 1910, ban102], [XX, 1911, ban12], [Rząca T., 1911–1912, MHF 3727/II], [XX, 1914, ban96], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-1], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-5], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-3], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-4], [XX, 1926–1840], [XX., <i>Sukiennice</i>, 1926–1946], [XX, 1926–19146, NAC 1-U-2337-2], [XX, około 1928, w Frančić M., <i>Kalendarz...</i>, p. 21], [Kołowca S., 1930–1939], [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1967/II], [XX, 1930–1939, MHmK FS-7808-IX], [XX, 1931, NAC 1-U-2581-6], [XX, 1932–1941, NAC 1-U-2603-1], [XX, 1934, NAC 1-U-2591-1], [XX, przed 1938, poczt.], [XX, 1939–1945, poczt.], [Kołowca S., przed 1940], [XX., 1946, w Czapska A., et al., il. 37]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1907], [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>
	1918	31 October 1918 [Jakubowski K., 2006] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 201]	Poland regains independence – the Austrian army leaves the guardhouse. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] On October the 31st, a unit of the Polish army under the command of Lieutenant Antoni Stawarz took the guardhouse without a struggle. [Jakubowski K., 2006]
	1934	22 October <u>1934</u> [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 234], [Jakubowski K., 2006]	The building returns to the municipal government – it is used as the provisional seat of the Air and Chemical Defence League. The last guard before the guardhouse took place on October the 22nd 1934. [Jakubowski K., 2006], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 207], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
R	1946	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 212, 234], [Jakubowski K., 2006], [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97]	Demolition of the Neo-Gothic guardhouse. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
	2003 2004	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 10] [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 144–145] [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97]	Archaeological excavations of the relics (foundations and basement of the Neo-Gothic guardhouse). [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] limestone (rubble masonry), strong calcareous mortar [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97] iconography: [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 9], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 154–156, il. 10–12], [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 122–123, il. 38–40] maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 1]

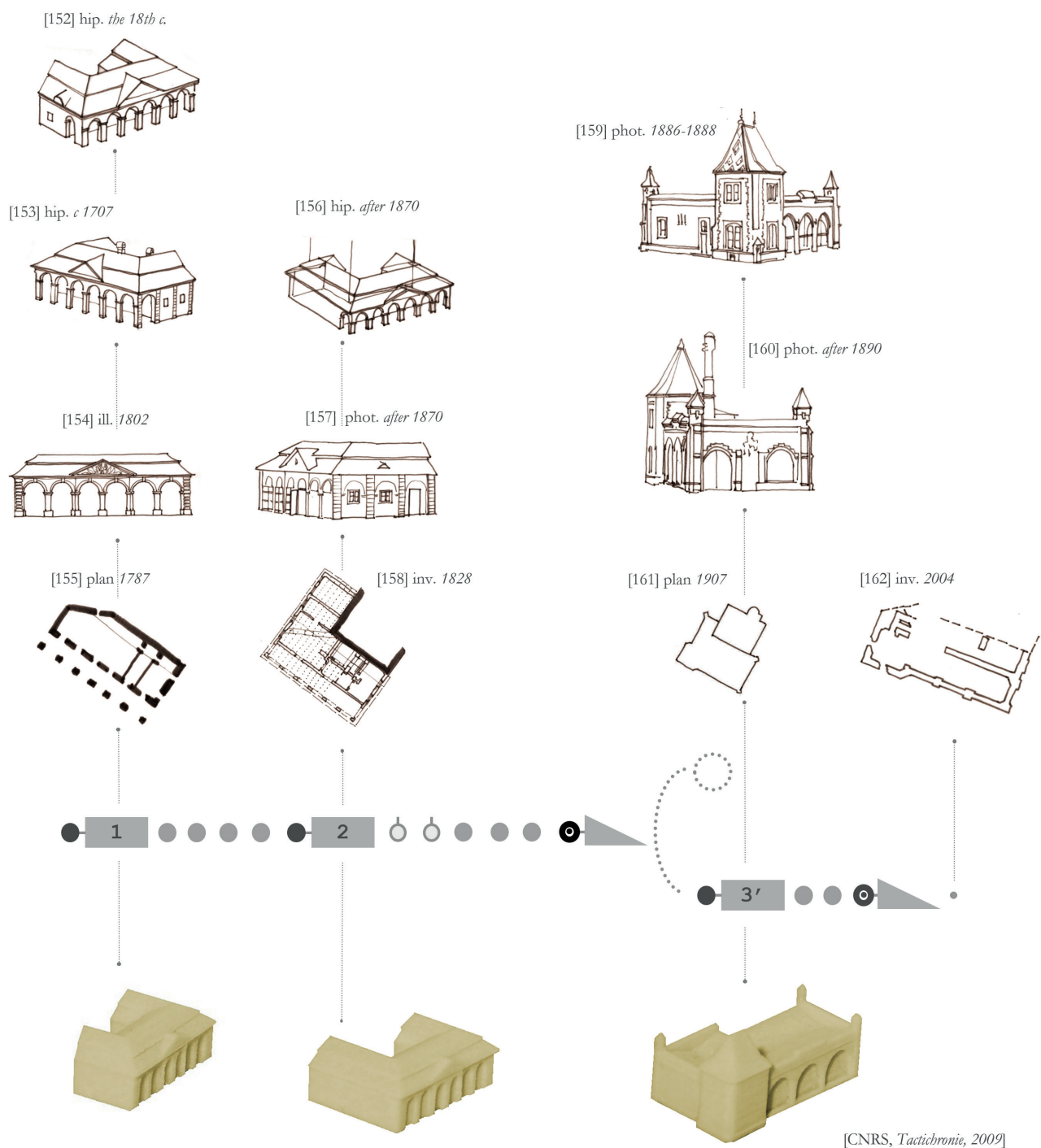


Graph of potential interactions for the *guardhouse* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Two phases of development of the Classic Revival guardhouse have been identified. After its demolition in 1881, a new Neo-Gothic guardhouse was constructed over the former. This second building can however be considered as a wholly independent artefact.

During 2003–2004 archaeological excavations only remains of the Neo-Gothic guardhouse were revealed.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *guardhouse* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.
 All identified phases of development are relatively well documented (iconographic and cartographic sources).
 [I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

hatters' stalls / *kramy kapelusznicze*



A removed, most likely wooden commercial building (or group of buildings) located to the east of the Rich Stalls near St Adalbert church.

hatter, hat-maker (*pileator*) [1]

An emblem (heraldic badge) of Krakow hatters' guild from the early 16th century printed in the *Balthasar Behem Codex* shows a shield kept by two shield bearers in armour. In the middle of the shield there are two crossed 'felting tools', on their right side a low hat and on their left side felt slippers. [2]

The following saints are considered as patrons of the hatters' guild: Blaise, Philip the Apostle, Genevieve, James the Apostle, Martin of Tours and Maurice.

Construction of the hatters' stalls
near St Adalbert Church.

Approximate period of removal of the
hatters' stalls.

1565

1793 ? – 1801 ??



Visual measure of complexity for the *hatters' stalls*.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram – this however can be due to scanty sources.

Until now no relics could be attributed to the *hatters' stalls*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w.* Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach., drukiem Muzeum Przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, p. 6

Note 2. *Ibidem*

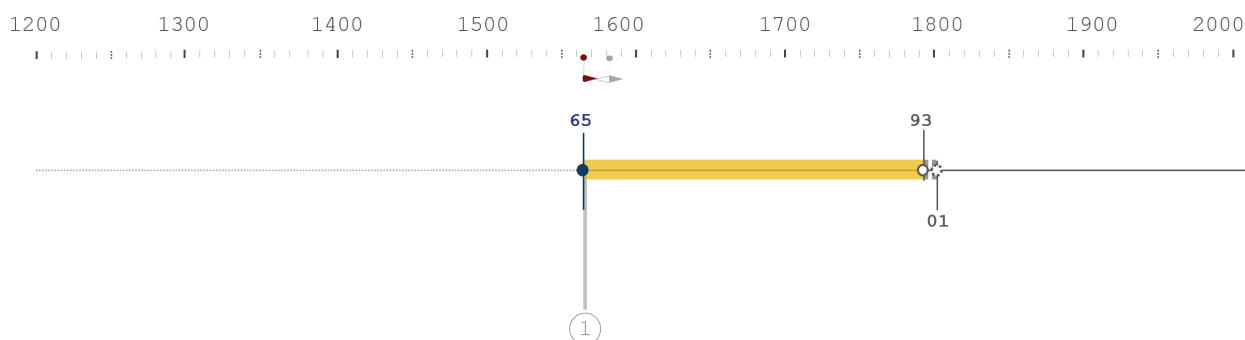
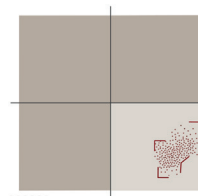
Graph of potential interactions for the *hatters' stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

The diagram shows scanty sources concerning the artefact – only one phase of development has been identified, dating of the destructive transformation (dismantling) is approximate.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

hatters' stalls / kramy kapelusznicze

jatki kapelusznicze [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 71–72]



I

1565

1565 – construction of the hatters' stalls
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 71–72]

Construction of the hatters' stalls near St Adalbert Church.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 71–72]

1785 – An entrance to the Rich Stalls situated *in between* the hatters' stalls is mentioned.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 69]

1785 – Two stalls (Rich Stalls) are mentioned as situated: *to the east of the hatters' municipal stalls*.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, pp. 59–70]

1792 – Description of *Skalka* (a municipal alcohol-serving establishment or public house) located in the basement of the Small Scales mentions *two windows on the hatters' stalls*.
[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, pp. 21–22]

... At the end of the 15th century the germanised patriciate of Krakow and Lviv led to significant restrictions on Jewish merchants activities. In 1485, the Jews were forced to a 'voluntary' resignation from some of their trade activities. Since this moment they could sell only merchandises that had been put in pledge – what is more they were limited to sell only fur collars and caps they had made themselves. All other trade activities were strictly prohibited under penalty of confiscation and high fine...
[*Dzieje Żydów w Polsce*, 2006, pdf]

restytucje: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

R

1793 ?
1801 ??

1792 – a note mentioning the hatters' stalls
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 69]

05 January 1796 – entering of the Austrian army in Krakow, annexation of the city to the Habsburg monarchy
[*Encyklopedia Krakowa*, 2000, p. 1118–1119]

1801 – dismantling of the Small Scales

1832–1836 – The buildings are not represented on a plan that shows which buildings shall be dismantled.
[plan 1832–1836]

Approximate period of removal of the hatters' stalls.

A number of ordinary, wooden, municipal sheds constructed in the neighbourhood of the Grand Scales, the Small Scales and the Rich Stalls, were removed by Austrians so as to clear space inside the densely built-up area of the Market Square.
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]



A removed wooden construction (with parts in masonry) located on the east side of the Market Square, alongside the Rich Stalls' north-east wing. Originally used to sell all sorts of metallic objects.

At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries there were several guilds dedicated to metal crafts (red casters, locksmiths, nedellers, grinding workshops, blacksmiths, etc.). [1]

On the Market Square metallic objects were sold among others in the iron stalls [2] an in the 'Lithuanian' stalls [3].

Visual measure of complexity for the *iron stalls*.

The diagram shows there are little doubts about how to interpret the data available, except for one transition, the results of which are not clear.

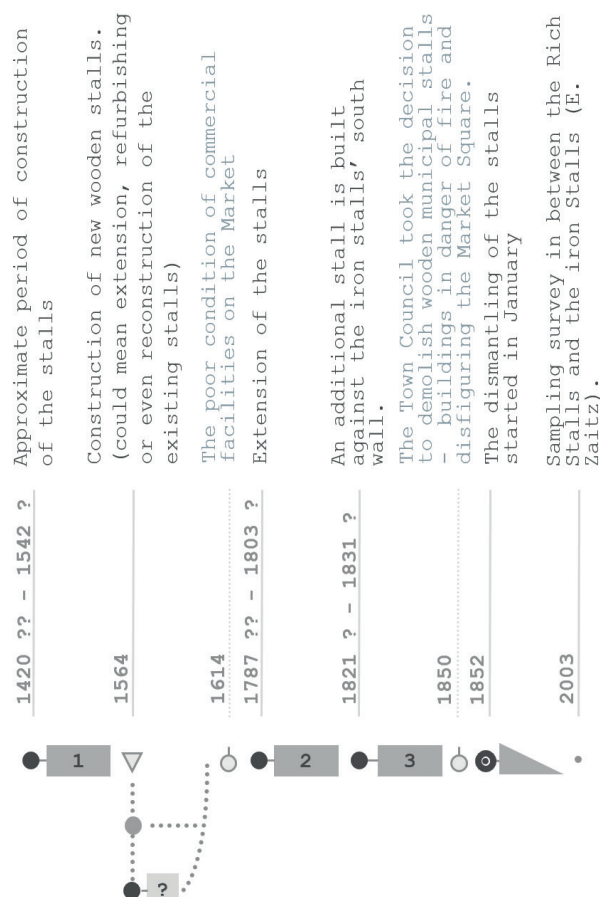
Although the iron stalls were a rather large and significant building, and although they were built over stone cellars, there are apparently no reports published on archaeological excavations that could have uncovered parts of its relics.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Wardas M., Pawlikowski M., Biel A., Zaitz E., Zaitz M., *Geneza zmiennych poziomów kulminacji ołowiu w historycznych warstwach małego Rynku w Krakowie*, Czasopismo Techniczne, 2-B/2009, zeszyt 9

Note 2. cf. Kiryk F., *Cechowe rzemiosło metalowe. Zarys dziejów do 1939r*, Kraków 1972

Note 3. cf. Rederowa D., *Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami Krakowa porozbiorowego (1796–1809). Część I. Zagadnienia urbanistyczne*, zeszyt 2, T. XXXIV, 1958–1959, pp. 61–178



Graph of potential interactions for the *iron stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

At this stage three evolutionary steps can be distinguished.

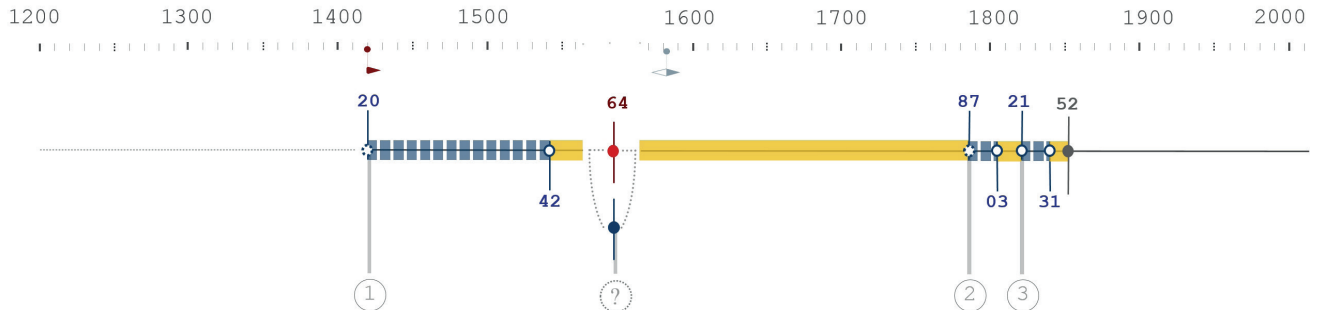
In addition, the building could have been modified in 1564, but the information available is not enough to weigh the actual significance of the changes reported. The iron stalls were dismantled in 1852.

Up to now and to the best of our knowledge nothing was published about excavations of the stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

iron stalls / *kramy żelazne*

jatki żelazne [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 59, note 63]



1

Introduced on the Market Square in the 15th century.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]

In the second decade of the 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square were already completely formed.

1420 ?? [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1542 ? 1542 – The iron stalls are mentioned. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

Starting from the middle of the 16th century the stalls were localised on the east side of the Rich Stalls.

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 59, note 63]

Approximate period of construction of the stalls.

most probably a wooden construction

Both new and second-hand metallic products were sold there.

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 59, note 63]

1542 – Stalls are mentioned, their number is not specified.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450],

[MHmK, II poł. XVI w], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

?

1564

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72]

[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007, p. 208]

Construction of new wooden stalls (could mean extension, refurbishing or even reconstruction of the existing stalls).

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72], [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007, p. 208]

1790 – The iron stalls were built over the stone cellars.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 80]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., 2007, w Rynek Główny, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007]

The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1614

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]

1627, 1629, 1741 – 12 stalls are mentioned.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, pp. 72, 73, 80–82]

1667, 1773 – not represented on plans [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773]

1780 – Mentioned in inventories (*rewizje wiertelnicze*) of the Rich Stalls.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 67]

2

1787 ??

1803 ?

1787 – Changes visible on a plan. [plan Pucka 1787]

1802–1808 – Roof built over the passageway is shown. [plan senacki 1802–1808]

1803/1804 – Roof built over the passageway is shown as well as the north entrance. [plan 1803–1804]

Extension of the stalls: a new row (3 stalls) added to the north and perpendicularly, entrances barring the passageway in between the iron stalls and the Rich Stalls, additional surfaces and roof built in this passageway.

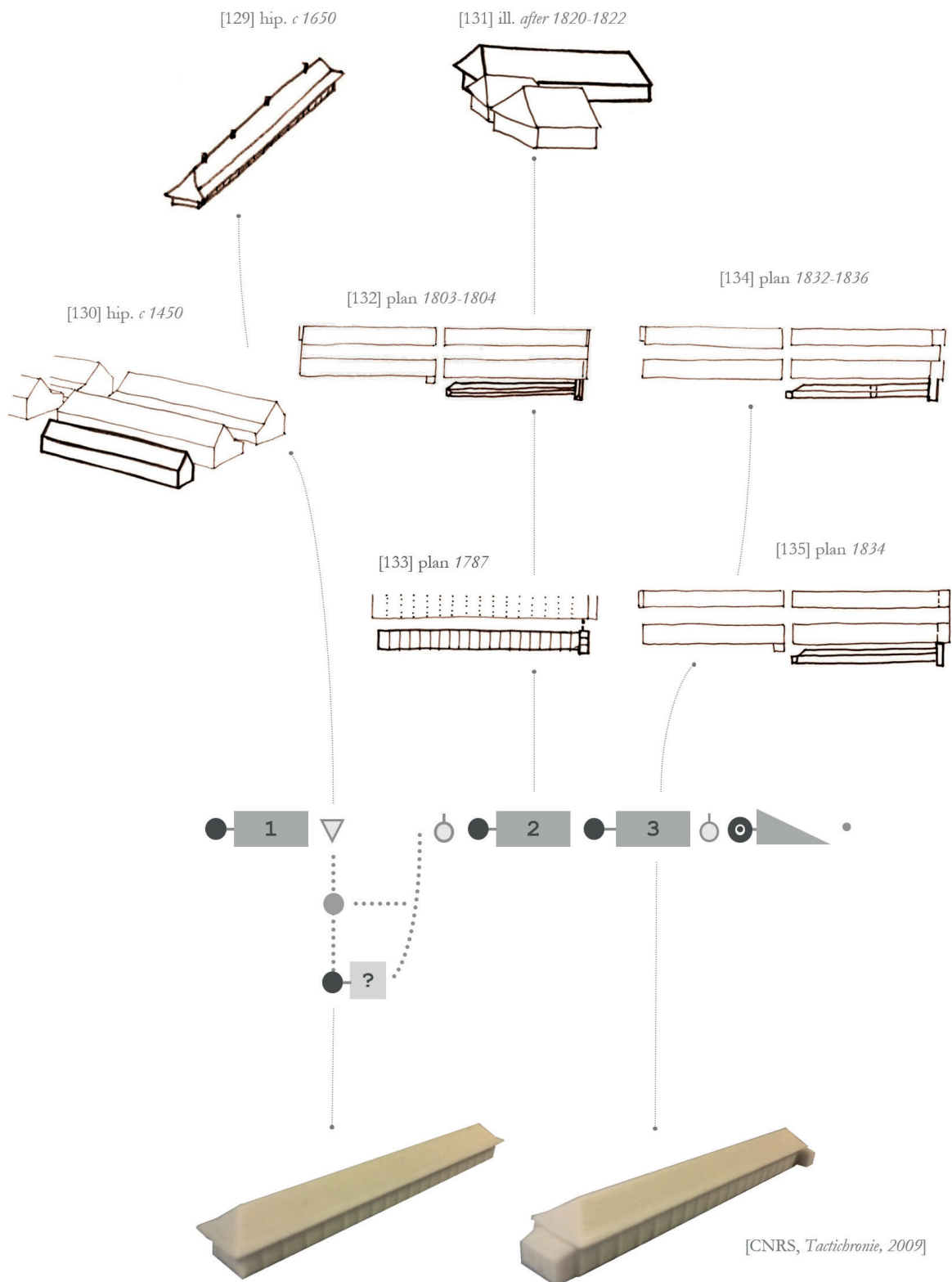
The number of stalls varies over time, depending on the sources: 12 stalls (1741), 20 stalls (1787), 14 to 15 stalls (1792).

1741 – 12 stalls are mentioned.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 73].

Approximately 44,2 meters long when translated from ell.

		<p>1787–20 stalls, plus three to the north, the passageway in between the iron stalls and the Rich Stalls is closed. [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1790 – An inventory (stall number 11) mentions: stone cellar (without vaulting), stone and brick wall facing the Rich Stalls with a window walled in and a stone portal. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 80]</p> <p>1792 – An inventory of the iron stalls gives the following details: south entrance to the passageway – two wooden doors, north entrance – a unique door; old paving in the passageway; 15 stalls numbered from north to south, with stall number 1 located before the north entrance; each stall has its own sign or emblem (e.g. horse, sheep,...); horizontal shutters facing the Rich Stalls. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 81], [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, pp. 59–60]</p> <p>1796–1809 – A new row added to the north, entrances barring the passageway in between the iron stalls and the Rich Stalls, and shingle roof built in this passageway. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]</p> <p>1797 – Mentioned without specifying the number of stalls. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123], [plan 1797 z 1848]</p> <p>1802/1808 – Roof built over the passageway is shown as well as the north stalls. [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]</p> <p>The stalls are not mentioned in an inventory of real estate in Krakow from 1807–1808. [Münch H., 1959, p. 11]</p> <p>1820 – <i>les boutiques en bois qui tombent en ruine</i> (wooden stalls falling into ruins) [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>1834 – Identified as an object to be removed. [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [XX, 1820–1822, ban51], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53], [Brodowski J., 1849, ban254]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p>
3	<p>1821 ? 1831 ?</p> <p>1820 – the addition is not shown [XX, 1820–1822, ban51]</p> <p>1832 – The additional stall is represented. [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p>	<p>An additional stall (?) is built against the iron stalls' south wall. The stalls are in poor condition.</p> <p>1820 – The additional stall is not shown. [XX, 1820–1822, ban51]</p> <p>1832 – The additional stall is represented. [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1832 – 1836 – Identified as stalls not to be sold. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>iconography: [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53], [Brodowski J., 1849, ban254]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	<p>1850</p> <p>02 December 1850 [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392] [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1] [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p>	<p>In December 1850 the Town Council took the decision to demolish wooden municipal stalls – <i>buildings in danger of fire and disfiguring the Market Square</i>. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1]</p>
R	<p>1852</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 155] [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392] [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1] [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 59, note 63]</p>	<p>The dismantling of the stalls started in January 1852. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 155], [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1]</p>
	<p>2003</p> <p>[Sudacka A., 2006, p. 51] [Kluj M. et al., 2006]</p>	<p>Sampling survey in between the Rich Stalls and the iron stalls (E. Zaitz). [Kluj M. et al., 2006]</p> <p>No information given on whether or not relics of the iron stalls were uncovered.</p> <p>plany: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *iron stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Three evolutionary steps have been identified. Artefacts' shape and layout are hypothetical for the first phase of development – hypothetical reconstructions propose a very simple, almost standard shape for the iron stalls at this period. The construction of new stalls in 1564 could possibly have altered the original stalls layout and shape. The second and the third evolutionary steps are at least partially documented (iconographic and cartographic sources).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

'Lithuanian' stalls / *kramy litewskie*



Visual measure of complexity for the 'Lithuanian' stalls.

The diagram underlines doubts that are due to scanty sources – it is still unclear whether or not all historical sources mention the same object.

Until now no relics could be attributed to the 'Lithuanian' stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Most likely a small commercial wooden buildings, situated in the neighbourhood of the Grand Scales, to the south of the Cloth Hall and of the shoemakers' stalls, and in the vicinity of the Small Scales and of the iron stalls. The 'Lithuanian' stalls were used to sell Lithuanian and Nuremberg products (*i.e.* haberdashery).

In the 16th and the 17th centuries Nuremberg was famous for the production of leather and metal crafts, as well as for the production of glasses, mirrors and ornaments. [1]

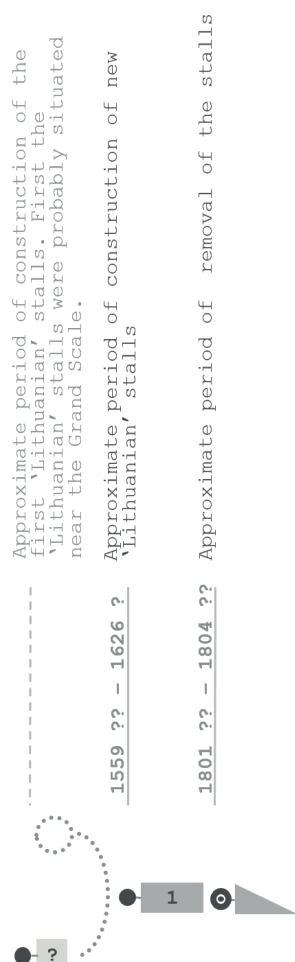
Commodities like ribbons, threads, needles, pins, combs, scissors, *etc.* were also called *Scottish products* [2]. This term replaced the term '*norymberszczyzna*' (Nuremberg products) for a time. [3]

Note 1. *cf.* Wyrobisz A., *Szkoło w Polsce od XIV do XVII wieku*, Kraków–Wrocław, 1968, p. 186

Note 2. *In the 17th century the British (mainly Scots and English) were the second largest national minority in the Polish Commonwealth – exceeded only by the Germans...*

cf. Krawczyk A., *The British In Poland in seventeenth century.*, [in] *The Seventeenth Century*, 2002, Vol. 17, Issue 2, p. 254

Note 3. *cf.* XX., *Szkoci* [on-line] Onet.pl, <<http://konkursikmoichulubiencow.blogonet.pl/>>, accessed 27 V 2011

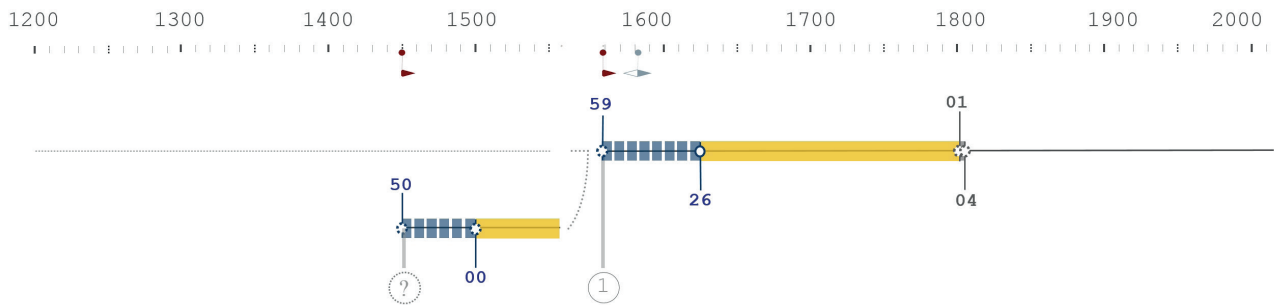
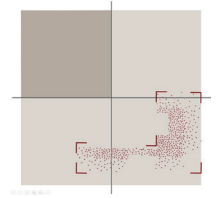


Graph of potential interactions for the 'Lithuanian' stalls – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

The first 'Lithuanian' stalls were probably situated near the Grand Scales. It is difficult to assess whether they have more than a functional relationship with the later lithuanian stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

'Lithuanian' stalls / *kramy litewskie*



?

1450 ??
1500 ??

[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

Approximate period of construction of the first 'Lithuanian' stalls.

The first the 'Lithuanian' stalls were probably situated near the Grand Scales. They were used to sell Lithuanian and Nuremberg products (*i.e.* haberdashery).
[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 62, note 66]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

1

1559 ??
1626 ?

1555–1559 – Works by the cloth-cropping workshops and Renaissance rebuilding of the Cloth Hall.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 237–238]

before the construction of the granary (1561) – A plan shows a group of buildings parallel to the southern facade of the Cloth Hall.
[Duch W., 11_MHK, 2010]

1627 – The 'Lithuanian' stalls are mentioned.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

Approximate period of construction of new 'Lithuanian' stalls – situated in the neighbourhood of the Grand Scales, in the south of the Cloth Hall and of the shoemakers' stalls, and in the vicinity of the Small Scales and of the iron stalls.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1627 – They stretched out from the south cloth-cropping workshop (entrance to the shoemakers' stalls) to the iron stalls. [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1629 – They were used to sell Lithuanian and Nuremberg products.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

1741 – A note mentions 32 'Lithuanian' stalls. They were taxed at varying rates from 50 to 8 fl. (florins ?)
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 73]

Differences in tax rates could correspond to differences in the location of individual stalls.

1760 – 33 'Lithuanian' stalls are mentioned.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 74]
Approximately 67,5 meters long when translated from ells.

1792 – A note mentions 21 'Lithuanian' stalls (with old roofs).
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 77]

1792 – 20 – 'Lithuanian' stalls are mentioned. (roofs in poor condition)
[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 62]

1796–1809 – The stalls surrounded the Small Scales and stretched along the southern façade of the Cloth Hall (from the Cloth Hall's eastern corner to the shoemakers' stalls).
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

1800 – An ensemble of stalls, adjacent to the south of the Cloth Hall's is represented.
[plan 1800]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Duch W., 11_MHK, 2010]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1800]

R

1801 ??
1804 ?

1796 – The 'Lithuanian' stalls are mentioned and their localisation is described. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

1801 – dismantling of the Small Scales

1804 – A portion of the wooden stalls situated on the west part of the Market Square is dismantled.
[Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line].

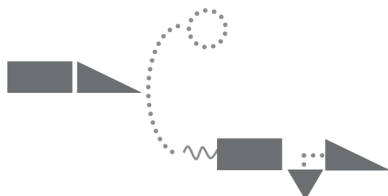
Approximate period of removal of the stalls.

A number of ordinary, wooden, municipal sheds constructed in the neighbourhood of the Grand Scales, the Small Scales and the Rich Stalls, were removed by Austrians so as to clear space inside the densely built-up area of the Market Square.
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

1804 – A portion of the wooden stalls situated on the west part of the Market Square is dismantled.

[Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line]

market hall for minor traders / *Smatruz*



A removed commercial building, its precise location is not known. Sources point at two possible and approximate locations for the market hall for minor traders – in the first phase it was located in the north-western part of the Market Square, in the second phase the building was located near the Town Hall (on its northern side). Its form and construction type are not known.

The market hall for minor traders (called *Smatruz*, in German *Schmetterhaus*, literally: *chatter* [1]) – was a kind of a clear span market hall, with stands for various craftsmen.

The term *Schmetterhaus* was particularly often used in cities under German law. They were built on markets or in their vicinity. A *Schmetterhaus* was similar to a cloth hall, but with a clear span interior, without walls separating them into individual chambers [2], because a large part of the goods were delivered and sold there on a daily basis and there was no need to store them inside. [3]

In Silesia this type of market halls were quite common. [4]

In 1548 the following traders paid for stands in the market hall for minor traders: *fustian weavers* (produced Fustian, a kind of coarse cloth made of cotton and flax), *cutlers*, *smiths*, *locksmiths*, *girdlers* (who produced girdles and belts), *nedellers* (needle and pins makers), *tawers* (tanners specialised in the manufacture of thin, delicate leather for gloves and clothing), *dyers*, *leather workers* (who manufactured bags, clothing belts, wallets, etc.), *whit-tawers* (who made saddles and harness), *lineners* (linen drapers), *peplatrices* (who manufactured curtains), etc.

... All of them had stands there reputedly thanks to the privilege from 1358. ... [5]

Visual measure of complexity for the *market hall for minor traders*.

A fork in the beginning of the diagram points out an uncertainty concerning the relationship between the first and the second phases of development: filiation or independence (the second phase of the *market hall for minor traders* was constructed in a new location).

The building (second phase) was removed but the nature of this transformation remains unknown (dismantling and/or annexation by another artefact).

Up to now no relicts could be attributed to the *market hall for minor traders*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. *Smatruz*, Słownik etymologiczny, (2010), [on-line], etymologia.org <<http://www.etymologia.org/wiki/S%C5%82ownik+etymologiczny/smatruz>>, accessed 13 IX 2010

Note 2. cf. *Smatruz*, (2010), [on-line] Wikipedia, <<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smatruz>>, accessed 13 IX 2010

Note 3. cf. *Smatruz we Wrocławiu*, (2009), [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smatruz_we_Wroc%C5%82awiu>, accessed 13 IX 2010

Note 4. cf. Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek Główny*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2008, p. 40

Note 5. cf. Tomkowicz S., *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, BK, nr 63–64, Kraków 1926, pp. 30–31



Smetterhaus [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 246]
garrulatorium [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 246]
 [Tysza P., 2001, p. 123]



Approximate period of construction of the market hall for minor traders, where during market days visiting merchants could expose and trade their goods. Erected in the western part of the Market Square, near the salt market.

probably a wooden building [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 246]

1441 – The north quarter of the bread benches is localised nearby the market hall for minor traders – *quartalis versus garrulatorium*. [Tyszką P., 2001, p. 123]

analogous objects: The market hall for minor traders in Wrocław was a two-storey, stone and brick built building (probably from the beginning). It housed stands for bakers, shoemakers and tanners. [*Wrocławski Smatruż*, 2010]

A market hall for minor traders in Świdnica was constructed around 1377. This two-storey building housed stands of furriers and liners (linen drapers). [Chorowska M., Lasota C., 2010]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyszka P., 1390–1410, il. 6]

The market hall for minor traders is destroyed by a fire – the city incurs a loan for its reconstruction.

Dismantling of the remains of the building.

The market hall for minor traders burnt in 1445, its reconstruction [in a new location] started immediately.

[Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 31], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 31]

Construction of a new market hall for minor traders in a new location – in the vicinity of the Town Hall, most probably to the north of it. Its shape and layout are unknown.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 52, 247]

1463 – The market hall for minor traders was situated close to the town hall, but not inside it....*super garrulatorio vulgariter smeterhaus nuncupanto, praeterio contiguo...*
[Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 31]

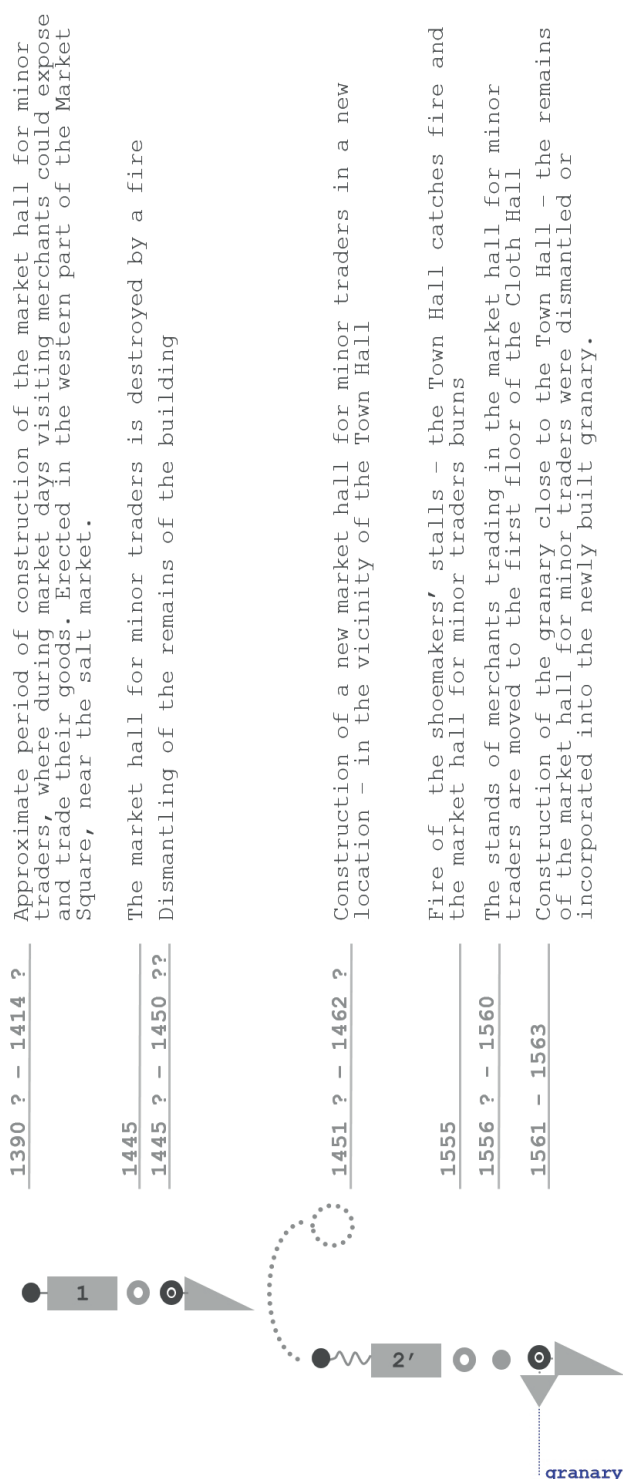
1503 – The market hall for minor traders was situated close to the town hall... *ex pretorio vulgariter smetirhaus nominato*.... [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 31]

1542 – The following merchants had their stands in the market hall for minor traders: fustian weavers, nedellers, lineners (linen drapers), cutlers, locksmiths, girdlers, dyers, *etc.* [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

		1548 – The following merchants paid for stands in the market hall for minor traders: fustian weavers, cutlers, smiths, locksmiths, girdlers, nedellers, tawers, dyers, leather workers, whittawers, lineners (linen drapers), <i>etc.</i> [Tomkowicz S., 1926 pp. 30–31] hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478]?, [Komorowski W, Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130]?
	1555	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64] Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – the Town Hall catches fire and the market hall for minor traders burns. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64]
	1556 ? 1560	Renaissance rebuilding of the Cloth Hall. The stands of merchants trading in the market hall for minor traders are moved to the first floor of the Cloth Hall. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 65, 237] 1542 – Szujski considered that the market hall for minor traders was dedicated to 'foreign' merchants (<i>i.e.</i> not from the city).... <i>olim in Schmetterhaushospites merces suas, nundinarum tempore, venebant. Verum hii omnes in budis suas ad id deputatis merces resque suas expondunt...</i> [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 30] 1558 – <i>Benedict the locksmith</i> makes the iron doors (decorated with the Jagiellonian eagles) for the chamber where the minor traders are moved to. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 239] There was a time when the <i>market hall for minor traders</i> was situated in the Cloth Hall. The nedellers, cutlers, girdlers and other minor traders had theirs stands (tables) there, linen and fustian were sold there as well. [Tomkowicz S., 1907, pp. 7–8]
R/S	1561 1563	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 231] Construction of the granary close to the Town Hall – the remains of the market hall for minor traders were dismantled or incorporated into the newly built granary. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 231]

Further developments of the *market hall for minor traders* as a function inside The Cloth Hall.

1599 1611	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 91]	Construction of a superstructure (called <i>Langierówka</i>) over the western end of the intersecting passageway of the Cloth Hall – the owners of the Cloth Hall's chambers raise the level of roofs over their stalls, gradually obscuring windows of the Cloth Hall's first floor. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 91] maps and plans: [plan1700_1773]
1641	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 91]	Another floor is added to <i>Langierówka</i> – the <i>market hall for minor traders</i> gets more and more obscured. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 91] 1667 – identified as a municipal property, situated in The Cloth Hall [plan 1667 JG] hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007]
1875 1879	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 162, 164]	Before the renovation of the Cloth Hall its first floor is used only as a storehouse for junk. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 247] 1787 – A description of the market hall for minor traders located on the first floor of the Cloth Hall mentions: <i>wooden beams are rotten, flooring is absent, ceiling is shored up, roof is in poor condition, windows are lacking, walls are bulged and with cracks</i> . [plan Pucka 1787] During the extension and refurbishment of the Cloth Hall the first level of the building was adapted for the exhibition hall of the National Museum. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 162, 164], [Kadłuczka A., 2010]



Graph of potential interactions for the *market hall for minor traders* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Two distinct phases of development have been identified. The diagram underlines a clear challenge in the interpretation of the data: accepting or rejecting the idea that there is a filiation between the two successive phases. Both buildings had the same function and owner, but different localisations. The diagram also highlights doubts concerning the way in which the second market hall for minor traders was removed.

[aut. I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

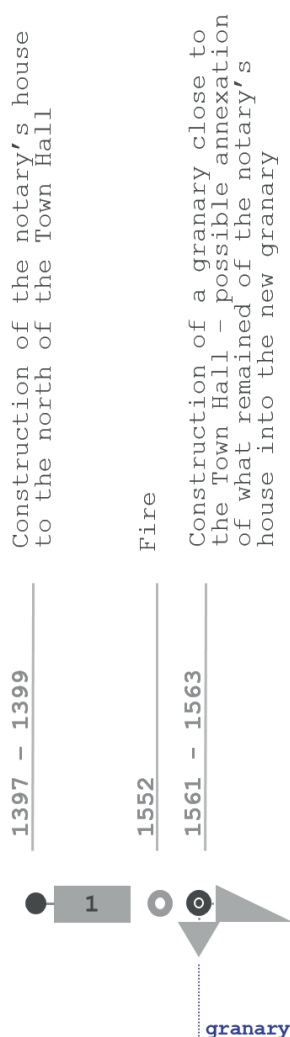
notary's house / *dom notariusza*



A municipal, probably three-storey building (masonry) named inside historical sources. The notary's house comprised an apartment and an office for the notary, who was the most important person in town after the mayor.

Town notary (*notarius civitatis Cracoviae, secretarius civitatis Cracovia*) [1]

In the system of municipal law, a notary wrote down the resolutions passed by local authorities, prepared reports of the municipal board meetings, recorded activities in the area of civil law, etc. [2]



Visual measure of complexity for the *notary's house*.

Doubts in the interpretation of the data are visible on the diagram – the character of the destructive phase is unclear (a demolition or a partial annexation by another architectural object).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., et al., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część III (1592–1597)*, T. VII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1999

Note 2. cf. XX, *Historia notariatu*, (2009), [on-line] Strona Polskiego Serwisu Naukowego, <http://www.naukowy.pl/encyklopedia/Krajowa_Rada_Notarialna>, accessed 26 I 2011

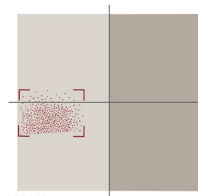
Graph of potential interactions for the *notary's house* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one step in the evolution has been identified at this stage. We know when the building was constructed but we have no indications concerning later modifications (not even repairs). Like for the neighbouring *council members' house*, the artefact's destruction phase is preceded by a stage of degradation (a fire). The *notary's house* could have been demolished or partially dismantled as a result of this fire and the remaining elements could have been annexed by the granary constructed in this zone soon after.

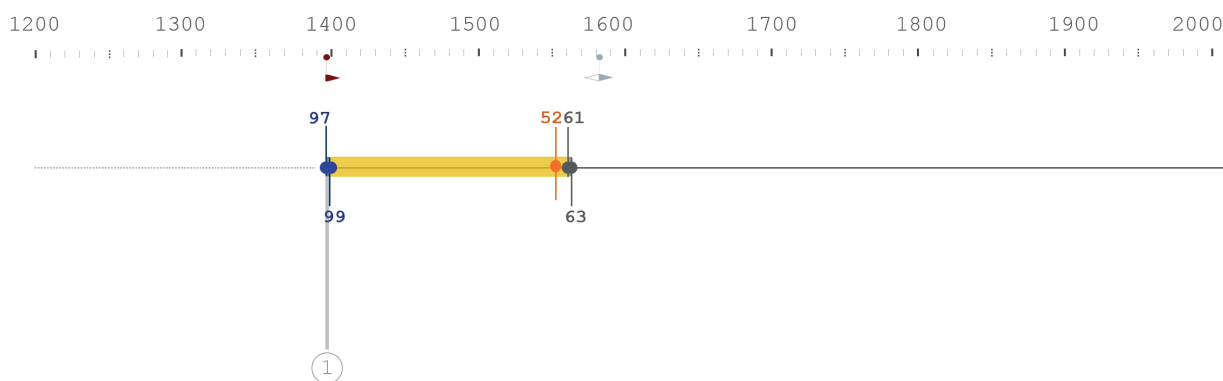
Up to now no relics could be attributed to the *notary's house*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

notary's house / *dom notariusza*



domus notarii [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]



1

Construction of the notary's house to the north of the Town Hall.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231]

masonry, probably three-storey, not smaller than the Town Hall, municipal property, functions: notary's apartment and office;
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 29]

Located *retro pretorium*. Situated among a group of municipal objects that are typical of cities of central Europe.
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, pp. 29–30]

hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, 1450–1478]?, [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]?, [Duch W., 11_MHK, 2010], [Komorowski W., Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 116, il. 5], [XX, Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 108], [Kabrowski A., II poł. XIV w.]?, [Kabrowski A., XV w.]?

1552

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Fire
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

R/S

1561
1563

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64]
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]

Construction of a granary close to the Town Hall – possible annexation of what remained of the *notary's house* into the new granary.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 64, 231]

... *Granarium civitatis eo loco, ubi antea schmetterhaus, impensis civitatis est aedificatum, superne novo cinctum, depictum et ornatum...*
[Muczkowski J., 1906, p. 18],
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 36]



Visual measure of complexity for the *officers' house*.
No differences in the interpretation of the data are underlined by this simple diagram.
Up to now no relics could be attributed to the *officers' house*.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

A wooden, single-storey building known from a variety of historical sources, used by officers from Krakow's regiment of Polish armed forces for a short period at the end of the 18th century (quarter for officers of the daytime guard).

Description of the house situated in front of the Town Hall [1792]

... Entering into a small wooden room, that used to serve as a shelter for officers, the walls around are made of wood – bad, rotten. (...) The ceiling and the beams that carry it [are] in poor condition, flooring is missing. Passing from this tiny entrance hall to the small room (...) [within which] there are three windows (...) Ceiling and the beams that carry it are rotten, flooring in similar condition. Inside this room a stone and brick built fireplace, over it a tiled stove, close to the stove a casing with old shelves, one single bench ... [1]

Note 1. cf. *Opis domku naprzeciwko Ratusza*, [in] Zbiór opisów Miasta Stołecznego Krakowa roku 1792 [after] Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości Miasta Krakowa w czasach Sejmu Czteroletniego. Opis z 1792 roku*, Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Kraków 2007, p. 18

Construction of a quarter for officers of the daytime guard

Dismantling

1782 ? – 1784 ?

1803 ? – 1804 ?



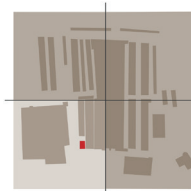
[CNRS, *Tactichronie*, 2009]

Fig. 3 The officers' house: a small single-storey building positioned against the shoemakers stalls and the tanners stalls (fragment of the *Tactichronie* tangible models).
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2009]

Graph of potential interactions for the *officers' house* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one step in the evolution has been identified at this stage – the artefacts lifetime is anyway quite short. The building was dismantled and until now no relics could be attributed to it.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

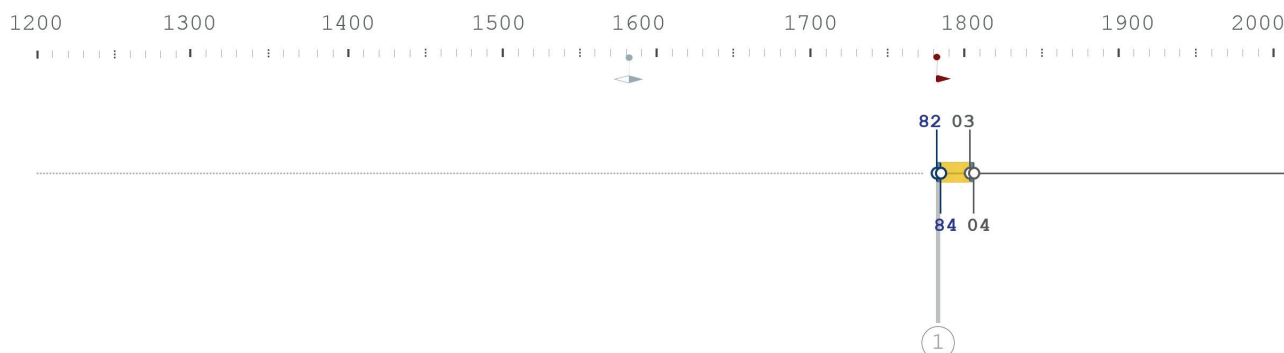
officers' house / *dom oficerski*



Oficyerka
Oficerka

[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 201]

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 18, note 11]



1

1782 ?

fourth quarter of the 18th century
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 246]

1782 – construction of the officers' house
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 94], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 863]

1785 – represented on a plan
[plan kołłątajowski 1785]

in the eighties of the 18th century
[Zabytki Krakowa, 2009, on-line]

Construction of a quarter for officers of the daytime guard.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 246]

building mentioned as *Oficerka*

[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 201]

Quarter for the officers from Krakow's regiment of Polish armed forces

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 18, note 11]

1773 – The building is not represented.

[plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha]

1792 – *Description of the officers' house*: wooden one-storey building, with a tiny entrance hall deprived of flooring; small room with three windows, inside which the ceiling, beams and a flooring are rotten, with a fireplace and a tiled stove, a casing with old shelves, one single bench

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 18]

1794 – A hip roof of the officers' house is represented on a painting.

[Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103]

1794 – On the spot of the Officers' house, a much bigger object is represented.

[plan pruski 1794]

1800 – represented indistinctly

[plan 1800]

1803/1804 – a hip roof, building number 3

[plan 1803–1804]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [XX., 1782–1804, tab. 6]?

hypothetical reconstructions: [XX, Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 112]

maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804]

R

1803 ?
1804 ?

1803

[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 201]

1804

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93 note 83],
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 128, 246], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 863]

1803 or 1804

[Banach J., 1998, p. 453]

in the beginning of the 19th century
[Zabytki Krakowa, 2009, on-line]

Dismantling

[Banach J., 1998, p. 453]

1803–1804 – The building is represented on a plan.

[plan 1803–1804]

1803–1808 – The building is not represented.

[plan Senacki 1803–1808]

1834 (?) – outlined delicately

[plan 1834]

maps and plans: [plan 1803–1804], [plan Senacki 1803–1808], [plan 1834]

Oszacki house / domek Oszackich



Visual measure of complexity for the *Oszacki house*.

A fork in the beginning of the diagram points out an uncertainty concerning the relationship between the two steps: filiation or independence.

Up to now no relics could be attributed to the *Oszacki house*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

A two-storey building built of wood, named after its last owner (*Oszacki* family). The building was used as a sort of 'restaurant', and dismantled in the beginning of the 19th century.

... Coming from Jana street, on the right of the Cloth Hall was a small cottage where delicious portions of sausage with white sauce were sold. Stallholders, market traders and students ate here – the latter [students] less often, because although it was quite cheap, money was rare among students. ...[1]

... In May 1854, after the demolition of stall number 8 and of the *Oszacki* house a well was discovered (bottom of sand, on the sand a thicker layer of stones, bubbles of gas escaped from the water, ...). In 1844 at the request of the authorities of the Republic of Krakow, professor Florian Sawiczewski analysed the water and in 1845 published the results. [2] In 1847 Franciszek Maryczkiewicz quotes the results of the analysis of water. ... [3]

A. Grabowski mentions the demolition of the *Oszacki* House: ... *the wooden Oszacki house, fouled Krakow's Market Square (...) and was its anomaly. Its destruction uncovered a blank side wall of the Cloth Hall and it does look unsightly.* ...[4]

When during the second half of the 18th century the fish stalls were erected, 12 stalls, a shed for a caretaker, as well as a well were constructed [5]. It could possibly be the same well (with salted water) as this mentioned by Sawiczewski in 1845 [6] and by Wawel-Louis in 1890.

Note 1. cf. Wawel Louis J., *Urywki z dziejów i życia mieszkańców Krakowa*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1977 [after] Kozioł A., *Na Krakowskim Rynku. Historia i obyczaje od lokacji o najnowszych czasów*. WAM, Kraków 2007, p. 64

Note 2. cf. Maryczkiewicz F., *Hydrografia miasta Krakowa i jego okręgu*, Kraków 1847

Note 3. cf. Wojtaszek T., *Źródło wody mineralnej w Rynku Głównym w Krakowie*, 2004, [on-line], <http://www.wodadlaczdrovia.pl/pl/9295/0/Zrodlo_w_rynku_w_Krakowie.html>, accessed 14 IX 2010

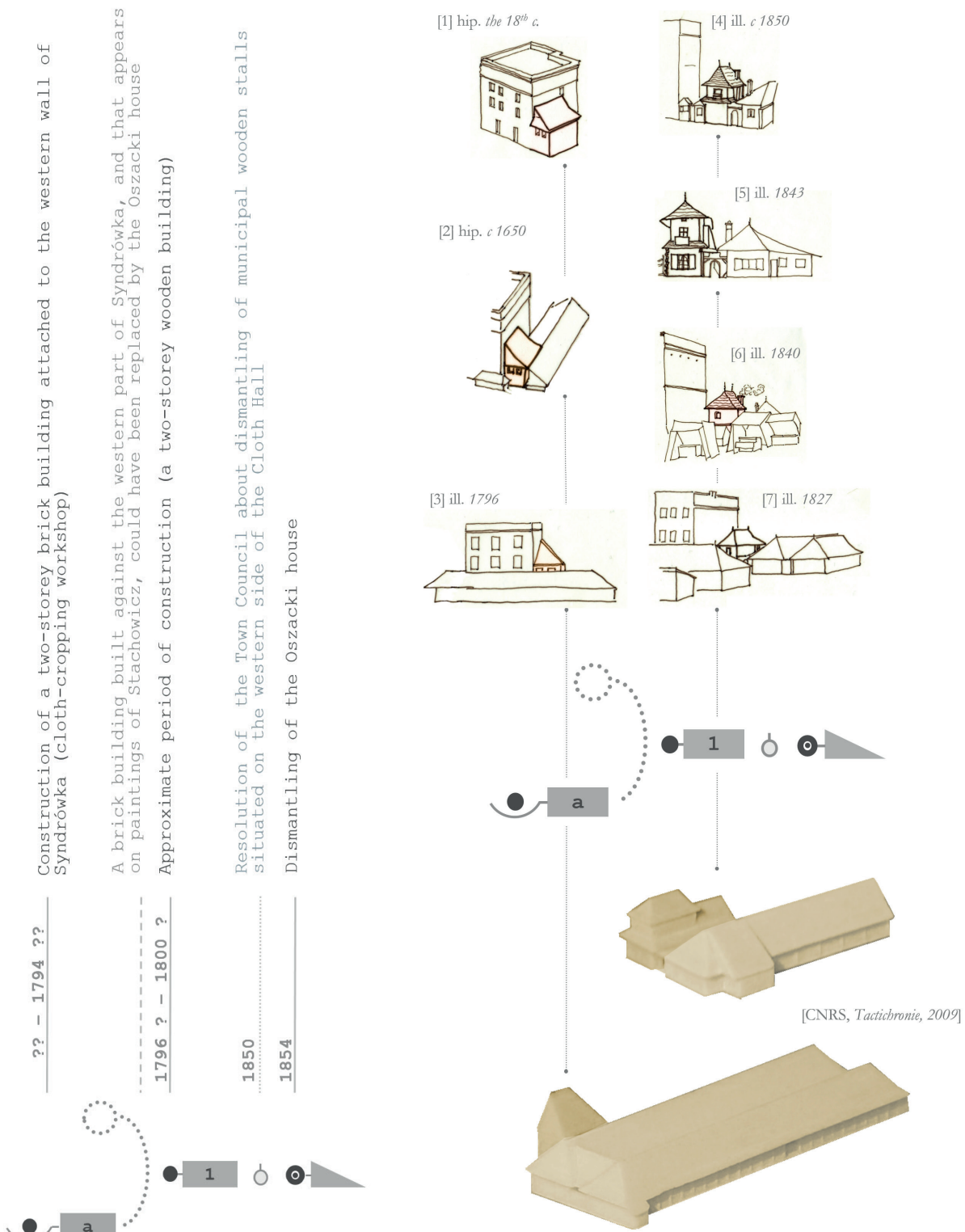
Note 4. *Ibidem*

Note 5. cf. Rederowa D., *Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami Krakowa porzbirowego (1796–1809)*. Część I. Zagadnienia urbanistyczne, (zeszyt 2), T. XXXIV, 1958–1959, p. 93

Note 6. ... source of water in a small well located in a vaulted basement belonging to stall number 8, that was adjacent to a wooden cottage (No. 12) [i.e. *Oszacki* house]...

cf. Wojtaszek T., *Źródło wody...* op. cit. [after] Sawiczewski F., *Wiadomości o wodzie słonej krakowskiej*, Rocznik Wydziału Lekarskiego UJ, Kraków 1845

		<p>iconography: [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	1850	<p>17 December 1850 [Wojtaszek T., 2004], [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1]</p> <p>Resolution of the Town Council about dismantling the municipal wooden stalls situated on the western side of the Cloth Hall (buildings were to be dismantled progressively, at the end of renting contracts). Private stalls were successively repurchased from their owners in order to dismantle them too. [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1]</p>
R	1854	<p>Dismantling of the Oszacki house. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1], [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p> <p>1802–1808 – Already in 1802 the Oszacki House is earmarked for demolition. [plan senacki, 1802], [Münch H., 1959, p. 11], [Banach J., 1998, pp. 390–391]</p> <p><i>... the senate of the Free City [1815–1846] wanted to buy this building [Oszacki house], from the Malecki family, who demanded 12,000 złotych in silver coins. The city authorities filed a lawsuit for dispossessing the Malecki family. After the verdict of the court the building was estimated at a much lower amount and bought by the city for 1 300 zł...</i> [Wojtaszek T., 2004] after A. Grabowski</p> <p>May 1854 [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p> <p>1854 [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Banach J., 1998, pp. 390–391], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 155]</p> <p>1832–1836 – A vague contour in the northern part of a plan of the stalls situated in the north-west part of the Cloth Hall, may correspond to the Oszacki house (?). [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1844 – Professor Sawiczewski analyses water from the well located in stall number 8, that flanks the Oszacki house. [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p> <p>1850 – Oszacki house is represented on a painting. [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p> <p>1854 – a note on an illustration: <i>... wooden house, which was demolished only in 1854, after a long lawsuit with its owners...</i> [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]</p> <p>The dismantlement of the Oszacki house in May 1854 followed the resolution of the Town Council (from December 2nd 1851) about dismantling the municipal wooden stalls situated on the western side of the Cloth Hall (buildings were to be dismantled progressively, at the end of renting contracts). [Banach J., 1998, p. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1], [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p>



Left, Graph of potential interactions for the *Oszacki house* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Only one phase in the evolution of this building has been identified as certain at this stage. An earlier phase of development is possible, but questionable. The building was dismantled and until now no relics could be attributed to it.

Right, Graph of potential interactions with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. The form of the latest phase of development is known from iconographic sources. The first stage is by contrast highly questionable and shall be treated only as a hypothesis that requires further verifications.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *post-chart construction*.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram – this however can be due to scanty sources.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

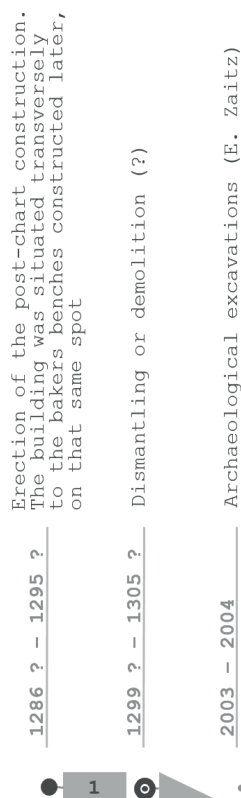
A wooden construction (unknown function) the relics of which were discovered in the western part of the Market Place.

... After 1285, the first (!) wooden building – the form and function of which have not yet been determined – was constructed. We will call it the 'post-chart construction'. It is worth reminding that at that time, on the strength of the privilege of Leszek II the Black, the city probably built wood-and-earth defensive fortifications, that ran between the Marka street and the Pijarska street. ... [1]

... In 1285, to the initiative of Leszek II the Black, defensive fortifications composed of moats and wood-and-earth constructions were built all around the town. During the third Mongol invasion (1287) Krakow was not taken over. The siege lasted until 1288. ... [2]

Note 1. cf. Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych prowadzonych w Krakowie w 2004 roku przy przebudowie nawierzchni płyty Rynku Głównego po zachodniej stronie Sukiennic*, [in] *Materiały Archeologiczne*, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, p. 90

Note 2. cf. Wikipedia, *Kalendarium historii Krakowa* [on-line] <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalendarium_historii_Krakowa> accessed 13 IX 2010

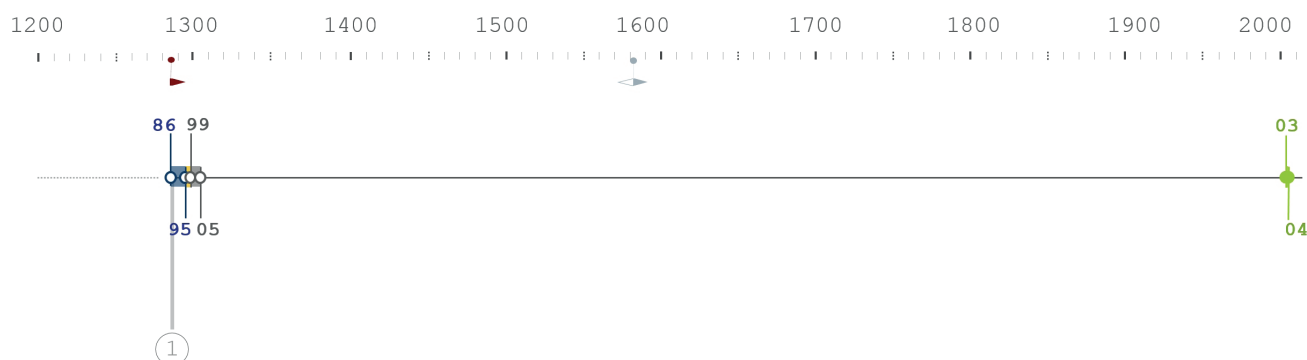
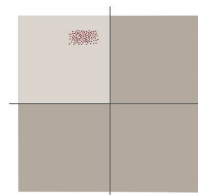


Graph of potential interactions for the *post-chart construction* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one step in the evolution has been identified at this stage. Shortly after its construction the building was dismantled yet some fragments could be found during archaeological excavations (2002–2004).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

post-chart construction / budowla polokacyjna



I

Built from fir wood cut down after
1283–1285;
1286 ? [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]
1295 ? [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90]
after 1285
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 90]

Erection of the *post-chart construction*. The building was situated transversely to the *bakers benches* constructed later, on that same spot. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86], [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90]

constructed from fir wood
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86], [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90]

A wooden building, its form and function have not yet been determined.
[Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90], [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

R

1299 ?–1306 ? – construction of bread
benches over the *post-chart construction*
(*cf.* bread benches)
1299 ?
1305 ?
after 1302–1308
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89]

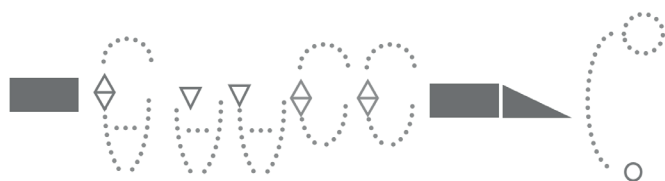
Dismantling or demolition of the building.
[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 89]

Archaeological excavations (E. Zaitz)
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

2003 [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]
2004 [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90]

Under the northern part of the western wing of the *bread benches* an earlier wooden construction has been discovered. This construction was situated transversely to the *bakers benches*.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

The fragments of the oldest *post-chart construction* are arranged along an east-west axis. They were found in the excavation pits number 14/04 and 10a/04. The *post-chart construction* was built from fir wood, cut down between 1283 and 1285.
[Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 88–90]



A removed commercial building built of wood (probably single-storey) that was used by potters to sell their products. Later on lard traders were also introduced into the stalls.

potters (*figulus*) [1]

'lard traders' (*lardi revenditores*) [2]

A potter who proposed poor products (pots, pans, *etc.*), was fined with a half a pound of wax.

In 1455, statutes of the potters' guild: ... *limited the number of baskets of pots that could be brought on the Market Square to 12 baskets per week.* ... 1505 statutes prescribed that: ... *a journeyman who would not come to work on the day following a holiday or feast, and that would have spent that day in an inn or with gamblers, would be deprived of his week wage, as it was the custom in others guilds* ... [3]

A guild law from 1658 established, that if a journeyman of the Krakow pottery guild wanted to become a 'master potter' he had to pass a practical exam and make something that showed he had fully mastered all aspects of the craft. This object was called a '*Masterwork*'.

For example he could be asked to make a one-and-half ell [4] high pot with a proper cover, a pitcher of the same height, *etc.* or build a beautiful tiled stove without breaking any single tile. [5]

The seal of lard traders (*lardi revenditores*) represents: ... *a large cut of pork fat that is cut with a knife kept in a hand (represented on the right side). In the stamp surround there is the following inscription: The 1712 seal of Krakow lard traders' guild.* ... [6]

Visual measure of complexity for the *pottery and fat stalls*.

This long and complex diagram underlines the considerable number of doubts that remain concerning the artefact's evolution (three confirmed transformations with unknown consequences, and three transformations based on circumstantial evidences).

Archaeological relics discovered in this location were not explicitly identified. The doubts concerning their identity are represented by a fork.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578–1591)*, T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998, p. 347

Note 2. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w. Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach.*, drukiem m. Muzeum przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, p. 43

Note 3. cf. Chotkowski M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV wieku.*, Kraków 1891, pp. 42, 47, 65

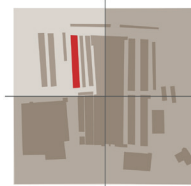
Note 4. Unit of measurement approximating the length of a man's arm from the elbow.

cf. Wikipedia [on-line] <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ell>>, accessed 02 XII 2012

Note 5. cf. Kołaczkowski J., *Wiadomości dotyczące się przemysłu i sztuki dawnej w Polsce*, Wyd. M. Kański, Kraków 1888, p. 286

Note 6. cf. Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w. Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach.*, drukiem m. Muzeum przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, p. 19

pottery and lard stalls / *jatki garncarskie i sadelne*



casae lutifigulum

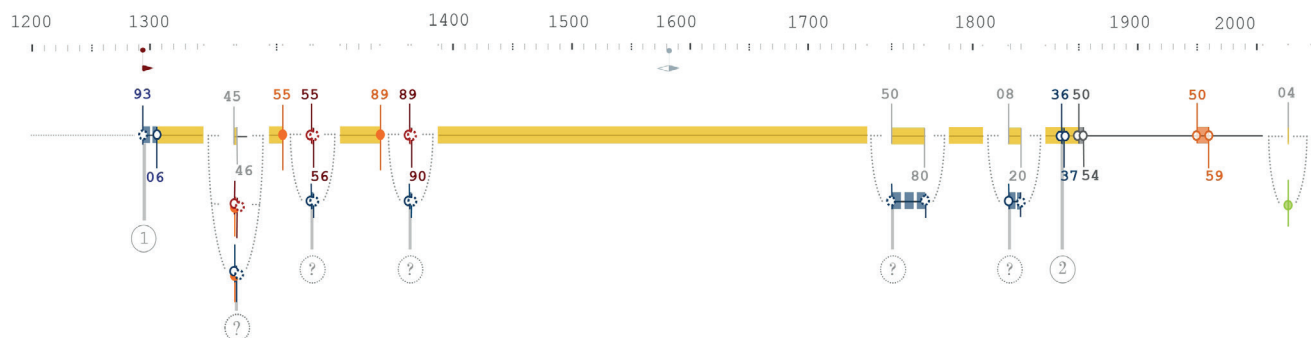
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

casae figulorum

[Tyska P., 2001, p. 118]

jatki garncarskie, sadelne i piernikarskie

[plan Pucka 1787]



1

Stalls that previously occupied this zone were used until the beginning of the 15th century.

[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 86]

at the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries – town expenses on the pottery stalls (*casae lutifigulum*)

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1393 ??

1406 ?

1406 – construction of 20 stalls for the potters' guild

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

In the second decade of 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square were already completely formed.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1376 ?–1402 – transformation of the Cloth Hall

Approximate period of construction of the pottery stalls.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

Two hypotheses can be proposed:

a) the pottery stalls were located to the north of the bakers' stalls, perpendicularly to the Cloth Hall; [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 5], [Tyska P., 1390–1410, il. 1]

b) the pottery stalls and the bakers' stalls were located in the same ensemble – two parallel rows of buildings with an intersecting passageway (cross-shaped arrangement); [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

end of the 14th century, beginning of the 15th century – Two parallel rows of bread benches are mentioned, and to the north of them there are pottery stalls.

[Tyska P., 1390–1410, il. 1]

1406 – construction of 20 stalls for the potters' guild

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1466 – *casae figulorum* – pottery stalls [Tyska P., 2001, p. 112], perpendicular to the bread benches and the Cloth Hall [Tyska P., 2001, p. 118]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyska P., 1390–1410, il. 1], [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 5], [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

The market hall for minor traders (located in the north-western part of the Market Square) is destroyed by fire.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 40, 52, 247]

1445

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 52]

The pottery stalls were also located in that zone, the possibility that they caught fire should not be excluded.

In 1446, the pottery stalls are mentioned to be situated perpendicularly to the bread benches and to the Cloth Hall. [Tyska P., 2001, pp. 112, 118]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyska P., około 1450, il. 5]

Possible reconstruction of the stalls – a potential modification of the layout and/or of the morphology of the building.

A hypothetical reconstruction shows two rows of wooden structures – the western one is supposed to be the pottery stalls, the eastern one the bakers' stalls.

[Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141]

1445 ?

1446 ??

1445 – possible fire

1542 – The town's rental accounts mention 10 stalls dedicated to lard traders.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

1542 – The town's rental accounts mention 10 stalls dedicated to lard traders.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

	1555	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]	Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – a portion of the pottery stalls and of the bakers' stalls catch fire and burn. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]
?	1555 ? 1556 ??	1555 – fire [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008] (1556–1558) – A trade facility on the Market Square was indispensable for potters, presumably they did not wait a long time before reconstructing.	Repairs after the fire. A hypothetical reconstruction shows two parallel rows of wooden buildings representing the pottery stalls and the bakers' stalls. [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142] 1667 – A plan represents two parallel rows of buildings – their internal divisions are not shown. [plan 1667 JG] hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [Civitas..., 2007], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.] maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha]
	1589	07 March 1589 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]	Fire of the shoemakers' stalls. The pottery stalls catch fire and are partly burnt. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]
?	1589 ? 1590 ??		Reconstruction of the wooden stalls. 1712 – The stalls of the lard traders (<i>arvinarii, lardi revenditores</i>) are mentioned.... <i>pork fat, bear fat, badger fat, as well as fish oil, resin, beef suet, mutton suet, goat suet, etc. were sold here....</i> [Chmiel A., <i>Godła...</i> , 1922, p. 19]
	1614	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]	The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 72]
?	1750 ?? 1780 ??	Fish stalls were constructed on the Market Square only in the <u>second half of the 18th century</u> . [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93] At that point three rows of buildings are now represented on plans showing the pottery, fish and bakers' stalls. [plan Pucka 1787], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [plan senacki 1803], [plan 1803–1804]	A possible modification of the stalls' layout due to the introduction of <i>fish stalls</i> (between the pottery and bakers' stalls). [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93] It is hard to weigh the impact of the transformation. during the second half of the <u>18th century</u> – 12 fish stalls (for fishers' guild), a shed for a caretaker and a well are constructed. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93] 1787 – The fish stalls are mentioned as situated between the bakers' stalls and pottery stalls. [Murray E., 1787, p. 123], [Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8] 1787 – A ground floor plan of the stalls is represented. [plan Pucka 1787] 1792 – 8 pottery stalls and 10 lard stalls are mentioned in sources. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 83, 84] 1796–1809 – The lard stalls (<i>sadelne</i>) and the pottery stalls were located in front of the bakers' stalls and of the fish stalls. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93], [plan 1832–1836] 1797 – The lard stalls (<i>śloniniarskie</i>) are mentioned. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123] iconography: [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i> , 1796, ban17] hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 93] maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerzys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]

?	<p>1808 ? 1808 – dismantling of the bakers' stalls 1820 ?? [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p>	<p>After (a partial or complete) dismantling of the bakers' stalls the arrangement of stalls located in this part of the Market Square could have been modified – possible broadening to the west. [plan 1832–1836] 1817 – Marked as a wooden building. [plan 1817] 1820 – <i>tout cela à abattre</i> (all to be demolished) [plan 1820ir] 1834 – Marked as a building to be demolished. [Plan de situation, 1834] iconography: [Kozakiewicz L., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz L., 1827, ban127], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120] hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007] maps and plans: [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerzys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1831], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	<p>1836 17 February 1836 [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 1118–1119]</p>	<p>Occupation of Krakow by foreign troops (Russia, Austria, and Prussia) [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 1118–1119]</p>
2	<p>1836 ? 1832–36 – The pottery stalls are drawn with the same length as the bakers' stalls. [plan 1832–1836] 1837 ? 1837 – The building is now drawn half shorter. [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p>	<p>Dismantling of the lard traders' stalls – the pottery stalls rescued from destruction. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 220–221] 1832–1836 – The western row of stalls is divided into two parts: the northern part includes 8 pottery stalls with the mention '<i>to be sold</i>', the southern part comprises 13 stalls (lard traders and gingerbread ones?) also designated for sale. [plan 1832–1836] 1834 – Three parallel rows of stalls are represented – the western stretch of stalls (number 8) is labelled as the pottery stalls (<i>Garncarskie kramy</i>). [plan 1834] 1836 – No single object appears where the stalls used to be. [plan 1836] iconography: [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban 253] maps and plans: [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [plan 1836]</p>
	<p>1850 02 XII 1850 [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1], [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p>	<p>Resolution of the Town Council about dismantling the municipal wooden stalls situated on the western side of the Cloth Hall (buildings were to be dismantled progressively, at the end of renting contracts). Private stalls were successively repurchased from their owners in order to dismantle them too. [Wojtaszek T., 2004]</p>
R	<p>1850 ? 1843 – The pottery stalls are still visible. [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252] 1850 ? 1850 – last pieces of the stalls still visible [Ekielski A., około 1850] 1854 ? The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854. [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 863–864], [Wikipedia, <i>Nieistniejące...</i>, on-line]</p>	<p>Dismantling. The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854. [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 863–864] The dismantlement of the last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square in May 1854 followed the resolution of the Town Council from December 2nd 1851. [Wojtaszek T., 2004] iconography: [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253], [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p>
	<p>1950 ? <u>in the fifties of the 20th century</u> 1959 ? [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141]</p>	<p>A part of the archaeological layers was destroyed during the construction of a sewage system. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141] maps and plans: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>
	<p>2004 [Zaitz E., 2006]</p>	<p>Archaeological explorations during a change of paving on the Market Square. Exploratory works inside the zone occupied by the stalls (E. Zaitz). [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [Zaitz E., 2006] Relics of a Gothic stone wall attributed to one of the stalls (<i>"fish, lard traders' or bakers"</i>) were found. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 141] iconography: [XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il. 62] maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2]</p>

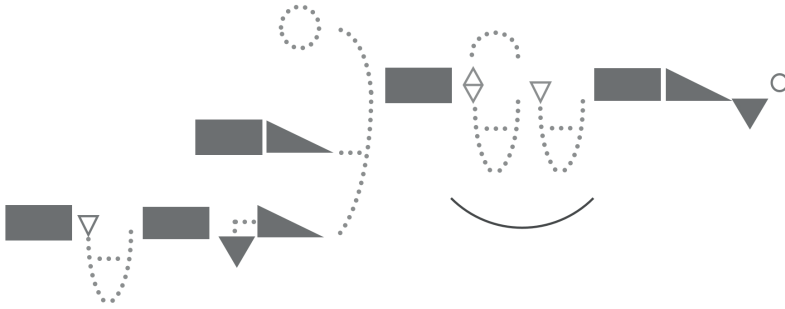


Graph of potential interactions for the *pottery and lard stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only two steps in the evolution of the stalls has been identified as certain at this stage. The period of construction of the first known phase of development is approximate and the dating of the second phase is dubious. Besides that, we have a set of circumstantial information. The artefact could have burnt in 1445, but nothing is known about potential repairs following this first fire. Later on the stalls were destroyed by fire again, at least twice (1555 and 1589). Some morphological transformations could have followed one or both of those fires. The decision to dismantle the stalls was taken in 1850 – the building was removed between 1850 and 1854. Part of the archaeological layers were destroyed during a sewage system construction. Exploratory archaeological works inside the zone occupied by the stalls revealed some relics, that have not yet been clearly identified.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Rich Stalls / *Kramy Bogate*



Visual measure of complexity for the *Rich Stalls*.

This elaborate diagram combines different types of doubts: different interpretations concerning the first element of the evolutionary chain; transformations based on circumstantial evidence (needing verifications); lack of information concerning the actual impact of a confirmed transformation; an unsolvable dating problem.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A group of commercial brick and stone buildings used by a guild of merchants called '*kramarze bogaci*' (rich traders). An important part of the underground cellars of these buildings has been reused in the context of the *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition*.

kupiec (*negotiator*) [1]

Originally, in the 14th and 15th centuries the Rich Stalls were used to sell luxury products (high quality fabric [2], jewellery, women's clothing, imported spices, etc.). With time the stalls were neglected [3] and a number of other merchants who had for one reason or another lost their own stalls settled there. In the end only cheap products were sold in the Rich Stalls, as well as 'church equipments'. [4]

The Guild of '*kramarze bogaci*' (rich traders) was not created in Krakow until 1441. [5]

Note 1. cf. K. Jelonek-Litewka, et al., *Księga wiertelnicza...*, 1999, *op. cit.*

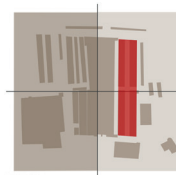
Note 2. for example cloth of gold

Note 3. In the 17th century the cloth trade experienced a severe slump.

cf. Łuszczkiewicz W., *Sukiennice krakowskie: dzieje gmachu i jego obecnej przebudowy: z 6 tablicami*, nakł. Tow. Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1899, Biblioteka Krakowska, No. 11

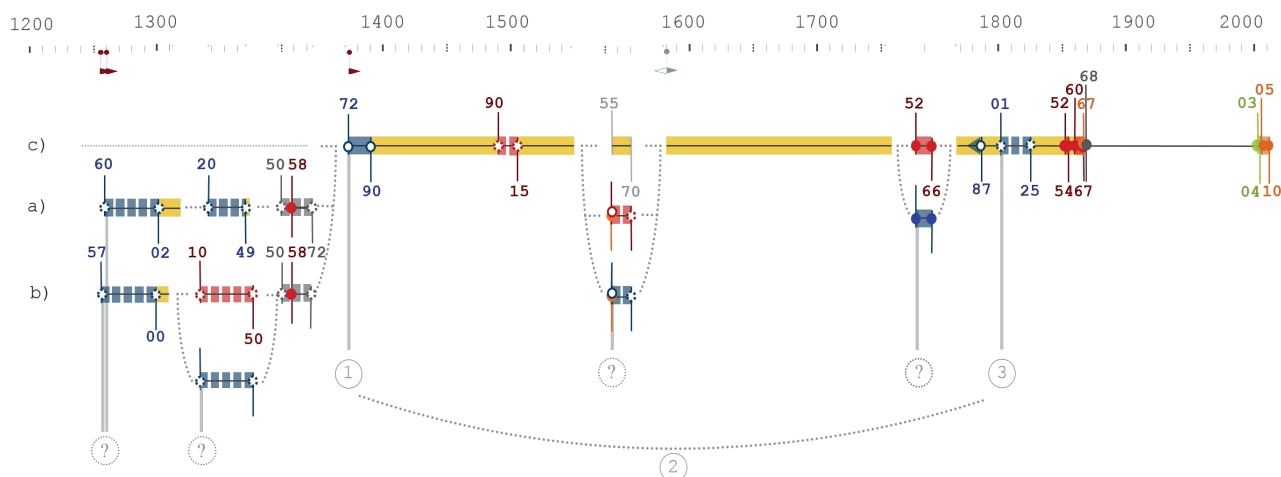
Note 4. according to Ambroży Grabowski's memoirs

Note 5. cf. Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek Główny*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2008, p. 52



Rich Stalls / *Kramy Bogate*

Instatae opulentae [Tomkowicz S., *Ulice i place...*, 1926, p. 38]
[Jelonek-Litewka K., et al., 1997–2000]
Reychen Cramen [Tomkowicz S., *Ulice i place...*, 1926, p. 38]
[plan senacki 1802–1808]
[plan 1820ir]



1257 05 June 1257
[KDMK I, nr I, p. 1]
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]

Foundation of trade facilities on the Market Square (Boleslaus Charter).
[KDMK I, nr I, p. 1], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]

Possible construction of the Rich Stalls

The following hypotheses can be proposed:

- a) These were stone built stalls, located west of the later Rich Stalls.
(C. Buško) – cf. *Boleslaus' Stalls*
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 20, 243]
- b) These were wooden stalls, located where the Cloth Hall stands today.
(Sudacka A.) – cf. *wooden (cloth?) chambers*
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 20, 243]
- c) The Rich Stalls as such, were not constructed before the 14th century. Although the 13th century stalls had similar functions as the Rich Stalls and the Cloth Hall, relations of filiations are not proven.

The name *Rich Stalls* does not appear before the 15th century, and the guild of merchants called 'kramarze bogaci' (rich merchants) was not created in Krakow until 1441.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 20, 242]

iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 20], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 10], [XX., 2010, UMCS]

maps and plans: [plan 1975], [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan 2009]

1358 [KDMK I, nr XXXII, p. 36],
[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007],
[Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]

Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality. The king expresses a wish that '*the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings*'.
The King cedes his rights on trading (on the Market Square) to the city.

1	<p>Queen Jadwiga (1384–1392) founded those stalls for <i>the widows of citizens of merit</i>. [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 47]</p> <p>Boleslaus' Stalls were used until the <u>sixties or seventies of the 14th century</u>. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 243]</p> <p>1372 ? Dismantling of Boleslaus' Stalls – <u>second half or at the close of the 14th century</u>. 1390 ? [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88]</p> <p>During 2004 archaeological excavations coins dating back to Louis the Great (Louis I of Hungary, king of Poland from 1370 to 1382) and to Charles IV (king of Bohemia from 1346 to 1378) were found. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88] [Reyman-Walczak B., 2006, p. 170]</p>	<p>Construction of (new?) stone and brick built stalls – an homogenous conception carried out through successive stages (material from Boleslaus' stalls were reused). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 243], [Buško C., 2007, p. 230]</p> <p>The whole building was built at one time. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 84]</p> <p>stonework (rubble masonry), limestone [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p> <p>Interior divisions were probably at first made from wood, except some stalls in the east wing. Majority of cellars were vaulted. The upper level may have been designed as a frame construction. [Buško C., 2007, p. 230]</p> <p>stonework, bottom part limestone, vaulting (brick transverse arches), two rows of stalls (64 individual stalls) with an intersecting passageway at mid length aligned with the Cloth Hall's passageway; [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 243]</p> <p>1393, 1435, 1464 – Rich Stalls are mentioned as with a cross-shaped layout. [Tyszką P., 2001, pp. 103, 119]</p> <p>iconography: [XX. <i>Plan Sukiennic i Kramów...</i>, przed 1868], [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 20], [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 223], [Kalarus T., 2005-a], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 9]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., <i>Makieta...</i>, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., <i>Rynek krakowski...</i>], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [XX., 2009, DP], [Tyszką P., 1430–1500, il. 3], [Tyszką P., 1430–1500, il. 4], [Tyszką P., 1390–1410, il. 1], [MHmK, <i>Sukiennice</i>, 2011], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan Pucka 1787]</p>
	<p>1490 ?? At the end of the <u>15th century or at the beginning of the 16th century</u>. 1515 ?? [Buško C., 2007, p. 230]</p>	<p>Interior modifications – interior division walls are now built from stone. [Buško C., 2007, p. 230]</p>
	<p>1555 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 237] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 85]</p>	<p>Major fire on the Market Square – among others the Cloth Hall burns, the wooden roofs of the Rich Stalls could well have burnt too.</p> <p>As the Rich Stalls were the property of a variety of private owners, repairs were carried out without a consistent, global and documented work plan – each owner would decide for himself when and what to do. [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]</p>
2?	<p>1555 ? <u>following the fire of the Cloth Hall</u> 1570 ?? No data in municipal documents.</p>	<p>Repairs after the fire of the Cloth Hall – if it had an impact on the neighbouring Rich Stalls. These repairs could correspond to the construction of a butterfly roof over the interior gallery, possibly with an increase of the buildings height (due to the progressive raising of the Market Square's level).</p> <p>1581 – municipal inspection on one of the Rich Stalls: <i>poor condition</i> [Jelonek-Litewka K., et al., 1998, pp. 71–72]</p> <p>1592 – An official document lists only 30 stalls. [Akt przekazania, Rkps. 809]</p> <p>1606, 1626, 1631, 1644, 1686, 1723, 1732, 1740, 1745, 1748, 1750, 1751 – municipal inspection on one of the Rich Stalls. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 54–59]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan szwedzki 1702], [plan 1773], [plan 1700_1773]</p>
2?	<p>1752 [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 61–62] 1766</p>	<p>Renovation of the Rich Stall's roof – city owned stalls are for sure concerned but not only. (1796 – stalls concerned are: number 7,9, 31–34, 38, 48, 60, 64–13) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 61–62]</p> <p>These repairs could correspond to the construction of a butterfly roof over the interior gallery.</p> <p>1752–1766 – works done on the roof (purlins, gutters, shingles, over 160 working days of carpenters, tar for gutters, nails for shingles, ...),</p> <p>1766 – inspection of stall number 13 owned by the Carmelite order (St Thomas church): <i>roof totally rotten, façade leaning forward towards the Small Scales, repairs needed</i> [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 59–70]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1700_1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołłątajowski 1785]</p>

2

... ??
1787 ?

The interior gallery was certainly covered before 1787. No data available in order to date the construction of a roof over the gallery.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 244]

1787 – description of the layout and structure of the Rich Stalls (mentions an interior gallery covered by roof)
[Murray E, 1787, pp. 123–124]

A butterfly roof covers an interior gallery. Sources mention that *roofs and walls need substantial repairs*.

[plan Pucka 1787], [Murray E, 1787, pp. 123–124]

The interior gallery was certainly covered before 1787. No data available in order to date the construction of a roof over the gallery.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 244]

masonry, two rows, stone or brick floor, vaulted cellars or covered by wooden ceilings

Condition of roofs covering individual stalls, at various dates:

1775 – stall number 49,...*roof in poor condition*...;

1776 – stall number 35,... *new roof recently constructed*...;

1780 – stall number 18,... *a recent roof*...; stall number 17,... *an old roof*...;

1784 – a stall on the left hand side in the west wing,... *old roof yet in good condition*...;

1789 – Dominik Puck's stall,...*old roof*...;

[Follprecht K., *Źródła*..., 2007, pp. 59–70]

1781 – Wardrobes containing Oxford cloth obstruct the intersecting passageway.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła*..., 2007, pp. 59–70]

1796 – Market Square number 7 (*i.e.* Rich Stalls) comprises: 32 private stalls (27 owners), 17,5 belonging to the Church (11 owners), 12,5 municipal stalls, 2 stalls belonging to guilds (2 owners)

[Follprecht K., *Źródła*..., 2007, pp. 70–71], [tekst, AP_4, AP_4a, Akc. Archiwum Wolnego Miasta Krakowa, sygn. Dep. 222, pp. 533–535]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1796, ban 17], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban 18], [Stachowicz M., *Wnętrze*..., pocz. XIX w.], [Stachowicz T.B., pocz. XIX w., ban 259]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., 2007, w Rynek Główny, p. 93], [*Civitas*..., 2007], [Gottwald, *Kraków 1650*, 2007], [Opaliński P., w *Rynek Główny*, p. 112], [Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008], [Opaliński P., *Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801*, 2006], [Opaliński P., *Sukiennice*..., 2006]

maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1975], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kłuj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, WK 19/2006, il. 12], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan 2009]

3

1801 ??
1825 ??

1787 – The interior gallery is identified as covered by a roof on the plan.
[plan Pucka 1787]

beginning of the 19th century – At this period the interior gallery is still covered by a butterfly roof.
[Stachowicz T.B., pocz. XIX w., ban 259], [Stachowicz M., *Wnętrze*..., pocz. XIX w.]

1800 – The stalls are composed of four building that are not connected to one another.

[Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban 18]

1802–808 – No information on the roof of the interior gallery (?)
[plan senacki 1802–1808, tabl. XXXVI]

1820–1822 – Part of the roof over the intersecting passageway is lacking.
[XX, 1820–1822, ban 51]

1837 – Buildings are connected two by two with a gable roof over parts of the intersecting passageway.
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban 53], [Brodowski J., 1849, ban 254]

Removal or progressive degradation of the butterfly roof covering the interior gallery (in 1868 only beams bridging the gallery remain).

A gable roof covers part of the intersecting passageway (connecting buildings two by two). An extension of the building is constructed on the east wing, a storey is added to stall number 16, as well as an extension.

[Banach J., 1998, p. 392]

Progressively, new merchants, after having lost their formal trading facilities set up inside the Rich Stalls (mainly in the east wing, the west wing being little by little deserted).

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 141]

1807–1808 – An inventory of real estate in Krakow mentions the Rich Stalls as building number 7, part of the Rich Stalls is stamped number 9 – fish stalls. (!) [Münch H., 1959, p. 11]

1820 – A map describes how various stalls are used: stalls number 1–16 : *on vendent ici au peuple à boire, à manger* (drinks and food); stalls number 17–32: *vieux magasins des marchands, beaucoup ruines* (old shops, poor condition), stalls number 33–64 (west wing): *espace désert* (deserted area);
[plan 1820ir]

1826 – Market Square number 7 (*i.e.* Rich Stalls) comprises: 36 private stalls (29 owners), 13,5 belonging to the Church (10 owners), 12,5 municipal stalls, 2 stalls belonging to guilds (2 owners)

[Follprecht K., *Źródła*..., 2007, pp. 70–71], [tekst, AP_4, AP_4a, Akc. Archiwum Wolnego Miasta Krakowa, sygn. Dep. 222, pp. 533–535]

1832–1836 – Rich Stalls not marked as *to be sold*. [plan 1832–1836]

1837 10, 11 i 13 XI – Inventory of stall number 64 (the stall is quoted as belonging to Mr Zaitz in 1826).

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 89]

		<p>1843 – Following the dismantling of the food supplies and general retail stalls new merchants, set up inside the Rich Stalls. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 141]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [XX, 1820–1822, ban51], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53], [Brodowski J., 1849, ban254], [Ekielski A., około 1850], [Wenzel J., 1855, ken 165], [XX., przed 1857, MHmK 1560/VIII], [Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215], [Krieger I., przed 1858, MHmK 723/VIII], [Beyer T., 1858, ban85], [Beyer K., 1858, ban239], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban161], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban52], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban216], [Stroobant F., 1858, ken 171], [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken 166], [Walter H., 1860, ken 167], [XX., około 1860, ban218], [Maliszewski W., po 1860, ban152], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [Krieger I., około 1865, ban220], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [XX., 1860–1861, ban217], [Leski J., około 1865], [Maliszewski W., 1865, ban11], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban20], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban219], [XX., około 1865, ban164], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., <i>Sukiennice...</i>, 2006]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813], [plan 1817], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]</p>
	<p>1852 1854</p> <p>[Banach J., 1998, pp. 261–262]</p>	<p>Following the removal of the iron stalls a portion of its merchants move to the Rich Stalls. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 261–262]</p> <p>iconography: [Ekielski A., około 1850], [Wenzel J., 1855, ken165], [XX., przed 1857, MHmK 1560/VIII], [Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215], [Krieger I., przed 1858, MHmK 723/VIII], [Beyer T., 1858, ban85], [Gozdarowski E., około 1858], [Beyer K., 1858, ban239], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban161], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban52], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban216], [Stroobant F., 1858, ken171]</p>
	<p>1860 1867</p> <p>[Kadłuczka A., 1975, p. 131]</p>	<p>The municipality starts repurchasing individual private stalls. [Kadłuczka A., 1975, p. 131]</p> <p>Some western wing stalls (stalls number 59–61?) have apparently been abandoned for quite a while – the roof is lacking, shrubs are growing inside the stalls. [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban11]</p> <p>iconography: [Walter H., 1860, ken167], [XX., około 1860, ban218], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [Maliszewski W., po 1860, ban152], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [XX., 1860–1861, ban217], [Leski J., około 1865], [Maliszewski W., 1865, ban11], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban20], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban219], [XX., około 1865, ban164], [Krieger I., około 1865, ban220], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128]</p>
	<p>1867</p> <p>05 December <u>1867</u> [Czas, 1867, nr 279, p. 3] [rękopis, PAN, TNK-391 49/68]</p>	<p>Spontaneous collapse of the Rich Stalls' roof – decision to dismantle the stalls is taken. The buildings' dismantling is scheduled to start on April the 21st 1868. [Czas, 1867, nr 279, p. 3]</p> <p>iconography: [Krieger I., 1867, ban221], [Zajączkowski J., 1867–1868, ban223], [Zajączkowski J., 1867–1868, ban224], [Cercha M., przed 1868], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [XX, przed 1868, MHmK FS12812/IX], [XX., przed 1868, ken 173], [Kozarski A., około 1868], [Cercha M., 1868, ban54], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban222]</p>
R	<p>1868</p> <p>from 13th May to 14th June <u>1868</u> [Czas, 1868, nr 110, 116, 135] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245] [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 89] [Dudek I., 2000, pp. 123–124]</p>	<p>The stalls, in poor condition (partly collapsed), are dismantled by the turn of May and June 1868. Dismantling was supervised by W. Łuszczkiewicz, material from the stalls were handed over for the construction of a cemetery wall (which exactly is not known). [Czas, 1868, nr 110, 116, 135]</p> <p>iconography: [Krieger I., 1867, ban221], [Zajączkowski J., 1867–1868, ban223], [Zajączkowski J., 1867–1868, ban224], [XX, przed 1868, ban67], [Cercha M., przed 1868], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [XX, przed 1868, MHmK FS12812/IX], [XX., przed 1868, ken 173], [Kozarski A., około 1868], [Cercha M., 1868, ban54], [Maliszewski W., około 1868, PIK.3657], [XX, przed 1868, MHmK FS1247/IX], [Walter H., około 1868], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban222], [XX. Plan <i>Sukiennic i Kramów...</i>, przed 1868], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban166], [XX, przed 1868, ban165], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban225], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban226], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban227], [XX, 2004, Kluj M., 2006, il. 3]</p>

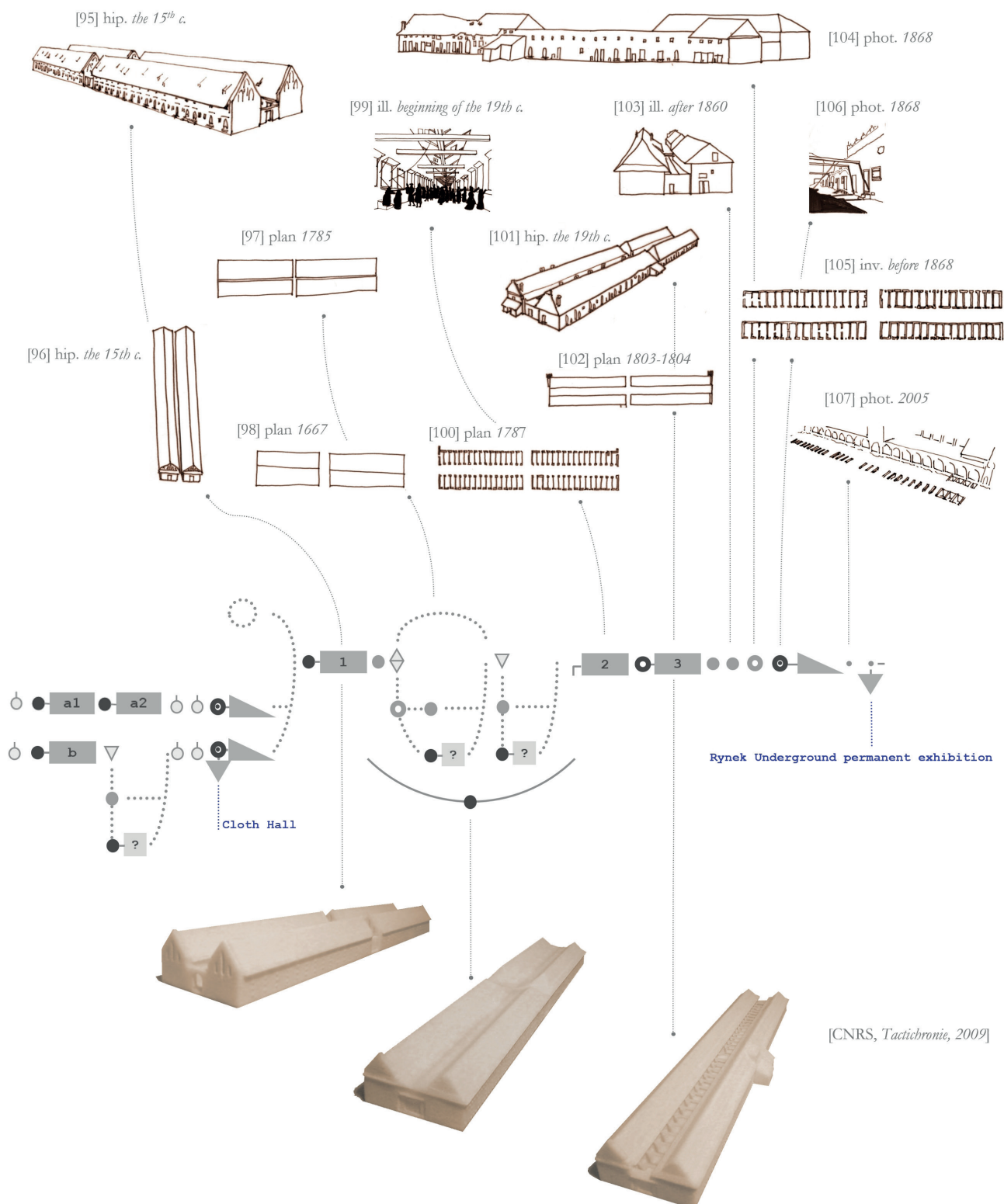
	2003 2004	[Reyman-Walczak B., 2006, pp. 169–180] [Firlot E., 2010, p. 14]	Archaeological explorations during a change of paving on the Market Square. Exploratory works inside the zone occupied by the stalls (E. Zaitz). 122 coins were found inside the relics of the Rich Stalls. [Reyman-Walczak B., 2006, p. 170] iconography: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX, 2004, Kluj M., 2006, il. 3]
S	2005 2010	2005–2010 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008] Investigations started in August 2005. [Buśko C., 2007, p. 225] 2005–2010 – archaeological works and change of paving [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010] 27 September 2010 – the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> opens	Archaeological excavations (C. Buśko) during a change of paving on the Market Square and the construction of the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> (Kadłuczka A.). Conservation and adaptation of the underground relics of the stalls in the context of the museum exhibition. [Hajok D, Gazeta Wyborcza, 11 XI 2010], [TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010] Crowns of walls have been revealed, the entire western wing has been cleared of rubble, as well as several stalls in the eastern wing. [Buśko C., 2007, p. 225], [Kadłuczka A., 2006, p. 64] Fragments of the stalls are now embedded inside the newly built <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> . iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 20], [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 223], [Kalarus T., 2005-a], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 9], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, p. 65, il. 10], [Krzan P., 2006], [Woch B., 2009, MHmK], [XX., 2010, UMCS], [Bednarczyk J., 24 IX 2010], [XX., 2004, WK 19/2006, il. 12], [XX., 2009, DP], [Krzan P., 2010], [XX., 2004, WK 19/2006, il. 12] maps and plans: [plan 1975], [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13], [plan 2009], [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Rich Stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Three phases of development are confirmed. The diagram shows that the identification of the first element of the evolutionary chain remains a controversial issue. It also underlines important dating problems concerning the second and the third phase (construction of a butterfly roof and its removal). Soon after the roof over the stalls has collapsed, private stalls have been repurchased and the building has been demolished. Fragment of the relics of the Rich Stalls have been adapted and reused inside the *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Rich Stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. The upper part of the image comprises fragments of plans and various visual sources (redrawn). Below the diagram pictures of the tangible models (*Tactichronie*) corresponding to the *Rich Stalls* – worked out using source documents, monographs and analogous examples – are shown. For the majority of the *Rich Stall*'s phases of development several hypothetical reconstructions can be proposed – without contradicting available data. These representations may differ, even pretty much, since they are based on incomplete data, therefore leaving space for individual and subjective interpretation.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Rynek Underground permanent exhibition / Rynek Podziemny



... Opened in a blaze of publicity in September 2010, Rynek Underground permanent exhibition gathers underground relics of trade related facilities ...

... Scheduled for 6 months the archaeological investigations of the eastern side of the Market Square began during the summer of 2005. The scale and rank of discoveries changed the initial intention – works lasted for 5 years. The results of research and excavations are presented inside the underground exhibition, with an objective to show the close links between medieval Krakow and other European centres ... [1]

... 700 pieces of archaeological relics 500 electronic reproductions of monuments, 600 3D numerical reconstructions, 30 multimedia stands, 25 plasma screens, 27 multimedia projectors, 98 speakers, 150 audiobooks ...[2]

Archaeological excavations (C. Buško) during a change of paving on the Market Square, construction of the underground structures and adaptation to the needs of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków – project called Following the traces of European identity of Kraków.
[Conservation of the remains of the Rich Stalls, the Boleslaus' Stalls and the Grand Scale, as well as of the relics of the cemetery and settlement dating from before the town's location – adaptations of fragments of relic to the needs of the museum exhibition.

2005 – 2010

1

portion of the Rich Stalls
portion of Boleslaus' stalls
Portion of the Grand Scale

Visual measure of complexity for the *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition*.

Simple diagram without elements suggesting possible divergence in data interpretation.

Some elements of other artefacts were incorporated (annexed) into the underground structure built for *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. *O szlaku turystycznym, Rynek Podziemny*, (2011) [on-line] <<http://www.podziemiarynku.com/index.php?dzial=oszlaku&tekst=1>>, accessed 26 I 2011

Note 2. cf. *Podziemny Rynek już otwarty!!*, (2010), [on-line] Magiczny Kraków, <http://www.krakow.pl/aktualnosci/2499,26,komunikat,podziemny_rynek_juz_otwarty_.html>, accessed 26 I 2011

Graph of potential interactions for the *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition* – information taken from the *chronological table*.

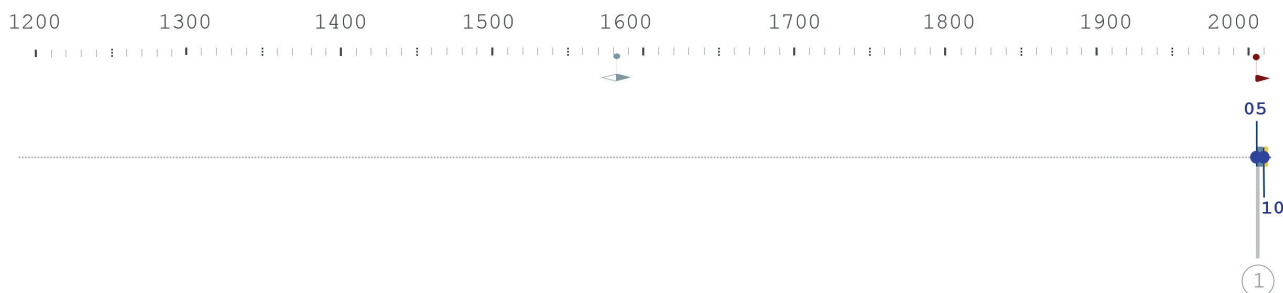
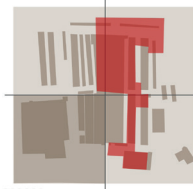
Only one phase of development has been identified for *Rynek Underground permanent exhibition* – important fragments of archaeological relics of three edifices have been incorporated into this newly constructed underground structure.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Rynek Underground permanent exhibition / Rynek Podziemny

Szlak turystyczny Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa
Muzeum Rynku Podziemnego

[Dorota Dziunikowska, „Karnet”]



1

2005
2010

August 2005 – beginning of investigations
[Buśko C., 2007, p. 225]

2005–2010 – Archaeological excavations
and works conducted in the eastern part of
the Main Square.
[TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]

24 October 2010 – official opening of the
Rynek Underground permanent exhibition
[Magiczny Kraków, 2010, 24.10.2010]

January 2009 – July 2011 – project
*Following the traces of European identity of
Kraków*
[BIP, 2011]

Archaeological excavations (C. Buśko) during a change of paving on
the Market Square, construction of the underground structures and
adaptation to the needs of the Historical Museum of the City of
Kraków – project called *Following the traces of European identity of
Kraków*.

[Buśko C., 2007, p. 225], [Hajok D, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 11 XI 2010], [MNK, 2010]

Conservation of the remains of the Rich Stalls, the Boleslaus' Stalls and
the Grand Scales, as well as of the relics of the cemetery and settlement
dating from before the town's location – adaptations of fragments of
relic to the needs of the museum exhibition.

[TVP Kraków, 12 VII 2010]

The project *Following the traces of European identity of Kraków – Underground Tourist
Trail in Main Market Square* received funding from the European Union (it is co-
financed by the Innovative Economy Operational Programme 2007–2013).
[Magiczny Kraków, 2010, 24.10.2010]

architectural project: prof. Andrzej Kadłuczka,
scenario of the exhibition: Marcin Pietuch, Tomasz Salwierz, Mieczysław Bielawski
general contractor: Konsorcjum TRIAS
[Marciniak A., Sukiennice, 2007–2010]

The exhibition will be operated by the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków. The
general contractor of the works is the Consortium TRIAS consisting of: TRIAS p.A
– leader of the consortium responsible for the audiovisual installations, Decoration
Factory (scenography), No Label (3D animations and interactive presentations) and
ART FM (scenario of the exhibition and film production). A team of archaeologists was
responsible for the factual compliance.

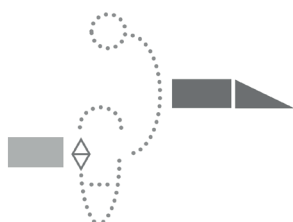
[Magiczny Kraków, 2010, 24.10.2010]

Cost of the project: 37 918 699,00 PLN, subsidy: 15 940 956,21 PLN, beneficiary:
Municipality of Krakow, administrative unit responsible for project's completion:
Municipal Infrastructure and Transport Department: duration: January 2009 – June
2011

[BIP, 2011]

iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 223], [Kalarus T., 2005-a], [Krzan P.,
około 2009], [Bednarczyk J., 24 IX 2010], [Krzan P., X 2010], [XX P., WK, 27/2010,
p. 156, il. 1], [XX P., WK, 27/2010, p. 156, il. 2], [XX P., WK, 27/2010, p. 156, il. 9],

maps and plans: [MHmK., Plan Podziemi]



A removed, most likely wooden commercial building, used to sell salt. It was localised in the north-west corner of the Market Square.

* * *

salter (*salicida*) [1], salt trader (*salifex*), (*salinator*) [2]

* * *

Since 1334 a salt market was located on the Market Square – it was situated in the neighbourhood of the *Ślawkowska* street exit.

In 1562 king Sigismund II August allowed to move the „*Depositorum salis*” (salt depot) from the centre to a new location, behind the so-called *New Gate*. A salt market continued however to exist on the Market Square. In the 17th century it was located in the north-west corner of the Market Square. [3]

* * *

Among the spices available at the time salt was the most important one. Salt, besides being added to everyday meals, was used as one of the most common preservatives. Salting was used to preserve meat, lard, fish (particularly herrings and eels), dairy products (butter and cheese), cabbage and cucumbers, *etc.*

Salt was sold in barrels or in the form of logs. The white fine salt was used for dairy products, a thicker one was employed in cooking, the salt of the lowest quality was used for cattle. [4]

* * *

The extraction of salt in Wieliczka (14 kms south of Krakow) lasted incessantly from the 13th century until recent years. The salt mine was the property of Poland's ruler (duke and later king). Until 1772 it operated at a considerable profit – in the 14th century profits from the salt mines constituted one third of the king's income. The money from salt was used to pay professors of the Jagiellonian University (Akademia Krakowska), renovation of Wawel Castle, *etc.* [5]

* * *

The Vistula river was the main trade route for salt in the old Poland. The extraction and trade of salt belonged to Royal monopolies. Salt extracted from Wieliczka was dispatched from Krakow. [6]

Visual measure of complexity for the *salt stalls*.

A fork in the beginning of the diagram shows our lack of confidence in the fact that all the data collected concerns the same object. An occurrence of a transformation based on circumstantial events is also visible. Until now no relicts could be attributed to the *salt stalls*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578–1591), T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998, p. 353

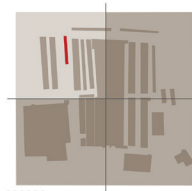
Note 2. cf. Skalska J., Cieczkiewicz J., *Słownik Genealogiczny łacińsko-polsko-angielski*, 2003, [on-line] Genealogia Polska, <<http://www.genpol.com/Poradnik-GenPol-art36.html>>, accessed 21 X 2010

Note 3. cf. Tomkowicz S., *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Biblioteka Krakowska, No. 63–64, Kraków 1926, p. 17

Note 4. cf. Wyczański A., *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI wieku i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku.*, Instytut Historii PAN, PWN, Warszawa 1969, p. 21

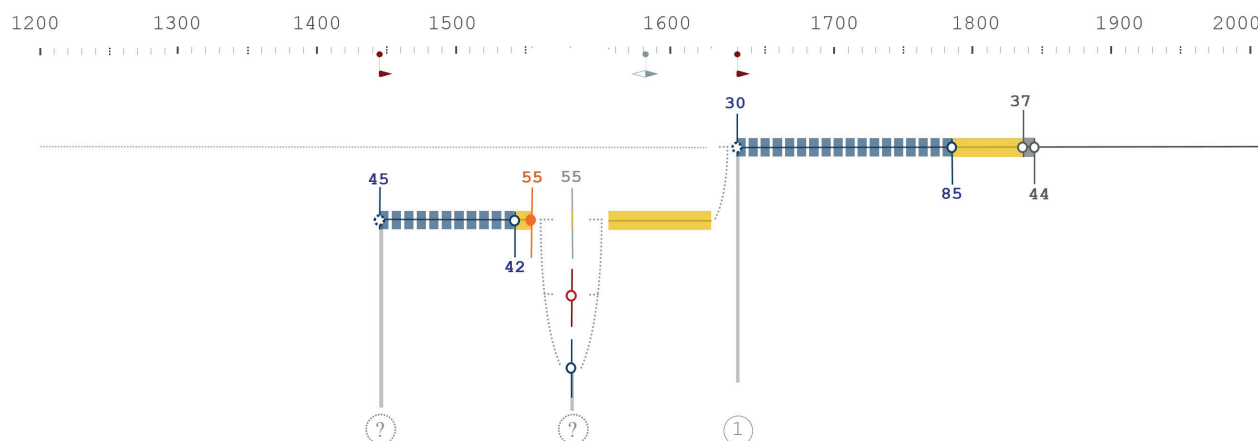
Note 5. cf. XX., Wieliczka. *Kopalnia soli*, [on-line] Portal e-przewodniki.pl, <<http://e-przewodniki.pl/przewodnik-nowy-82-rozdzial-878.html>>, accessed 21 X 2010

Note 6. cf. Brzoskwinia W., *Port Solny, elektryczne słonica i III Most*, Gazeta Kraków, (19 VI 2008), [on-line] <<http://krakow.gazeta.pl>>, accessed 21 X 2010



salt stalls / *kramy solne*

<i>salicide</i>	[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 118]
<i>budy prasotów</i>	[Tyszk P., około 1450, il. 5]
<i>kramy solne</i>	[plan 1832–1836]
	[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]
<i>jatki szklane</i>	[plan Pucka, 1787]
	[Banach J., 1998, pp. 219, 231]
<i>kramy skleniczne (!)</i>	[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]



1306

12 IX 1306 – trade and tax privileges to the bourgeoisie of Krakow
[Przywilej, 1306]

King Władysław Łokietek allows citizens of Krakow who bought salt from royal salt traders to have the free right (out of charge) to sell it in Krakow.
[Przywilej, 1306]

?

1445 ??
1542 ?

1445 – The market hall for minor traders (Smatruz) is localised in the western part of the Market Square, behind the stands of the salt traders.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 40]

1446, 1447, 1455 – The west part of the bread benches is described as being close to the stands of the salt traders.
[Tyszk P., 2001, pp. 117–188]

1542 – the salt stalls are mentioned
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

Approximate period of construction of stalls for salters.

Two hypothesis can be proposed:

- The first stalls (or benches) built for salters were since the beginning situated where they are localised for sure later.
- The first stalls (benches) built for salters were constructed elsewhere.

Since 1334 a salt market was located on the Market Square – it was situated in the neighbourhood of the *Sławkowska* street exit.
[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 17]

1445 – The market hall for minor traders (Smatruz) is described as being situated in the west side of the Market Square, behind the stands of salt traders.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 40]

1446 – The localisation of one of the stalls of the bread benches is given in relation with the position of the salt traders.
[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 117]

1446, 1447, 1455 – The west part of the bread benches is described as being *close to the salt traders*.
[Tyszk P., 2001, pp. 117–188], [Tyszk P., około 1450, il. 5]

around 1450 – A hypothetical reconstruction of the Market Square shows the stalls of salt traders in accordance with the layout and position known from later plans (e.g. Pruski plan from 1794). [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries – A physical hypothetical reconstruction of the town presented in the Rynek Underground permanent exhibition shows a building in the position of later salt stalls (with a length equalling this of neighbouring stalls).
[MHmK, 1450–1478]

1542 – The salt stalls are mentioned. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 71]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyszk P., 1390–1410, il. 1], [Tyszk P., około 1450, il. 5], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

	1555	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]	Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – a portion of the salt stalls catches fire and burns. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008]
?	1555 ?		Possible reconstruction of the stalls.
	1563	[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 17]	Sigismund II August allowed to move the „ <i>Depositorium salis</i> ” (salt depot) from the centre to a new location, behind the so-called New Gate. A salt market continued however to exist on the Market Square. [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 17]
	1614	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]	The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 72]
1	1630 ?? 1785 ?	<p>1630, 1643 – A tenement house belonging to Hieronim Belza (RG 37) is mentioned as located in front of a 'salt depot'. [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 17], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 73]</p> <p>1773 – The salt stalls are not represented on a plan. [plan 1773]</p> <p>1785 – the first plan on which the salt stalls are represented [plan kołłątajowski 1785]</p>	<p>The salt stalls are represented as localised in between the pottery and lard stalls and the food supplies and general retail stalls. [plan kołłątajowski 1785]</p> <p>Salt trading, mentioned before, could have taken place elsewhere – for example in the food supplies and general retail stalls.</p> <p>1630, 1643 – A tenement house belonging to Hieronim Belza (RG 37) is mentioned as located in front of a 'salt depot'. [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 17], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 73]</p> <p>1650 – Hypothetical reconstructions of the Market Square in 1650 do not show any object that could be considered as the salt stalls. [<i>Civitas...</i>, 2007], [Gottwald, Kraków 1650, 2007]</p> <p>1760 – 29 stalls mentioned – May however not be related to the salt stalls. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 77] Approximately 66,6 meters long when translated from ell.</p> <p>1785 – The first plan showing the salt stalls dates back to 1785. The stalls are half shorter than the neighbouring buildings (the pottery and lard stalls and the food supplies and general retail stalls). [plan kołłątajowski 1785] [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]</p> <p>1787 – The building is identified as '<i>jatki szklane</i>' (glass stalls) – 17 stalls. [Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8], [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1792 r. – A note mentions 3 salt stalls, 23 glass stalls, and 13 other stalls (most likely having something to do with glass trading too – <i>skleniczne</i>), all with roofs in poor condition. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 83–84] It is difficult to say to which extent these pieces of information are related to the salt stalls.</p> <p>D. Rederowa writes that the salt stalls are located west of the lard stalls. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93]</p> <p>1794 – The salt stalls are at that time as long as the neighbouring stalls (the pottery and lard stalls and the food supplies and general retail stalls). [plan pruski 1794]</p> <p>1797 – The salt stalls are mentioned in an Austrian inventory. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 123]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1832–1836]</p>

1784 23 II 1784
[wawel.net, 2011]

Joseph II (Holy Roman Emperor) established a new town called Podgórze, in the vicinity of Krakow. Podgórze became the unique salt trading centre in the neighbourhood. It was a real economic blow for the city of Krakow.
[wawel.net, 2011]

1809 ? [Brzoskwinia W., 2008]

Establishment of the salt warehouse in Podgórze (Zabłocie).
[Brzoskwinia W., 2008]

As a consequence of the Partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Austrians took over the salt mine in Wieliczka. However the peace concluded in 1809 guaranteed the Duchy of Warsaw access to salt through Podgórze. At that period a salt warehouse was established in Zabłocie (now a part of Krakow) in a spot that was presumably already connected with salt trading. On Austrian plans from the second half of the 19th century, and until the First World War the building is identified as ‘*Salinenkaserne*’ (literally ‘salt barracks’), although during that period it was already used for other purposes (only the name related it to salt).
[Brzoskwinia W., 2008]

R

1836 – The salt stalls are represented.
[plan 1832–1836], [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158]

1837 – The salt stalls are still visible.
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120],
[Banach J., 1998, p. 221]

1837 – The stalls are not represented.
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106]

1840 – A wooden shed is represented where the salt stalls were located – it is hard to say if it is a fragment of the salt stalls.
[Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]

1843 – The stalls are not represented.
[Brodowski J., 1843, ban253]

around 1850 – The stalls are not represented.
[Ekielski A., około 1850]

The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854.
[*Encyklopedia Krakowa*, 2000, pp. 863–864]

Approximate period of removal of the salt stalls.

It is not known when exactly the salt stalls were removed, but the last stalls situated in the west part of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854.
[*Encyklopedia Krakowa*, 2000, pp. 863–864]

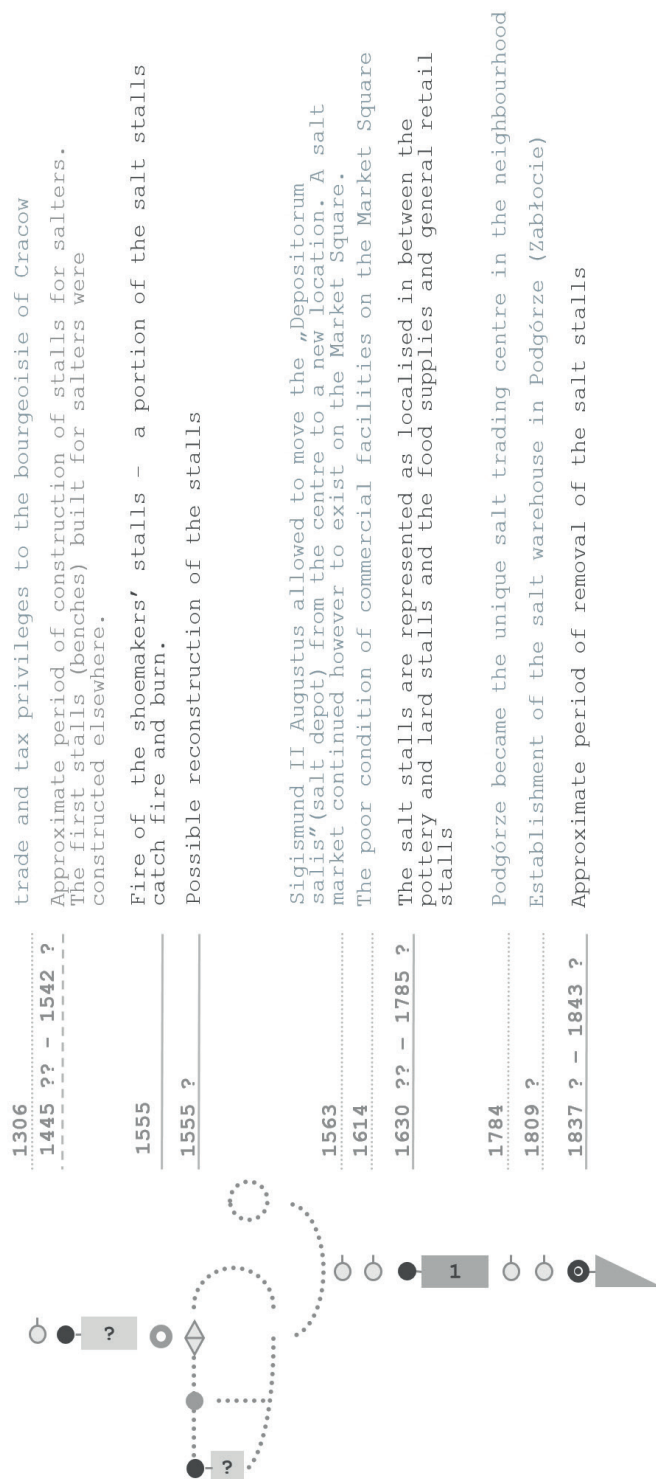
1820 – Shown as a building intended for demolition. (*tout cela à abattre*)
[plan 1820ir]

1832–1836 – The salt stalls represented with the mention ‘*to be sold*’. (13 stalls)
[plan 1832–1836], [Plan de situation, 1834]

1834 – The stall are still represented (half sorter than the neighbouring stalls)
[plan 1834]

iconography: [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252], [Ekielski A., około 1850]

maps and plans: [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1850]



Graph of potential interactions for the *salt stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Only one phase of development has been identified as certain. Information concerning the preceding periods are not explicit enough to support or reject the possibility of a filiation between the phases represented.

Otherwise we know that a portion of the stalls for salters burnt in 1555 – available sources do not mention whether and in what way they were rebuilt.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *shoemakers' stalls*. A relatively simple diagram with one potential transformation – doubts here concern the form of the stalls after its reconstruction (following the 1555 fire). Some archaeological relics of the *shoemakers' stalls* were discovered in 2004. [I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Initially probably a wooden construction, replaced by a stone/brick building, used by shoemakers.

shoemaker (*sutor*) [1]

Shoemakers originally had their workshops next to their houses. Over time, the trade has been gradually moved to the Market Square. In the early 16th century *Szewska* street had lost its original character related to that profession. [2]

Shoemaking was the most widespread leather-craft. Shoemakers manufactured various types of shoes, sometimes they even tanned leather for their own use. There were rich shoemakers that sewed fashionable shoes from excellent quality leather, and poor ones, for example 'shoe repairers' or 'shoe patchers' that cobbled shoes.

Specialization among shoemakers began practically in the beginning of this craft. Historical sources certify their existence already in the 14th century.

There were shoemakers specializing in shoes with soft, expensive leathers, or specialising in footwear made from thick leather. The so-called 'black shoemakers' specialised in 'Polish shoes' – what these were is not clear though.

Among other quite specialised crafts were the making of thong sandals, slippers, ankle-high boots, poulaines (long pointed shoes), saffian shoes (goat leather shoes tinted in bright colours), etc. [3]

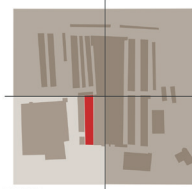
The shoemakers were responsible of maintaining and defending the Shoemakers' Gate and Towers. According to the census of 1790–1791 in Krakow within the defensive walls lived and worked only one tawer, 3 gold leather-makers, 19 furriers and 107 shoemakers. [4]

Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część III (1592–1597)*, T. VII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1999, p. 307

Note 2. cf. Bogucka M., Samsonowicz H., *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 450 [after] Komorowski W., Follprecht K. *Rozwój urbanistyczno-architektoniczny Krakowa intra muros w czasach nowożytnych.*, [in] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta.*, praca zbiorowa pod red. J. Wyrozumskiego, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Biblioteka Krakowska, No. 150, Kraków 2007, p. 197, note 25

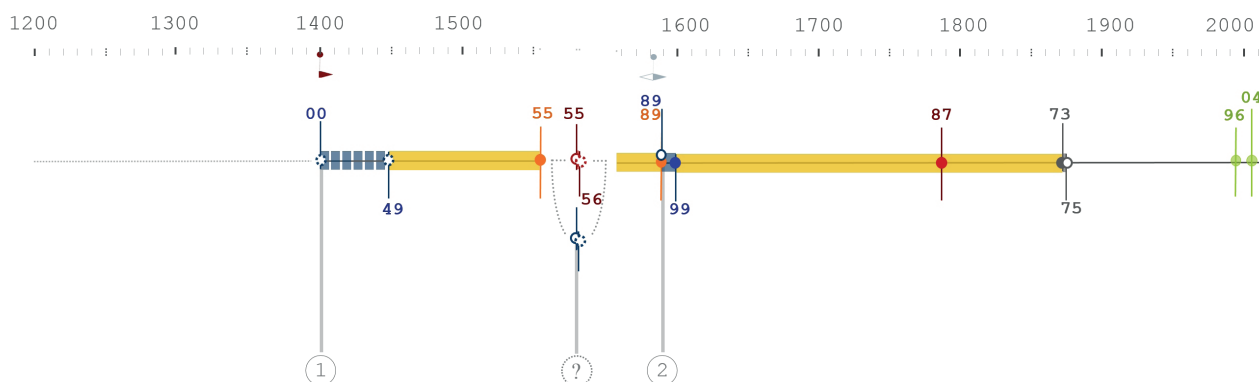
Note 3. cf. Żurawska-Chaszczyńska J., *Słownictwo rzemiosł...*, op. cit., pp. 93–95

Note 4. cf. XX. *Historia*, [on-line] Cech Rzemiosł Skórzanych i Innych Zawodów, <<http://www.cechrs.pl/historia>>, accessed 18 V 2011



shoemakers' stalls / jatki szewskie

<i>Marcella seu gazae sutorum</i>	[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 27]
<i>scampa sutorum</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]
<i>scampa sutoria</i>	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]
<i>kramy szewskie</i>	[Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145]
<i>Schumacher Kräme</i>	[Münch H., 1959, p. 11]



1257 [Węclawowicz T., 2007]
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]

Shoemakers stalls are mentioned in an act in which prince Bolesław Wstydlivy (Boleslaus the Chaste) declared the location of Krakow – *stacione calcipatorium*, however, until the end of the 14th century they were not located on the Market Square, but on *Szewska* street.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]

first half of the 14th century – a note about the sale of shoemakers' houses.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]

Construction of the first wooden stalls in the south-west quarter of the Market Square.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 53, 245]

wooden stalls [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 53, 245]

Shoemakers' stalls situated along the south-west wall of the Cloth Hall. The exact location of the stalls remains unknown.

[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 101]

1400–1430 – a mention of the shoemakers' bench

[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 111]

Sampa sutorum – the name appears in the forties of the 15th century

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]

1468 – The oldest mention of the collective shoemakers' benches (*Marcella seu gazae sutorum*). [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 27]

In 1468, Casimir IV Jagiellon ordered the Town Council to respect the rights of the shoemakers about carrying out mortgage transactions concerning their stalls on the Market Square (in respect of the privileges granted to them 200 years before). The most important development of the shoemakers' guilds in Poland have been reported during the 15th and 16th centuries and in the beginning of the 17th century.

[Cech rzemiosł skórzanych, on-line]

2004 – On the outer side of the foundations of the latest phase of the stalls, a paved gutter (dated of the 14th century) was discovered. Within cultural layers contemporary of the gutter, large quantities of leather cuttings were found, including fragments of shoes. This fact seems to corroborate the presence of shoemakers in this area as early as the 14th century.

[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 87], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 84], [Kucia A., 2011, p. 263]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyszk P., 1390–1410, il. 1], [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]

In the first half of the 15th century the shoemakers' stalls were transferred to the Market Square.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

1400–1430 – a mention of the shoemakers' bench

[Tyszk P., 2001, p. 111]

starting from the beginning of the 15th century

[Sudacka A., *Wyniki kwerendy...*, MHmK]

In the second decade of the 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square were already completely formed.

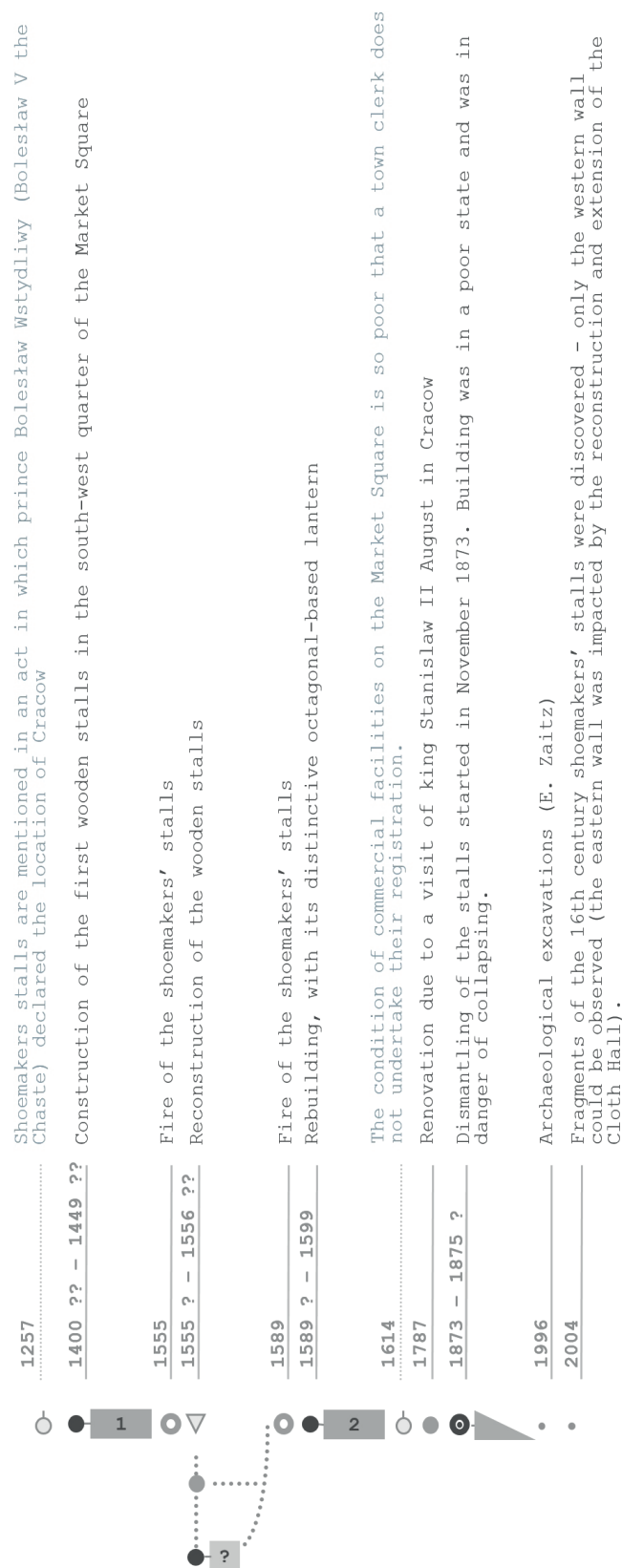
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]

Sampa sutorum – the name appears in the forties of the 15th century

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]

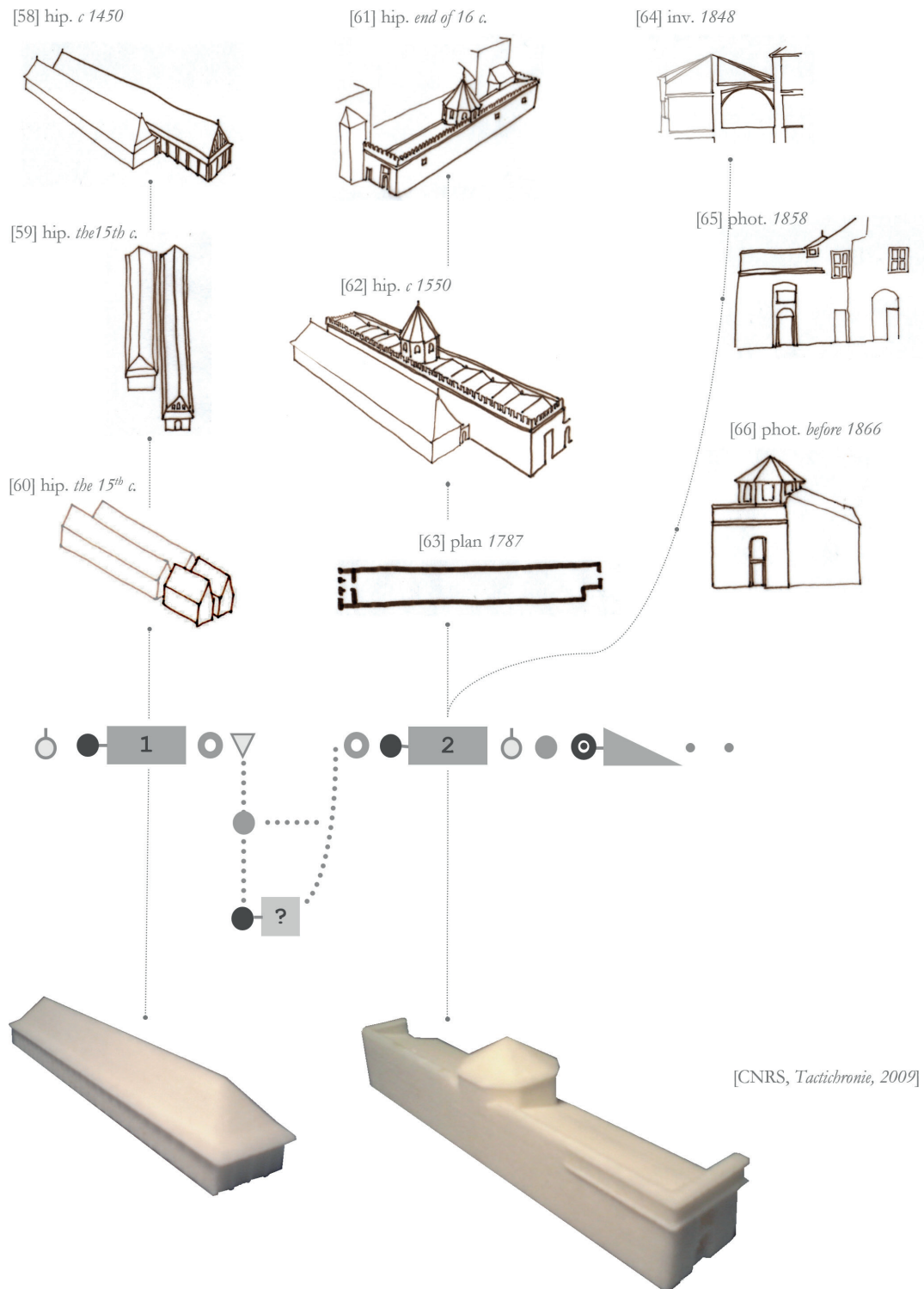
	04 November 1555 [<i>Encyklopedia Krakowa</i> , 2000, p. 938] [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 29] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]	Fire of the shoemakers' stalls [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]
?	1555 ? 1556 ?? soon rebuilt [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245]	Reconstruction of the wooden stalls
	1589 night from the 6th to the 7th March 1589 [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 27] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 67, 245]	At three at night from the 6th to the 7th March 1589 a fire of the shoemakers' stalls broke out and spread over neighbouring buildings. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67], [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 27] The shoemakers' stalls, the tanners' stalls and all stalls near the Town Hall burnt. The market hall for minor traders caught fire in several places. The bakers' stalls, old salt benches and pottery stalls were partially burnt too. [Bielski J., 1851] Soon after a complaint was lodged to the municipality because shoemakers and tanners intended to rebuild their stalls in wood again. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]
2	around the end of the 16th century [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 27] 1599 ? 1599 1599 – construction completed (date appears inside a cartouche on the building's vaulting) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 245] Stalls walls built with Renaissance bricks dated from the 16th century. [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145]	Rebuilding, with its distinctive octagonal-based lantern. masonry, single-storey building, Renaissance octagonal-based lantern, eight-sided hip roof [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 27] foundations out of Renaissance brick, homogeneous stratifications, a building without a basement [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145] The width of the stalls is estimated at about 10–11 meters. [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97] foundations: isolated footings (pillars) connected to one another with semi circular arches. [Łukacz M., 2006, p. 145 il. 17–19, 22], [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 96] A passage separated the stalls from the Cloth Hall. The shoemakers' stalls contained 84 stands. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 93] descriptions: interior [Banach J., 1998, p. 405], exterior [Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i> , 2007, p. 208] iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i> , 1796, ban17], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Gašiorowski B., <i>Ratusz...</i> , przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban5], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., <i>Restauracja...</i> , il. 63], [Stachowicz T.B., 1850, ban260], [Ekielski A., około 1850], [XX., przed 1857, MHmK 1560/VIII], [Beyer K., 1858, ban239], [Walter H., 1859, ban89], [Walter H., około 1859], [Gryglewski A., około 1865, ban242], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban240], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban244], [Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131], [XX., przed 1868, Grabowski A. <i>Kraków...</i> , p. 28], [XX. <i>Plan Sukiennic i Kramów...</i> , przed 1868], [Krieger I., około 1868, ban249], [Walter H., około 1868], [Rzewuski W., po 1868, ban245], [Czachórski W., przed 1873], [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., <i>Ochrona...</i> , il. 13], [XX., przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [Krieger I., 1874–1875, ban246], [Krieger I., 1875, ban250], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, <i>od Szweskiej</i>], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 24], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 17] hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [Opaliński P., <i>Jatki szweskie</i> , 2006], [Opaliński P., 2007, w Rynek Główny, p. 93], [<i>Civitas...</i> , 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i> , 2008], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007], [Opaliński P., <i>Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801</i> , 2006], [Opaliński P., <i>Sukiennice...</i> , 2006], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.] maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773], [plan1700_1773], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołtąjowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [plan 1836], [plan 1850], [plan 2003-2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 1]

			<p>The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 72]</p> <p>1667 – municipal property [plan 1667 JG]</p>
			<p>Renovation due to a visit of king Stanislaw II August in Krakow. [<i>Encyklopedia Krakowa</i>, 2000, p. 863]</p> <p>1787 – plan and description of the stalls: <i>shoemakers' stalls (masonry)</i> [plan Pucka 1787] 1787 – description of the stalls [Murray E., 1787, p. 123] 1807–1808 – <i>Die Schumacher Kräme auf dem Hauptplatz zwischen nr 2 et 4</i> [Münch H., 1959, p. 11] 1820 – <i>des cordonniers</i> (shoemakers) [plan 1820ir] 1832/36 – not intended to be sold [plan 1832–1836] 1834 – number 5: <i>Szewskie kramy</i> [plan 1834]</p>
R	1873 1875 ?	<p>November 1873 – beginning of the demolition [Czas, 1873, nr 255, z 06/XI]</p> <p>1873 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 246]</p> <p>1876–1879 – reconstruction of the Cloth Hall [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 239]</p> <p>Demolished <u>shortly before the refurbishment and transformation of the Cloth Hall</u>. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 27]</p>	<p>Dismantling of the stalls started in November 1873. Building was in a poor state and was in danger of collapsing. [Banach, 1998, p. 375], [Czas, 1865, nr 250, p. 3], [Czas, 1865, nr 265, p. 2] The entire building was dismantled before the beginning of the Cloth Hall's reconstruction and extensions. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29] In the last years of their existence the stalls housed a fire brigade. [Banach, 1998, p. 377], [Czas, 1861, nr 185, p. 3], [Czas, 1867, nr 88, p. 2], [Czas, 1867, nr 140, p. 2], [Czas, 1867, nr 160, p. 3]</p> <p>Demolished shortly before the refurbishment and transformation of the Cloth Hall. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 27] 1865 –... <i>the building called shoemakers' stalls, nearby the Cloth Hall, threatening to collapse is supported by props that prevent it from falling apart...</i> [Czas, 1865, nr 250, p. 3] 1865 –... <i>The shoemakers' stalls (...) hidden behind municipal stables (...) will probably be demolished because of the poor condition of the portion closest to the Town Hall's tower...</i> [Czas, 1865, nr 265, p. 2], [Banach, 1998, p. 375] iconography: [Czachórski W., przed 1873], [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., <i>Ochrona...</i>, il. 13], [XX., przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [Krieger I., 1874–1875, ban246], [Krieger I., 1875, ban250], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, <i>od Szeewskiej</i>], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 24], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 17] maps and plans: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>
	1996	[Z.aitz E., 1996], [Zaitz E., 2006]	<p>Archaeological excavations. (E. Zaitz) [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 96] maps and plans: [plan 2004, w Kłuj 2006, il. 2]</p>
	2004	<p>2004 [Zaitz E., 2006] July /October 2004 [Firlet E., 2010, p. 16]</p>	<p>Fragments of the 16th century shoemakers' stalls were discovered – only the western wall could be observed (the eastern wall was impacted by the reconstruction and extension of the Cloth Hall). [Zaitz E., 2006] Relics of the Renaissance shoemakers' stalls were discovered – they confirm that the stalls were extended during the Baroque period. [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 87] iconography: [Łukacz M., 2006, il. 16–162], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 24], [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 17] maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *shoemakers' stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Two phases of development have been identified for this artefact at this stage. We do not have any information about the form in which the stalls were rebuilt after the 1555 fire. After yet another destructive transformation (fire in 1589) the stalls were rebuilt in a new form, which survived until the final dismantling of the artefact. In 2004 fragments of its walls were found.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *shoemakers' stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

For the first phase of development only a hypothesis with a low level of corroboration can be proposed. The second phase of the stalls' evolution is relatively well documented.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Small Scales (with furriers house) / *Mata Waga (z domem kuśnierskim)*



A removed public weigh house situated in the neighbourhood of St Adalbert Church, within which goods like gold, silver, precious stones, as well as all goods weighing less than one hundredweight [1] were weighed (e.g. wax, rice, pepper, ginger and other spices, as well as soap, fat, tar, alum or resin – a raw material used in everyday life and in various crafts).

Merchants who came to the town had to weigh their goods there and paid for each transaction. [2]

In Krakow the standard ell [3] was kept in the Small Scales.

In the 13th century the Krakow ell (*łokieć krakowski*) equalled 64,66 cm, but in the 14th century only 62,5 cm. In the 12th, 15th and 16th centuries the Magdeburg ell equalled 58,6 cm. In 1507, the Krakow and Poznań ells were set equals and starting from 1565 the Krakow elbow was used as the official unit in the whole country.

The walls of the Small Scales' ground floor were covered with inscriptions – describing important events in the history of the country and of Krakow (*i.e.* fires, epidemics, earthquakes, *etc.*). No one thought to write down these information while the building was demolished. [4]

Skalka, the public house located in the building of the Small Scales, belonged to the guild of furriers. [5]

furriers (*pellifices, pelliones*) [6]

In former Poland the furriers' guild fulfilled various tasks. Furriers traded in imported furs with eastern countries, so they had close relationships with various merchants. Furriers bought and refined furs, sometimes dyed them and sew clothing from them (*i.e.* overcoats, caps, *etc.*). [7]

Furrier's guilds forbade the use of leather from died animals and cats. It happened however, that the poorest furriers used cat skin and dog skin (sewing caps out of them). In those cases they tanned leather in an home-made manner and naturally did not record them in official registers. [8]

Visual measure of complexity for the *Small Scales (with furriers house)*.

A relatively simple diagram, with one transformation the consequences of which are unknown (the doubts relate to the shape of the building after the works conducted in 1748–1747).

The presence of relics of the Small Scales was confirmed.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. A *hundredweight* (or *centum weight*) is a unit of mass:

In 1764 a hundredweight (*cetnar koronny*) equalled 64,8 kg, while in 1818 only 40,55 kg.

cf. Leksykon Genealogiczny, [on-line] <<http://www.genealogia.okiem.pl/glossary/glossary.php?definition=miara>>, accessed 02 II 2013

Note 2. *cf.* Sudacka A., *Budynek Wagi na Rynku Krakowskim na podstawie źródeł historycznych*, RK t. LXXII, 2006, p. 48

Note 3. An *ell* is a unit of measurement, approximating the length of a man's arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.

cf. Leksykon Genealogiczny, *op. cit.*

Note 4. *cf.* Grabowski A., *Starożytności m. Krakowa*. rkps [after] Tomkowicz S., *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Biblioteka Krakowska, nr 63–64, Kraków 1926, p. 35

Note 5. *cf.* Sudacka A., *Budynek Wagi... op. cit.*, p. 48

Note 6. *cf.* Chmiel A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w.*, drukiem Muzeum Przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922, p. 10

Note 7. *cf.* Turnau I., *Skórnictwo odzieżowe w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1975, p. 116

Note 8. *cf.* Żurawska-Chaszczyńska J., *Słownictwo rzemiosł skórzanich w polszczyźnie historycznej*, praca doktorska, Uniwersytet A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Wydział Filologii Klasycznej, Poznań 2010, p. 26

	1364	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 250], [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35], [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48]	Tasks, as well as prices of services, are fixed for both weigh houses – <i>pensa Maiori</i> and <i>pensa Minori</i> . [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 48], [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 35]
	1391 1395	1391 – notes about small expenses [Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 35] 1391–1395 – Small expenses on <i>super nova pensa</i> are mentioned. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 49], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 31]	Minor renovation of the building. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 49] Between 1392 and 1395 a wax melting-place was moved <i>outside the Towns walls</i> . Before that period it could have been situated on the Market Square (possibly close to the Small Scales). [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 51]
2	1405 ? 1408 ?	1404–1408 – rebuilding [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88] 1405 – Considerable expenses on <i>super nova pensa</i> are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 31–33] 1408 – A note about the payment (to the clockmaker) for the adjustment of the weighing machine indicates the end of works (weigh house is ready to use). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 250], [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 49] 1408 – A bonus (money to buy wine) was awarded to the clockmaker on completion of his task. <i>... pro ollis 2 gr. ad honores cum vino datis...</i> [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 33] Transformations were completed <u>around</u> 1405. [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i> , 2007, p. 21, note 18] Transformations were completed in the second half of the 15th century. [Buśko C., 2007, p. 231]	Major rebuilding of the Small Scales (works under the responsibility of master Werner) – two-storey building with a weigh house on the ground floor, a furriers house on the first floor (leather and fur trade) and <i>Skatka</i> in the basement (a public house). Originally the first floor could have been a timber framing construction. Sources mention considerable quantities of stones and bricks that were purchased, thereby suggesting a possible change of the first floor's construction type. [Sudacka A., 2006, pp. 48, 50] first floor in masonry [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 88] dimensions of the Small Scales in plan 26,5 m x 11,7 m [Sudacka A., 2006, pp. 45–47] <i>domus pellificum</i> – [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 250] hypothetical reconstructions: [Niewalda W., w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , il. 17, p. 38], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 123, il. 16] analogous objects: [Reiffenstein C.T., Frankfurt nad Menem, Waga miejska, 1873], [XX., w Nagel W., <i>Das mittelalterliche...</i> , il. 341], [XX., Nördlingen, Dom Kuśnierski], [XX., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników, 1900], [Dodel R., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników-makiet, 2010], [Barbant C., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników, 1875], [Lancelot M.T., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników, 1892], [XX., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników], [XX., Strasbourg, Kammerzell, 1], [Muray, Strasbourg, Kammerzell, 1840], [XX., Strasbourg, Kammerzell, 1890–1905], [XX, Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, 1890–1905], [XX, Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, około 2010], [XX, Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, 1830], [XX., Braunschweig, Waga miejska, 1890–1905], [XX., Hattingen, Ratusz_2]
3	1523	1523 – renovation of the furriers house (expenses mentioned) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 69, 250–251], [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 52].	Major rebuilding and renovation of the furriers house – change for a masonry structure (?). [Sudacka A., 2006]. 1523 – <i>...Works are carried out on the furriers house (Kusnerhause), bricks and other construction materials are delivered on the site, it seems that they are rebuilding the whole Small Scales...</i> (A. Grabowski) [Sudacka A., 2006, pp. 52–53] 1765 – Furriers house is a 50 ells long, 27 ells wide and 30 ells high. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 44] 1792 – The first floor longitudinal walls (<i>considerably high</i>) are supported by corbel table like structures (corbels supporting small barrel vaults). [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 44–47]
	1546 1559	1546, 1552, 1559 – Expenses concerning the Small Scales are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007 pp. 33–34]	Works carried out on the Small Scales [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 33–34]
	1570 1581	1570, 1581 – Expenses concerning the furriers house are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 34]	Works carried out on the furriers house [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 34]
	1587	08 May 1587 [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]	Students were shot at from the windows of the furriers house during the riots that followed the destruction of the Evangelic church located on <i>św. Jana</i> street – many were killed. [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]

4	1593 1594	<p>1593 – A contract is signed with master Kasper.</p> <p>1594 – A contract is signed (repairs and painting) [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 53], [Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i>, 2007, p. 209], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 34]</p>	<p>Transformation. A butterfly roof hidden behind a Renaissance parapet is introduced.</p> <p>1593–1594 – Works concern mainly the covering (frame and roofing). Oval openings are introduced by master Kasper (<i>i.e.</i> Gasparo Arcani de Mescio?) and paintings added on the parapet (Jan Stawinoga?). [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 53], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 34]</p> <p>Inventories from 1765, 1792, 1794, ANKr, <i>Akta miasta Krakowa</i>, rkps 1390, pp. 117, 120–121; rkps 1289, p. 38–39; rkps 1532, pp. 311–312; as well <i>Zbiór Ambrożego Grabowskiego</i>, sygn. E 39, pp. 21–23 [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 44–47], [Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 90–92]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17] hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., 2007, w Rynek Główny, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i>, 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008], [Opaliński P., w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 68], [Opaliński P., w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 112], [Opaliński P., <i>Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801</i>, 2006], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w] maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan szwedzki 1702], [plan 1773], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1700_1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1975], [plan 2003–2007]</p>
	1595	<p>1595 – Expenses concerning the furriers house are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 34]</p>	<p>Works carried out on the furriers house (ANKr, <i>Akta miasta Krakowa</i>, rkps 1667, p. 266) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 34]</p>
	1598	[Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 35]	<p>Roof of the Small Scales damaged by a stroke of lightning. (ANKr, <i>Akta miasta Krakowa</i>, rkps 1673, p. 233) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 35]</p>
	1598	<p>27 June 1598 [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 35]</p>	<p>Repairs to the Small Scales's roof (ANKr, <i>Akta miasta Krakowa</i>, rkps 1673, p. 233) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 35]</p> <p>The Small Scales was roofed with tiles. (ANKr, <i>Akta miasta Krakowa</i>, rkps 1673, p. 233) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 35]</p>
	1628 1629	<p>[Komorowski W., <i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i>, 2007, p. 247] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 95]</p>	<p>Repairs to the Small Scales – cracks on the walls and works carried out on the roof. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 54]</p> <p>Expenses on carpenters, masons and pavers. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 35]</p> <p>1667 – Building is identified as a municipal property. [plan 1667 JG]</p>
	1682	<p>[Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28] [Wikipedia, <i>Kalendarium historii Krakowa</i>]</p>	<p>Stalls adjacent to the Small Scales are destroyed during riots. <i>...stalls plundered by common people...</i> [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]</p>
	1682 ? 1683 ??	<p><i>... the stalls were rebuild later on...</i> [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]</p>	<p>Reconstruction of the stalls near the Small Scales. [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]</p>
	1702 ? 1705 ?	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 106] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 37]</p>	<p>The Swedish army plunders the Small Scales – among other things the weighing machine is stolen. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 106], [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 37, 54]</p>
	1722	[Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 37]	<p>Repairs to <i>Skatka</i> (public house) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 44–47]</p>

	1732	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 37–38]	A call for the renovation of the Small Scales – walls torn apart by the heavy parapet, the roof requires repairs. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 37–38]
	1737 ? 1739 ?	Inventory from 1739 mentions a new roof. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 38]	Repairs to the roof (ANKr, <i>Akta miasta Krakowa</i> , rkps 1386, pp. 11–12) [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 38]
	1740 1747	1740, 1743, 1746–1747 Expenses on the Small Scales are mentioned. [Follprecht K., 2007]	The condition of the building is getting worse. Some short-term repairs are undertaken. 1740 – A note mentions <i>important cracks in the walls</i> (in front of St Adalbert church), and the necessity to build a buttress (<i>up to the cornice</i>) holding up the building. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 38–39] 1743 – Walls of the furriers house start splitting apart – the need of iron anchorages is mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 38–39] 1746–1747 – Small expenses on a mason and his assistants are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 41] 1748 – The walls of the building are in very poor condition: southern wall (in front of St. Adalbert church) is bulged and in cracks, important cracks in the longitudinal walls supported by corbels, eastern wall in very poor condition, western wall is putrid, cracks in the northern wall. Immediate repairs are necessary. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 41]
?	1748 1749	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 69, 251] [Sudacka A., 2006, pp. 54–55]	Repairs – construction of a buttress and renovation of the furriers house. [Sudacka A., 2006, pp. 54–55] Since the repairs to the furriers house required free access to the walls, it is likely that the adjacent stalls were temporarily dismantled (as they will be later on, in 1765). [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 44] The Small Scales was surrounded with individual ‘iron’ and/or ‘Lithuanian’ stalls. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]
	1757	1757 – Expenses on the furriers house are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 43–44]	Repairs – expenses on a stoneworker, a mason and a blacksmith [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 43–44]
	1765	[Sudacka A., 2006, p. 51] [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 44]	The building is in a very poor condition, walls of the furriers house split apart – important repairs are necessary. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, p. 44] maps and plans: [plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha]
	1787	[Sudacka A., 2006, p. 55]	After the conversion of the Grand Scales – not used any more as a weigh house, but as the seat of administrative offices (<i>Komisja Porządkowa Cywilno-Wojskowa</i>) – the Small Scales becomes a weigh house dedicated to all types of products. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 55] maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787]
	1792	[Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 45–47]	The building is still in a very poor condition – basements soaked up, rotten roof, wastes from <i>Skalka</i> ’s latrine are channelled towards the passageway between the Small Scales and the Rich Stalls. 1792 – The walls of the Small Scales are damped. Stairs leading towards the furriers house are old and in poor condition. Walls of the furrier house split apart, brick floor inside the furriers room is destroyed. The public house is composed of one room on the first floor (close to the furriers house) and of three rooms in the basement. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i> , 2007, pp. 44–47], [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i> , 2007, pp. 21–22] iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i> , 1796, ban17]

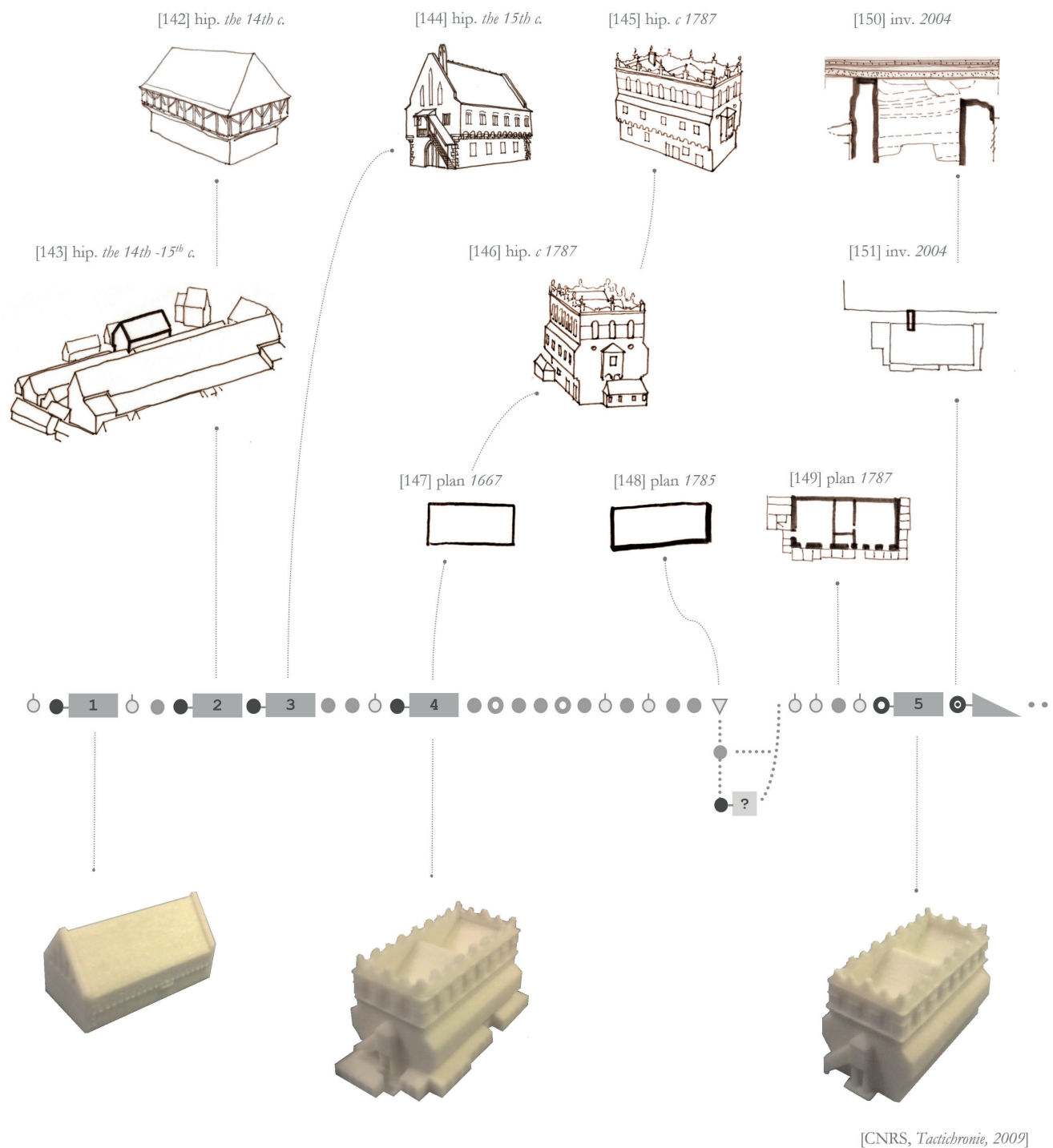
5	<p>demolished by Austrians [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92] [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 28]</p> <p>1796 ? 05 January 1796 – entering of the Austrian army in Krakow, annexation of the city to the Habsburg monarchy [<i>Encyklopedia Krakowa</i>, 2000, pp. 1118–1119]</p> <p>1798 ?</p>	<p>Occupying Austrians forces dismantle the wooden stalls adjacent to the Small Scales so as to clear space inside the densely built-up area of the Market Square. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17] hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., <i>Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801</i>, 2006], [Opaliński P., <i>w Rynek Główny</i>, p. 68] maps and plans: [plan 1797 z 1848]</p>
R	<p>Dismantling of the Small Scales started on August 26 1801. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 90]</p> <p>1801 [Tomkowicz S., 1926, pp. 34–35] [Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8] [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 45] [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 21, note 18]</p>	<p>The Small Scales is sold by auction – its dismantling starts on August 26, 1801 (a portion of the stones from the Small Scales were handed over for the construction of walls of the <i>Rakowicki</i> cemetery). The function of <i>weigh house</i> is moved to the Cloth Hall. [Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 90–92]</p> <p>Only the relics of the basement were preserved. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 45], [Buśko C., 2007, p. 231]</p> <p>Soon after the dismantling, the furriers' guild filed a law suit for damages against the town (they demanded repayment of 1600 Austro-Hungarian guildens – total sum gained at auction). In 1827 the case was dismissed – the furriers' guild was repaid 3000 Polish zlotys. [Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 90–92]</p> <p>The Small Scales was demolished in 1801. [Tomkowicz S., 1907, pp. 7–8]</p> <p>1807 – Building number 8, the <i>Small Scales</i>, is mentioned as already demolished. [Münch H., 1959]</p> <p>The building was dismantled down to the level of foundations. [Buśko C., 2007, p. 231]</p> <p>iconography: [XX, 2004, Kluj M., 2006, il. 3] hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., <i>Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801</i>, 2006]</p>
	<p>2003 [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 51], [Firlert E., 2010, p. 14]</p>	<p>Archaeological explorations inside the zone occupied by the Small Scales (E. Zaitz). [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 51]</p> <p>iconography: [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il. 2], [XX, 2004, Kluj M., 2006, il. 3] maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007]</p>
	<p>2005 2006</p> <p>Works lasted <u>from August 2005 until the autumn of 2006</u>. [Komorowski W., 2006, p. 33], [Janczykowski J., 2006, p. 75]</p> <p>Works started in August 2005. [Buśko C., 2007, p. 225]</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations (C. Buśko) – the crowns of walls were revealed, but the works halted at that point. [Buśko C., 2007, pp. 225, 231], [plan 2003–2007]</p> <p>The works were suspended by the Regional Monument Conservator. [Sudacka A., 2006, p. 52]</p> <p>Excavations showing the crowns of walls of the Small Scales were filled up. [Janczykowski J., 2006, p. 75]</p> <p>iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005-a], maps and plans: [Mamica M., 2005–2006], [XX., 2005–2006, WK 19/2006, il. 13]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *Small Scales* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Five phases of development have been identified. The last evolutionary phase (5) is the result of a destructive transformation – stalls flanking the Small Scales are removed. The diagram clearly underlines how much effort was put in trying to rescue the building (high number of recurrent transformations between phases 4 and 5). Relics of the Small Scales, buried under the Market Square's pavement, were surveyed twice (archaeological sampling in 2003, excavations down to the crowns of walls in 2005–2006)

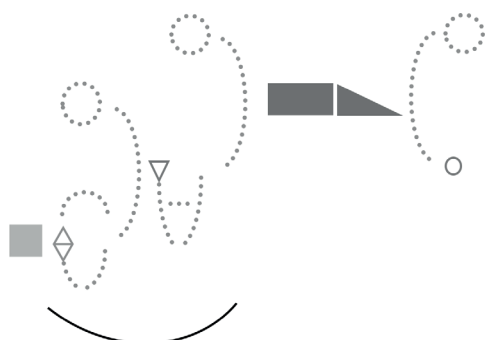
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Small Scales* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

There is not enough information available to propose a plausible morphology for all five phases of development that were identified – we here need to rely on analogies. The tangible model proposed for the earliest phase of development is, on purpose, rather terse: it only shows what can be said with a reasonable level of confidence (general layout, two-storey, masonry, entrance on the east side, pitched roof)

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *soap stalls*.

This compound diagram underlines a succession of doubts: lack of confidence in the fact that all the data collected concerns the same object (three forks), considerable difficulties with dating, as well as with the very occurrence of some transformations based on circumstantial events.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Dismantled wooden commercial facilities, the position of which could have changed over time. The stalls that are unambiguously localised (north-east of the Cloth Hall) are known to us through cartographic and iconographic sources.

soap-boiler (*smigmator*), 'tallow trader' (*sepifusor*) [1]

Statutes of the soap-boilers' guild prescribed in 1455 that: ... *a soap-boiler should not brew more than 15 stones of soap per week under penalty of a fine. It was forbidden to produce neither larger, nor smaller soap bares than the prescribed model ...* [2]

According to an act from 1495 (confirmed by king Sigismund I of Poland), if a journeyman of the Krakow soap-boilers' guild wanted to become a master he had to make something that showed he had fully mastered all aspects of the craft. This object was called a '*Masterwork*'. For example he could be asked to make ... *a high quality soap from butter, then from lard and finally from tallow ...* [3]

A stamp of the Krakow soap-boilers' guild from 1663 represents... *a cartouche with a royal crown, on the side of the cartouche a standing figure in armour is keeping a candle.* [4]

[1596]... *We came for a review to Krzysztof Łasiczka [Łasiczka means Weasel] the soap-boiler, (...) in order to check, whether in his house he melted suet in quantities that exceeded his rights, because this would have meant a [financial] loss for the State, as well as for the Small Scales' ponderator. ...* [5]

Note 1. cf. A. Chmiel, *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. aż do XX w.*, Muzeum Przemysłowe im. A. Baranieckiego, Kraków 1922, p. 13

Note 2. cf. Chotkowski M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV w ieku.*, Kraków 1891, p. 48

Note 3. cf. Kołaczkowski J., *Wiadomości dotyczące się przemysłu i sztuki dawnej w Polsce*, Wyd. M. Kański, Kraków 1888, p. 290

Note 4. cf. A. Chmiel, *Godła rzemieślnicze...*, op. cit., p. 14

Note 5. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część III (1592–1597)*, T. VII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1999, p. 178



Accordingly, the following hypotheses can be proposed:

- a) Only the old stalls were situated at the exit of *św. Jana* street (*institas smigmatorias*) – the rebuilding could possibly alter their form. On this assumption we consider that the new stalls were built elsewhere.
- b) Only the new stalls were constructed at the exit of *św. Jana* street (*institas smigmatorias novas*) – On this assumption we consider that the old stalls were built elsewhere, and that these new stalls are the first element of the soap stalls evolutionary chain.
- c) Both buildings were situated at the exit of *św. Jana* street (*institas smigmatorias novas i institas smigmatorias*). – On this assumption we consider that the new stalls should be considered as an extension of the existing (old) soap stalls, thereby initiating a new phase of evolution of the artefact.
- d) Both buildings were located elsewhere.

1563 – The new soap stalls were constructed.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72]

The sources mention expenses related to two distinct buildings. Oak wood, shingles, wooden beams, etc. are bought separately for *institas smigmatorias novas* and *institas smigmatorias* (more wood was needed for the latter).
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 78]

Location of both new and old soap stalls is not specified. Sources mention only the number of stalls in each building.

1614 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94]
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]



The first reliable information about the soap stalls localised to the north of the Cloth Hall.

1633 (March) – King of Poland, Władysław IV Vasa confirms an act of king Sigismund II August specifying that cutlers are meant to take over soap-boilers' stalls.
[*Katalog aktów dawnych...*, 1907, p. 197]

1760 – New soap stalls are mentioned (15 stalls, dimensions in plan, taxes) – depth of all stalls is similar (more or less the same depth that this of the stalls 'under Providence')
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 78]

1776 – One of the stalls of the *Rich Stalls* (stall number 35) is described as *the third one from the soap stalls side*.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 66]

1785 – The soap stalls are represented as two separate buildings.
[plan kołłątajowski 1785]

1787 – 19 aligned stalls composing two separate buildings are represented. (11 stalls in front of the Cloth hall, 8 stalls in front of the Rich Stalls). Tomkowicz mentions them as *stalls of undetermined use*.
[plan Pucka 1787], [Tomkowicz S., 1907, pp. 7–8]

1792 – only 6 stalls are mentioned
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 84], [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 63]

1796–1809 – Wooden soap stalls located to the north of the Rich Stalls and the Cloth Hall, with fronts turned towards the south.
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

Until 1800 soap stalls are represented as two separate buildings.
[plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan pruski 1794], [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17], [plan 1800]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18]

maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1800]

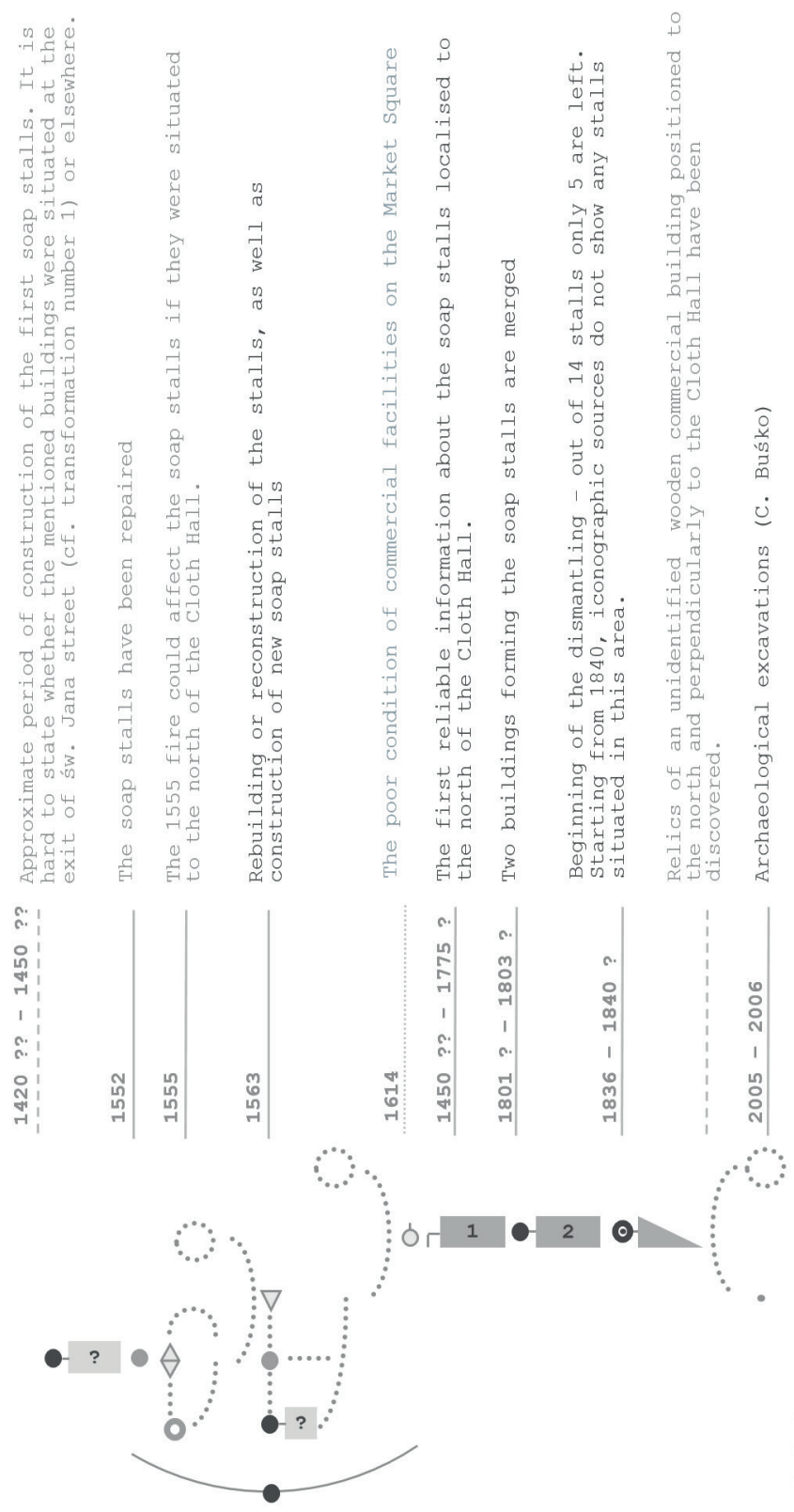
A hypothetic reconstruction shows a building situated in this area in the middle of 15th century.
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]

1775 ? The soap stalls appeared probably earlier, but it is hard to establish when with more precision.

1776 – rich stall number nr 35 is described as *the third one from the soap stalls side*.
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 66]

1

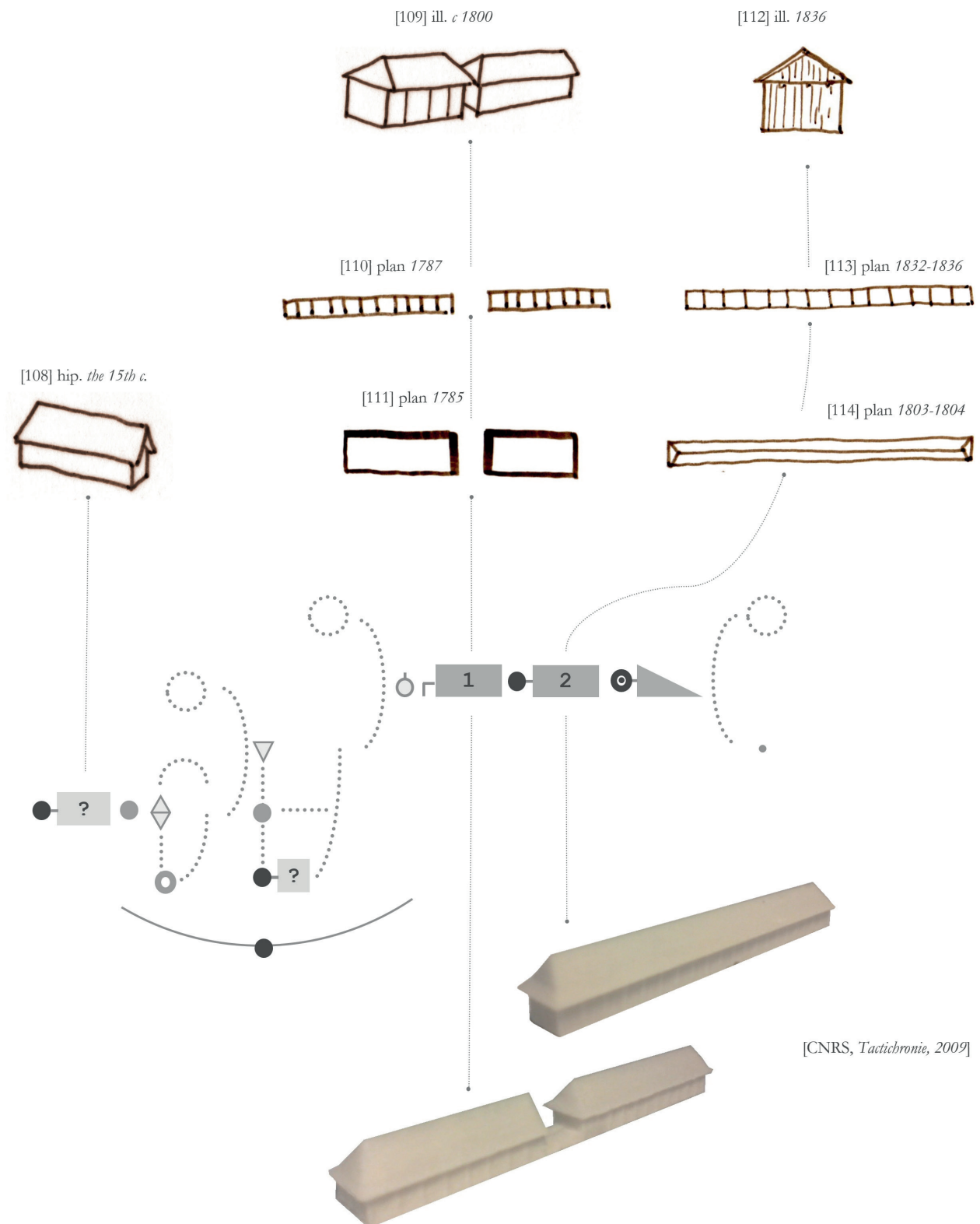
2	<p>1801 ? 1803 ?</p> <p>Until 1800 the soap stalls are represented as two separate buildings. [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan pruski 1794], [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [plan 1800]</p> <p>From 1803 onwards the stalls are represented as one building. [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>	<p>Two buildings forming the soap stalls are merged.</p> <p>1802 – The stalls are not represented on a plan. [plan senacki 1802–1808]</p> <p>From 1803 onwards the stalls are represented as one building. [plan 1803–1804], [plan1817], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1831], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>In 1804 only five soap-boilers worked in Krakow. [Kołaczkowski J., 1888, p. 370]</p> <p>1832–1836 – 14 stalls are represented [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>iconography: [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1803–1804], [plan1817], [plan 1820ir], [plan 1831], [plan 1834], [plan 1832–1836]</p>
R	<p>1836 1840 ?</p> <p>1832–1836 – campaign of demolition of the wooden buildings that furnished the Market Square [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 140]</p> <p>1836 – Beginning of the dismantling, out of 14 stalls only 5 are left. [Banach J., 1998, p. 221], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]</p> <p>25 May 1840 – <i>I was drawing on the 25th of May 1840 and at that time sheds were being demolished.</i> [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]</p> <p>1850 – The soap stalls are not represented. [Ekielski A., około 1850]</p>	<p>Beginning of the dismantling – out of 14 stalls only 5 are left. [Banach J., 1998, p. 221]</p> <p>Starting from 1840, iconographic sources do not show any stalls situated in this area. [Banach J., 1998, p. 389], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]</p> <p>1832–1836 – 14 stalls represented as <i>intended for sale</i>. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1850 – no artefact represented in this area. [Ekielski A., około 1850], [Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215]</p> <p>iconography: [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1832–1836]</p>
	<p>2005 2006</p> <p>[Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations – relics of an unidentified wooden commercial building positioned to the north and perpendicularly to the Cloth Hall have been discovered. [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p> <p>These relics may not relate to the soap stalls at all.</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *soap stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Two phases of development have been identified as certain. The soap stalls are mentioned in sources quite early, but only in terms of function – their localisation is not indicated. Since in this catalogue the ‘identity’ of an artefact is not only a function-related parameter, doubts concerning specifically the identity of an artefact are represented by specific glyphs-forks. Significant dating problems are also visible (an arched line bridging several symbols), as well as transformations based on circumstantial data.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]



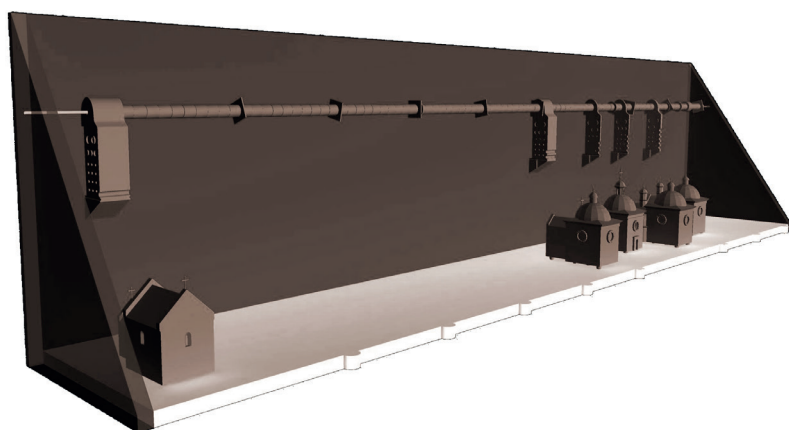
Graph of potential interactions for the *soaps stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. The upper part of the image comprises fragments of plans and various visual sources (redrawn). Below the diagram pictures of the tangible models (*Tactichronie*) corresponding to the soap stalls – worked out using source documents, monographs and analogous examples – are shown.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

St. Adalbert church / kościół św. Wojciecha



Initially a wooden, nowadays stone church constructed at the crossroads of trade routes in an old settlement, prior to the 'foundation' of Krakow (1257 Boleslaus Charter). According to the tradition St. Adalbert [1] used to preach there, and the first wooden church has been constructed in memory of his stay.



Visual measure of complexity for church of St. Adalbert. A relatively lengthy diagram that points out several doubts: the fork in the beginning of the diagram underlines doubts about the identity of the first building as a church (cf. the *chronological table*); presence of successive transformations related to circumstantial events shows a lack of information (possible destruction of the Church during the first and the second Mongol invasions) or contradictory data (results of reparations following destructions of 1848).
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Note 1. Born around 956 in *Libice* (Bohemia). Died 23rd April 997 in the surroundings of *Elblag* or *Tenkiten* (*Letnoje*).

Roman Catholic saint, a Bishop of Prague and a missionary, was martyred in his efforts to convert the Baltic Prussians. He evangelized Poles and Hungarians.

cf. *Adalbert of Prague* [on-line], Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adalbert_of_Prague>, accessed 02 II 2012

Fig. 4 Fragment of a system of tangible models (*Tactichronie*) showing the intensity of transformations over time for St Adalbert Church. This system allows both visual and tangible reading of the artefact's changes of form, of the duration of successive transitions, as well as of the time-space separating the successive phases of development – and therefore the intensity of building's changes over time.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, C. Bourdier, 2008]

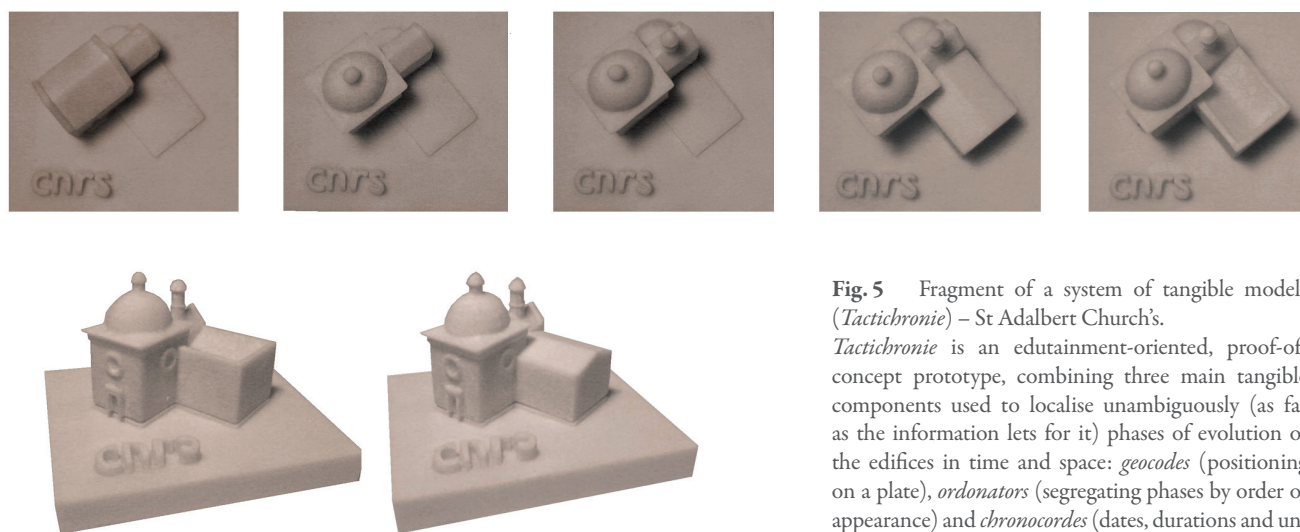


Fig. 5 Fragment of a system of tangible models (*Tactichronie*) – St Adalbert Church's.

Tactichronie is an edutainment-oriented, proof-of-concept prototype, combining three main tangible components used to localise unambiguously (as far as the information lets for it) phases of evolution of the edifices in time and space: *geocodes* (positioning on a plate), *ordonators* (segregating phases by order of appearance) and *chronocordes* (dates, durations and uncertainty in dating).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, C. Bourdier, 2008]

St. Adalbert church / kościół św. Wojciecha

antiquissima in Circulo Cracoviensis civitatis tituli p. Alberti

St. Alberti

chapelle de ST Albert

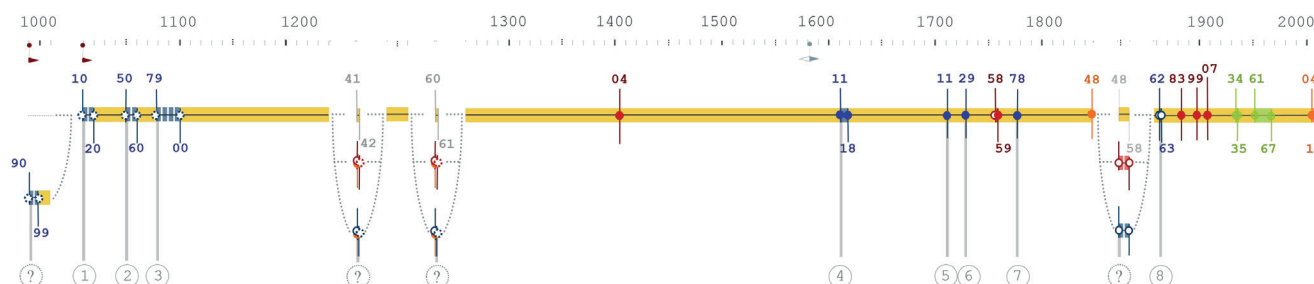
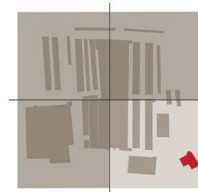
église de ST Albert

[Łuszczkiewicz W., 1900, p. 160]

[plan 1803–1804]

[plan 1820ir]

[Plan de situation, 1834]



?	<p>990 ??</p> <p>999 ??</p>	<p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 176–178, 187]</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 255]</p>	<p>Construction of the first wooden building (probably a church) with a porch on the west side.</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 176–178, 187]</p> <p>elongated rectangle – minimum size 860 x 496 cm, wooden floor, Only the inside is preserved. Could have been used either as a public edifice or as a place of worship – probable a Christian church.</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1970, pp. 9–11], [Radwański K., 1975, pp. 176–178, 187]</p>
1	<p>1010 ??</p> <p>1020 ??</p>	<p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 178–180, 186] [Radwański K., 1970, pp. 18–20],</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 255]</p>	<p>Construction of the second wooden building – a church.</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 178–180, 186]</p> <p>fir wood, clay, stone, probably two rectangles – west side 600 to 880 x 600 cm, east side (i.e. presbyterium) 300 x 300 cm, the main axes of the construction are unchanged in the later phases of evolution, wooden floor ; [Radwański K., 1975, pp. 178–180, 186], [Radwański K., 1970, pp. 18–20]</p>
2	<p>1050 ??</p> <p>1060 ??</p>	<p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 172–174, 186] [Zin W., Grabski W., 1966, pp. 45–49]</p>	<p>Construction of the first stone church with a tower situated on the west side.</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 172–174, 186]</p> <p>stonework (rubble masonry), limestone, interior dimensions of a tower 160 x 160 cm (wall thickness 135 cm) [Radwański K., 1975, pp. 172–174, 186]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 7]</p>
3	<p>1079 ??</p> <p>1100 ??</p>	<p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 170–172]</p> <p>[<i>Encyklopedia Krakowa</i>, 2000, pp. 480–481]</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 255]</p> <p>[Dmochowski Z., p. 29]</p> <p>[Zin W., Grabski W., 1966, pp. 45–49]</p>	<p>Construction of the second, a Romanesque church (single nave building with a rectangular presbyterium). The material from the previous edifice was partially reused.</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 170–172]</p> <p>stonework (dressed stones, <i>petit appareil</i>), limestone and sandstone, nave size 6,95 x 6,35 m, presbyterium size 3,50 x 3,13 m; [Radwański K., 1975, pp. 170–172]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., <i>Pierwotny...</i>, w Łuszczkiewicz W., 1900, il. 15], [XX., MM Interactive, 2006], [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 5], [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 7], [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 3]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., <i>Makieta...</i>, 1949–1950], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Zaitz E., et al., 2011, p. 167]</p>
	<p>1241</p>	<p>28 March – 01 April 1241</p> <p>[XX, Wikipedia, <i>Inajazd...</i>]</p> <p>11 April 1241</p> <p>[Bartoszewicz K., 1890, pp. 6–7]</p>	<p>The first Mongol invasion – destructions in the settlement, the roof of the church could have burnt (the building was located in an open settlement which was burnt during the invasion).</p> <p>[XX, Wikipedia, <i>Inajazd...</i>]</p>
	<p>1241 ?</p> <p>1242 ??</p>	<p>soon after the destruction (?)</p>	<p>Repairs after destructions (possibility)</p>

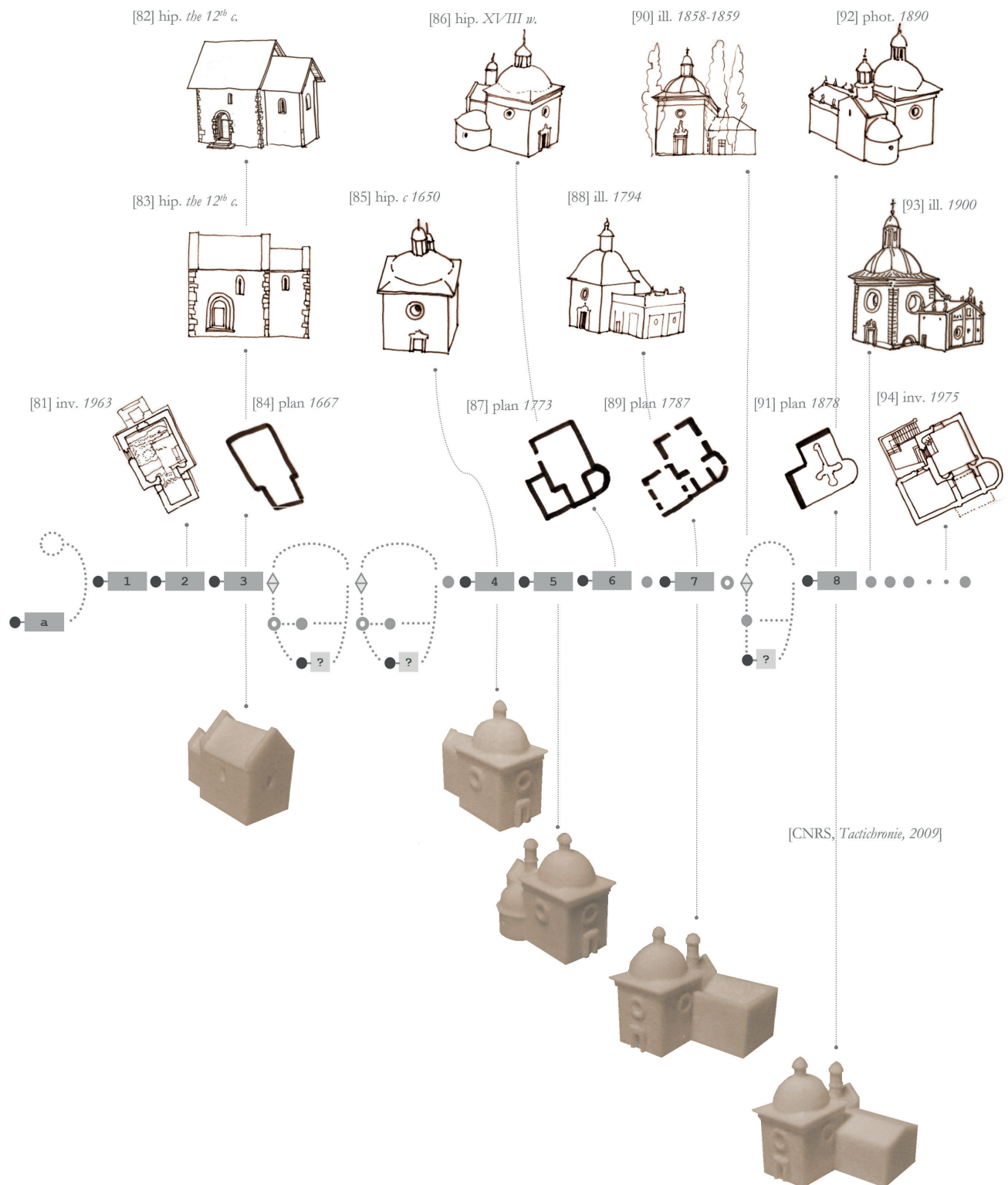
	1260	probably in the second half of February 1260 [XX, Wikipedia, <i>II najazd...</i>]	Krakow burnt during the second Mongol invasion – possible destruction of the church (roof?). The town was poorly secured, and was quickly overrun, Mongols also plundered the surrounding villages. [XX, Wikipedia, <i>II najazd...</i>]
?	1260 ? 1261 ??	soon after the destruction (?)	Repairs after destructions (possibility)
	1404	[Radwański K., 1975, pp. 169, 221] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]	Benefits of the church transferred to the Jagiellonian University under bishop Piotr Wysz (prebend). [Radwański K., 1975, pp. 169, 221] 1584 – report of a visit to the church by/for the Radziwiłł family: Romanesque church with stone floor (limestone, 160 cm over the original Romanesque level), new portal on the west side. [Radwański K., 1970, pp. 7–8] <i>Capella antiquissima in Circulo Cracoviensis civitatis [...] tituli p. Adalberti.</i> [Łuszczkiewicz W., 1900, p. 160] hypothetical reconstructions: [Tyszkiewicz P., 1390–1410, il. 1]
4	1611 1618	1611 – [Kleczkowski A., 1883, pp. 123–124] 1611–1618 [Radwański K., 1970, p. 7] [Radwański K., 1975, p. 169] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 480–481]	Baroque transformation – walls are raised, pendentives support a cupola (W. Fontana, ks. p. Mirosz). A marble floor is laid. [Radwański K., 1970, p. 7], [Kleczkowski A., 1883, pp. 123–124] 1667 – property of the Church and/or of the University [plan 1667 JG] hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i> , 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i> , 2008] maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG]
5	1711	[Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 481] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]	Construction of a sacristy flanking the building on its north side. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256] hypothetical reconstructions: [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i> , 2008]
6	1729	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]	Construction of a wooden chapel dedicated to John of Nepomuk (John Nepomucene) – a saint of Czech origin – on the South side of the building. Starting from 1781 it was dedicated to Wincenty Kadłubek (bishop of Krakow beatified in 1764). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256] The form of the wooden chapel is not known. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]
	1759 ? 1759	1759 – [Radwański K., 1975, p. 169] za Łebkowski J. i Świechowski Z. 1758–1759 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256] In 1787 Murray wrote: <i>Around 50 years ago, a town councillor, called Awedyk, renovated the chapel.</i> [Murray E, 1787, p. 124]	Renovation of the church – interior paintings of the nave and copula (A. Radwański). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256] 1820 –... <i>chapelle de St. Adalbert (?) qui pour son antiquité doit rester...</i> [plan 1820ir] 1834 – <i>église de p. Albert</i> [Plan de situation, 1834]
7	1778	[Kleczkowski A., 1883, p. 124] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]	In 1778 construction of a new chapel (masonry, with an attic used to hide a shingled butterfly roof). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256] 1787 – A chapel dedicated to Saint Adalbert: tasteful interior decoration, around 50 years ago, a town councillor, called Awedyk, renovated the chapel and had services celebrated in German. [Murray E, 1787, p. 124] iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1796, ban17], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [XX, 1820–1822, ban51], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban5], [Lipnicki F., 1835], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53], [XX, 1840, ban61], [Beyer K., 1858, ban85], [Walter H., 1858–1859, ban62], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [XX., po 1860, ban19] maps and plans: [plan 1773], [plan 1700_1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołtatajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804]
	1848	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]	During the 1848 uprising, the roof of the church was damaged following cannonades and fire by the Austrian army retreating towards the Wawel Castle. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256]

?	<p>1848 ? 1858 ?</p> <p>1848 – the roof of the church was damaged [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 256] 1858 – A photograph shows the chapel's roof: butterfly roof hidden behind an attic. [Beyer K., 1858, ban85]</p>	<p>Possible repairs to the roof. Three alternative scenarios can be mentioned: a) repairs to the roof – the chapel was temporally covered with a three-sided pitched roof (!?) [Walter H., 1858–1859, ban62], [Zinke J.W., 1855] soon replaced by a new butterfly roof. b) repairs to the roof – a new butterfly roof covers the building. [Beyer K., 1858, ban85] c) Damages were small enough to allow for a minor refurbishment. iconography: [Zinke J.W., 1855], [Beyer K., 1858, ban85], [Gozdarowski E., około 1858], [Walter H., 1858–1859, ban62], [XX., po 1860, ban19], [XX., po 1860, ban19] maps and plans: [plan 1850]</p>
8	<p>1862 ? 1863 ?</p> <p>1862 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 257] [Maliszewski W., około 1863, ban40] 1863 – renovation [Kleczkowski A., 1883, p. 124]</p>	<p>Renovation – transformation of the chapel's roof into a gable roof. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 257] iconography: [Maliszewski W., około 1863, ban40], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban20], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban63], [XX, przed 1868, MHmK FS12812/IX], [Cercha M., 1868, ban54], [Cercha M., 1869, MHmK 1171/III], [Krieger I., 1869–1871, ban21], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban64], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban65], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban66], [Krieger I., przed 1884, ban22], [XX., po 1886, MNK 20-f-127], [XX., 1890, ban9], [Rzewuski W., 1891, ban33], [Mączyński F., 1900, ban57], [Klein J., po 1901, ban87], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2924], [XX, około 1928, w Frančić M., <i>Kalendarz...</i>, p. 21], [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1966/II], [XX, 1939–1940, NAC 2-8332], [Kuźmienko J., około 1954], [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.], [Markowski S., około 1997, poczt.], [Krzan P., około 2009] maps and plans: [plan niwelacyjny 1878], [plan 1907]</p>
	<p>1883</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1970, p. 8], [Łuszczkiewicz W., 1900, p. 158]</p>	<p>Discovery of the Romanesque portal that was walled in and partially buried as a result of the progressive raising of the Market Square's level. [Radwański K., 1970, p. 8] iconography: [Krieger I., przed 1884, ban22], [XX., po 1886, MNK 20-f-127], [XX., 1890, ban9], [Rzewuski W., 1891, ban33]</p>
	<p>1899</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1970] [Radwański K., 1975, p. 169] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 257]</p>	<p>Renovation works (W. Łuszczkiewicz) – clearing of the Romanesque masonry. [Radwański K., 1975, p. 169] iconography: [Mączyński F., 1900, ban57], [Klein J., 1901, ban87]</p>
	<p>1907</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 257]</p>	<p>Renovation works (Zygmunt Hendel) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 257] iconography: [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2924], [XX, około 1928, w Frančić M., <i>Kalendarz...</i>, p. 21], [XX, 1939–1940, NAC 2-8332]</p>
	<p>1934 1935</p> <p>[Radwański K., 1975, p. 169] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 257] [Radwański K., 1970, p. 8]</p>	<p>Rescue archaeological works – draining of the foundations, recovering of the original Romanesque floor. [Radwański K., 1970, p. 8] iconography: [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1966/II], [Kuźmienko J., około 1954] maps and plans: [plan 1907]</p>
	<p>1961 1967</p> <p>Work started on the 25 April 1961. [Radwański K., 1970, pp. 8–9], [Radwański K., 1975, p. 169], [Firlet E., 2010, p. 20] 1967 – [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 481]</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations and investigations. (Muzeum Archeologiczne: Radwański K., Lenkiewicz T., PK: Zin W., Grabski W.). [Radwański K., 1970, pp. 8–9], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 481] Clearing of the Romanesque portal, various relics uncovered (paving of the oldest Romanesque building, walls of the first stone church, fragments of two wooden buildings, burial places). Opening of an 'archaeological reserve' to the public in the building's underground. [Radwański K., 1970, pp. 8–9], [plan 1975] iconography: [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 3], [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 7], [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., <i>Budowle...</i>, il. 5], [Kadłuczka A., 1975_21], [Kadłuczka A., 1975_22], [Kadłuczka A., 1975_23], [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.], [Markowski S., około 1997, poczt.], [Krzan P., około 2009] maps and plans: [plan 1975]</p>
	<p>2004 2010</p> <p>[Firlet E., 2010, p. 20]</p>	<p>Refurbishment of the church during a comprehensive renovation of the Market Square. [Firlet E., 2010, p. 20] new stone paving, conservation of the Romanesque stonework, renovation of the underground 'archaeological reserve' [Firlet E., 2010, p. 20] 2007 – opening of a new exhibition to the public [Firlet E., 2010, p. 20]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for *St. Adalbert church* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Eight phases of development have been identified. The beginning of the diagram underlines doubts about whether the first building was a church or not. We clearly lack information on the consequences of the Mongol invasions. Also, repairs following the 1848 uprising and its impact on the building's roof are ill-documented (only one visual source – an artistic representation what is more – suggests the roof's shape could have been deeply altered at that time).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for *St. Adalbert church* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Graphics in the upper part of the page include plans, iconographical documents and a selection of reconstructions. In the bottom part of the page tangible models (*Tactichronie*) represent various phases of evolution of the church starting from the city's location in 1257.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

stalls ‘*under Providence*’ and traders’ stalls /
kramy pod Opatrznością i kramy kramarskie



Visual measure of complexity for the stalls ‘*under Providence*’ and traders’ stalls.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are visible on this simple and short diagram – this however can be due to scanty sources.

Until now no relics could be attributed neither to the stalls ‘*under Providence*’ nor to the traders’ stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Stalls ‘*under Providence*’ and neighbouring traders’ stalls were small wooden commercial buildings situated on the eastern part of the Market Square, on the axis of the Cloth Hall’s and the Rich Stall’s intersecting passageways.

stallholders (*cramarii, institores*), stallengers (*revenditores*) [1]

In palaces of magnates – for example in *the Grey Tenement House (RG 6)* – rooms were rented mostly to Jewish merchants. In the beginning of the 17th century a Jewish Market settled illegally at the exit of *Sienna* street – although in the beginning the town Council tried to block this initiative, the market was eventually tolerated. [2]

Mentions of it comes from the 1634–1648 period. [3]

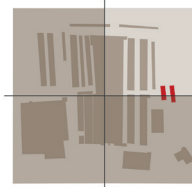
The emblem of stallholders and stallengers is their holy patron: St. Charles Borromeo (cardinal archbishop of Milan, 1538–1584) and the seal of their ‘congregation’ from 1751 represents St. Charles Borromeo with a cardinal’s hat. [4]

Note 1. cf. A. Chmiel, *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. aż do XX w.*, Muzeum Przemysłowe im. A. Baranieckiego, Kraków 1922, p. 9

Note 2. cf. Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek Główny*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2008, p. 73

Note 3. cf. XX. Plac targowy „Unitarg” na Grzegórzkach, *Place targowe wpisane w krakowską tradycję i folklor*, [on-line] Strona Unitarg, <www.unitarg.krakow.pl/o/unitarg.doc>, accessed 15 IX 2011

Note 4. cf. A. Chmiel, *Godła rzemieślnicze...*, op. cit., p. 9



stalls 'under Providence' and traders' stalls / kramy pod Opatrznością i kramy kramarskie

kramy na targu żydowskim

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 78]

[Tomkowicz S., 1926, p. 19]

kramy pod Boską Opatrznością

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 78]

[plan 1834]

[plan 1832–1836]

kramy kramarskie

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, pp. 77, 82]

kramy kramarskie nowe

[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 60]

nowe budy kramarskie

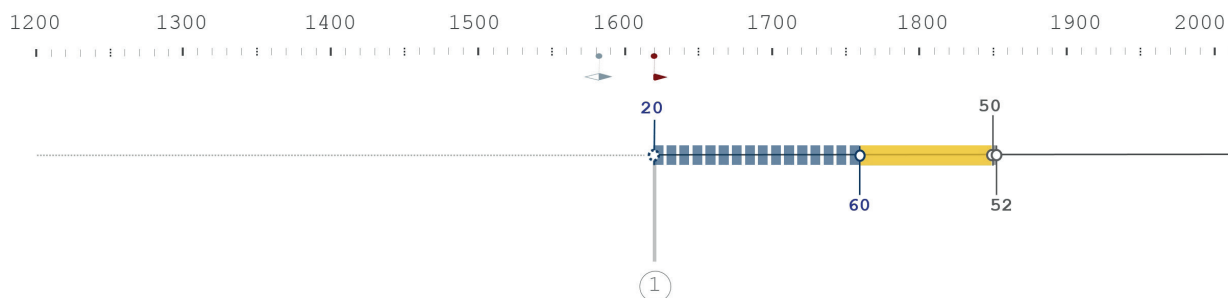
[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 60, note 64]

budy kramarskie

[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

kramy płóciennie

[plan 1834]



1

beginning of the 17th century

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 73]

1702 – A unique building is represented where the stalls are supposed to be situated.

[plan szwedzki 1702]

1760 – 10 stalls are mentioned.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 78]

1620 ??

1760 ?

contradictory evidence

1650 – The stalls are not represented. [Civitas..., 2007]

1667 – The stalls are not represented. [plan 1667 JG],

1773 – The stalls are not represented. [plan 1773]

Approximate period of construction of both buildings. The stalls were used to sell various products (*e.g.* canvas).

1787 – represented as wooden buildings;

[plan Pucka 1787]

Some more stalls, in two parallel short rows were localised where the Adam Mickiewicz monument is situated today.

[Tomkowicz S., 1907, p. 8]

1785–1804 – represented in two rows;

[plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804]

1820 – boutiques (shops)

[plan 1820ir]

1832–1836 – Represented as stalls not intended to be sold.

[plan 1832–1836]

1834 – Both buildings are identified as building number 4, linen stalls called stalls 'under Providence'.

[plan 1834]

a) Concerning the stalls 'under Providence':

The stalls were used to sell various products.

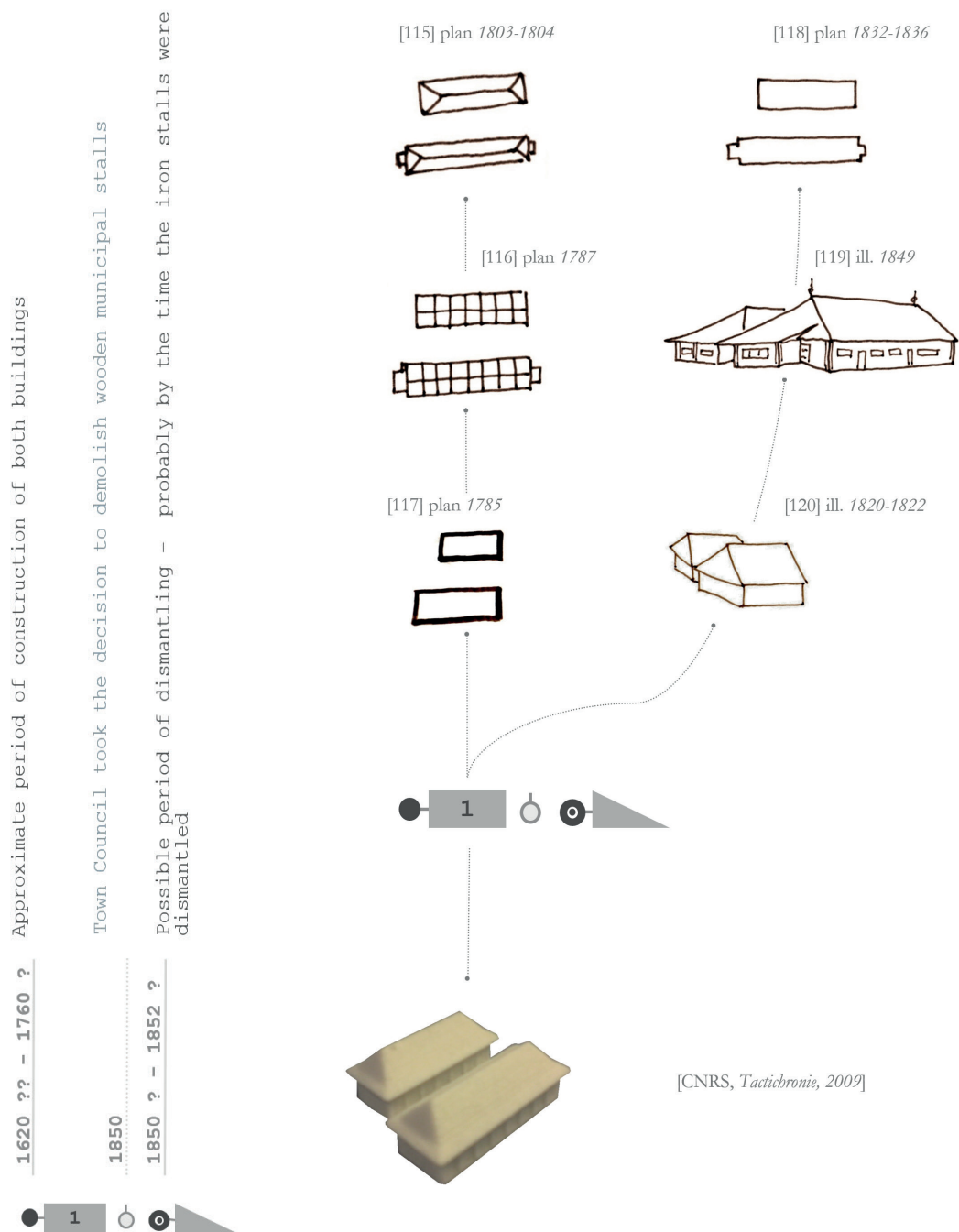
[Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 61, note 65]

1760 – 10 stalls are mentioned.

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 78]

Approximately 18 meters long when translated from ells.

		<p>1787 – stalls with various products, 16 stalls (plus small extensions on the northern and the southern sides), identified on the plan with the letter ‘M’ [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1792 – 18 stalls are mentioned (with their owners), roof in poor condition [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 82], [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, p. 61]</p> <p>1803 – linen stalls [plan 1803–1804]</p> <p>1832/1834 – stalls ‘under Providence’ [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]</p> <p><u>b) Concerning the traders’ stalls:</u></p> <p>Parallel to the iron stalls, closer to the Small Scales, almost opposite the Cloth Hall’s intersecting passageway, in two rows, next to the stalls ‘under Providence’. [Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]</p> <p>1760 – 17 new traders’ stalls are mentioned. [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, pp. 77–78] Dimensions of 14 stalls are given – approximately 26,5 meters long when translated from ells.</p> <p>1787 – stalls with various products, 14 stalls, identified on the plan with the letter ‘L’ [Tomkowicz S., 1907], [plan Pucka 1787]</p> <p>1792 – 11 stalls are mentioned (with their owners), roof in poor condition [Follprecht K., <i>Źródła...</i>, 2007, p. 82], [Follprecht K., <i>Nieruchomości...</i>, 2007, pp. 60–61]</p> <p>1803, 18034 – linen stalls [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1834]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i>, 1796, ban17], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [XX, 1820–1822, ban51], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53], [Brodowski J., 1849, ban254] maps and plans: [plan szwedzki 1702], [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1817], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834]</p>
1850	<p>02 XII 1850 [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1]</p>	<p>In December 1850 the Town Council took the decision to demolish wooden municipal stalls – <i>buildings in danger of fire and disfiguring the Market Square</i>. [Banach J., 1998, pp. 262, 392], [Czas, 1850, nr 287, p. 1]</p>
R	<p>1850 ? 1852 ?</p> <p><u>probably by the time the iron stalls were dismantled</u> (iron stalls were dismantled in 1852) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 155]</p> <p>1849 – They are represented on a drawing from 1849. [Brodowski J., 1849, ban254]</p> <p>Around 1860 they are already removed. [XX, po 1860, ban19]</p>	<p>Possible period of dismantling – probably by the time the iron stalls were dismantled. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 155]</p>

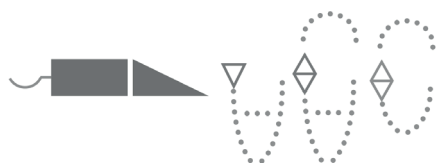


Left, graph of potential interactions for the stalls ‘under Providence’ and traders’ stalls – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Right, diagram with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. Only one phase of development has been identified for both buildings (form and plan known from cartographic and iconographic sources). Only a rough estimation can be proposed concerning the period of dismantling. Until now no relics could be attributed neither to the stalls ‘under Providence’ nor to the traders’ stalls.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

stalls near the minor traders' hall / *budy pod Smatruzem*



Visual measure of complexity for the *stalls near the minor traders' hall*.

The artefact's period of construction remains undetermined. The diagram also features a significant pattern: a complex chain of alternatives that follows the object's demolition (or dismantling). This is due to the lack of clear and available statements of what *exactly* was done during the 2005–2006 period, when both archaeological excavations and major construction works were under way.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

A commercial building named inside sources but only roughly localised.

The stalls were localised in an area that has been reused as part of Rynek Underground museum. Accordingly if the stalls were indeed localised in that area, there are chances that all relics are now lost. [1]

If evidence was brought to the fore that during the construction of the museum significant relics of the stalls were identified and removed, the lifeline of the stalls could possibly include a *translocation*.

Note 1. cf. Mamica M., *Plan wykopów (kolor szary) z naniesionymi relikami XIII-wiecznych Sukiennic oraz brukowanymi ciągami komunikacyjnymi (kolor czerwony)*, (2005–2006) p. 69, il. 2

[in] Buśko C., *Wstępne wyniki badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych prowadzonych na Rynku Głównym w 2005–2006 roku*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 19, 2006, pp. 67–70

XX., *Kraków Rynek Główny: Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego” uwzględniająca rezultaty badań archeologicznych w latach 2005–2006*, ill. 13

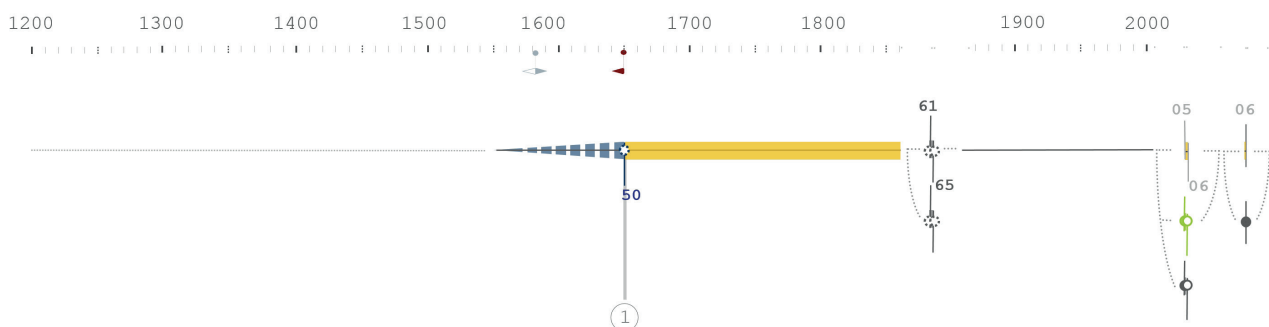
[in] Kadłuczka A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego” w Krakowie*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, No. 19, 2006, pp. 61–66

XX. *Plan Podziemi*, [on-line] Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, Podziemia Rynku, <<http://mbk.pl/zalaczniki/PODZIEMI%20A1%20awers.jpg>>, accessed 11 XI 2010

stalls near the minor traders' hall / *budy pod Smatruzem*

kramy pod smatruzem

[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 83]



I

... ??
1650 ??

From 1560 onwards the market hall for minor traders (*Smatruz*) was integrated inside the Cloth Hall.
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 247]

An artefact that could be considered as the stalls near the minor traders hall can be seen on an hypothetical reconstruction showing the Market Square circ. 1650.
[*Civitas...*, 2007]

1667 – The area where the stalls are likely to be located corresponds to a zone marked as a municipal property.
[plan 1667 JG]

Undetermined period of construction.

Presumably a wooden construction.

1667 – A green zone (meaning municipal ownership) is drawn where the stalls are supposed to be situated – yet the actual layout of the stalls is not represented.
[plan 1667 JG]

1741 – 11 stalls are mentioned
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 73]

1760 – 9 stalls are mentioned
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 76]

Approximate length of 7 stalls was 15 meters (dimensions for two stalls are missing).
Dimensions translated from ells.

1796–1809 – situated close to the northern wall of the Rich Stalls
[Rederowa D., 1958, p. 92]

1803–1804 – Constructions flanking the northern part of the *Rich Stalls* are represented on a plan. [plan 1803–1804]

1834 – The same arrangement of buildings (as in 1803–1804) is shown.
[Plan de situation, 1834]

1832–1836 – The constructions flanking the northern part of the *Rich Stalls* are represented with the indication *not destined to be demolished*. [plan 1832–1836]

1836–1861 – Iconographic sources show wooden constructions covered by a pent roof, flanking the northern part of the *Rich Stalls* – they could be the *stalls near the minor traders hall*.
[Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215], [Krieger I., przed 1858, MHmK 723/VIII], [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken166], [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken167], [XX., około 1860, ban218], [XX., 1860–1861, ban217]

iconography: [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158]?, [Ekielski A., około 1850]?, [Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215]?, [Krieger I., przed 1858, MHmK 723/VIII]?, [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken 166]?, [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken 167]?, [XX., około 1860, ban218]?, [XX., 1860–1861, ban217]?

hypothetical reconstructions: [*Civitas...*, 2007], [Opaliński P., w *Rynek Główny*, p. 112]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG]?, [plan 1803–1804]?, [Plan de situation, 1834]?, [plan 1832–1836]?

R

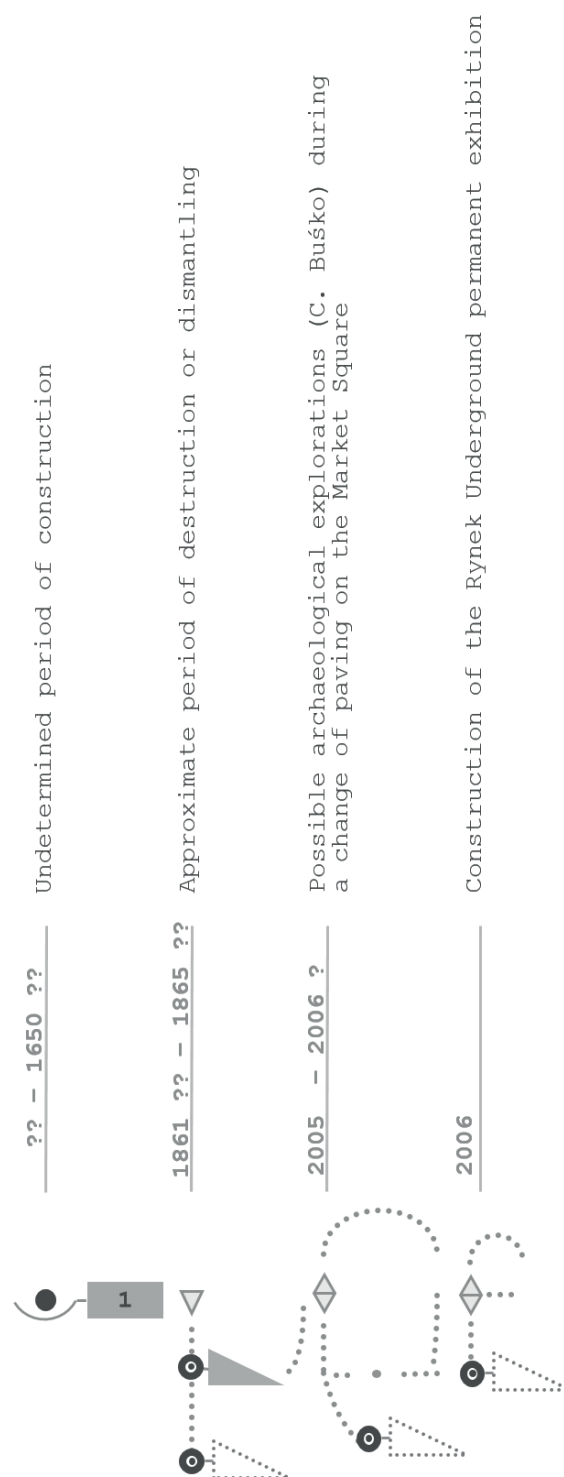
1861 ??
1865 ??

1857–1861 – Constructions that could correspond to the stalls are represented close to the north wall of the Rich Stalls.
[Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215], [Krieger I., przed 1858, MHmK 723/VIII], [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken166], [Walter H., 1859–1860, ken167], [XX., około 1860, ban218], [XX., 1860–1861, ban217]

Approximate period of destruction or dismantling.

Although dates given are close and well known, dating is shown here as uncertain in order to point out the fact that it is not certain that the constructions quoted in the sources are indeed the *stalls near the minor traders' hall*.

		<p>from approx. 1865 – These constructions cease to appear on visual sources. [Krieger I., około 1865, ban220], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban219], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128], [Krieger I., 1867, ban221]</p>
R	<p>2005 2006 ?</p>	<p>Possible archaeological explorations (C. Buśko) during a change of paving on the Market Square.</p> <p>The whole area where the <i>stalls near the minor traders' hall</i> were previously located overlaps the 2005 exploration zone. [Mamica M., 2005–2006]</p> <p>beginning of 2005 [Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]</p> <p>Investigations <u>started in August 2005</u>. [Buśko C., 2007, p. 225]</p> <p><u>March 2006</u> – pouring of a concrete slab [SkyscraperCity.com, 2006]</p> <p>Whether or not the zone was explored, whether or not relics were actually found (and possibly moved away) are unanswered questions. That is why a number of possibilities need to be considered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The area was left unchanged (excavations did not impact the relics), b) The area was investigated by archaeologists but nothing was found – the object had been annihilated before, c) The area was investigated by archaeologists, relics were found, but either considered as insignificant – and left unrecorded, or recorded and possibly moved away without us getting to know about it.. <p>maps and plans: [Mamica M., 2005–2006]</p>
R	2006	<p>Construction of the <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i> (Kadłuczka A.).</p> <p>The whole area where the <i>stalls near the minor traders' hall</i> were previously located overlaps the newly constructed <i>Rynek Underground permanent exhibition</i>. [plan 2009], [MHmK., Plan Podziemi]</p> <p><u>March 2006</u> – pouring of a concrete slab [SkyscraperCity.com, 2006]</p> <p><u>April 2006</u> – paving [SkyscraperCity.com, 2006]</p> <p>Whether or not the construction of the Rynek Underground permanent exhibition impacted possible relics remains an unanswered question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The area was left unchanged (construction works did not impact the relics – a somewhat theoretical possibility), b) The area was not investigated by archaeologists, but the construction works removed all possible traces of the stalls near the minor traders' hall. In that case construction works are responsible for the annihilation of the object. <p>iconography: [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 223], [Woch B., 2009, MHmK]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 2009]</p>



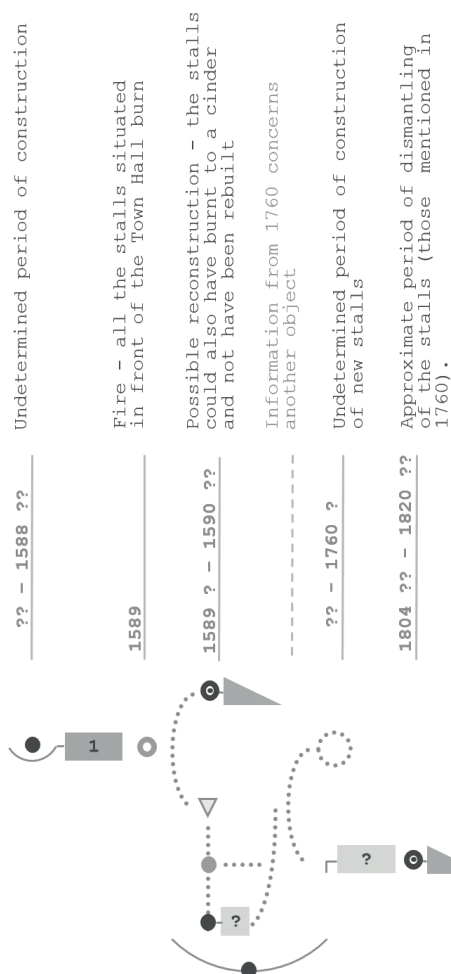
Graph of potential interactions for the *stalls near the minor traders' ball* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. Only one step in the evolution has been identified at this stage. The period of construction is undetermined due to lacking historical sources. The dating of the stalls demolition is approximate, and no evidence exists that it was not actually annihilated at that time. Accordingly, excavations and constructions works that took place in the 2005–2006 period could have impacted relics if there were any, but the fact that nothing was left cannot be excluded. Both the archaeological excavations and the construction works could have resulted in the annihilation of possible relics or could at least theoretically – have left them unchanged. In all cases we face here 'silence in the ether' – rather unexpectedly when considering that facts are recent and prominent.
[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

stalls near the Town Hall / *kramy przed Ratuszem*



A removed wooden commercial buildings, situated in front of the Town Hall. The stalls were used to sell gun powder, sulphur, nitre, etc.

... A fire in front of the Town Hall started at three o'clock at night on March the seventh. The tanners' stalls, the shoemakers' stalls, as well as all the stalls in front of the Town Hall burnt. The fire was so big that the market hall for minor traders (Smatruz) also caught a fire in several places. Gun powder, sulphur and nitre stored in the stalls in front of the Town Hall boosted the fire. It was said that the fire started in the shoemakers' stalls (a shoemaker's wife had left a fire in a stove-lid for the night). The bakers' stalls, the salt stalls and the pottery stalls have also partially burnt...[1]



Visual measure of complexity for the *stalls near the Town Hall*.

This compound diagram underlines a succession of doubts: lack of confidence in the fact that all the data collected concerns the same object (both forks), difficulty with the dating, as well as with the very occurrence of some transformations based on circumstantial evidences.

Until now no relics could be attributed to the *stalls near the Town Hall*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise, 2011]

Note 1. cf. Bielski J., *Joachima Bielskiego dalszy ciąg kroniki polskiej zawierającej dzieje od 1587 do 1598 r.*, Nakładem i drukiem p. Orgelbranda księgarza i typografa, Warszawa 1851, [on-line]

HistoriaPolski.eu, Teksty źródłowe <<http://historia-polski.eu/viewtopic.php?f=22&t=1022>>, accessed 12 IX 2011

Graph of potential interactions for the *stalls near the Town Hall* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

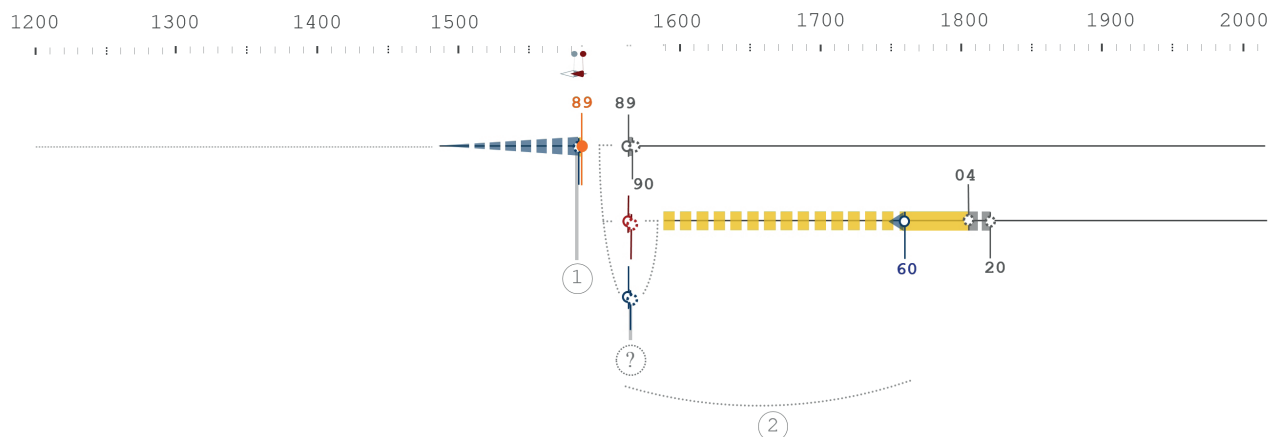
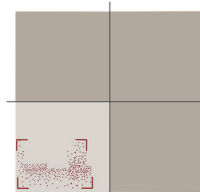
Only one phase of development has been identified as certain – the period of construction remains undetermined at this stage. The stalls did burn and consequently they could have been rebuilt or dismantled at that period.

Sources mention later on some *stalls near the Town Hall*, but the scarceness of the information available does not allow for statements concerning the relation (filiation?) of these stalls with the former (location, form, function are unknown). The period of dismantling of the artefact is approximate.

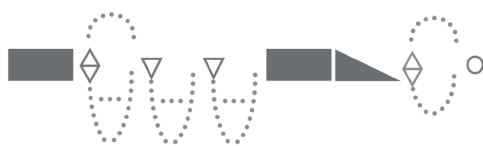
Until now no relics could be attributed to the *stalls near the Town Hall*.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

stalls near the Town Hall / *kramy przed Ratuszem*



1	<p>07 March 1589 – The stalls in front of the Town Hall burn. [Bielski J., 1851], [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 67, 72, 245]</p>	<p>Undetermined period of construction.</p> <p>A hypothetical reconstruction of the Market Square at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, shows wooden stalls in front of the east side of the Town Hall. [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p>
1589	<p>07 March 1589 – fire of the stalls [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 67, 245], [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]</p>	<p>Fire – all the stalls situated in front of the Town Hall burn. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72]</p> <p>A fire in front of the Town Hall started at three o'clock at night on March the seventh. The tanners' stalls, the shoemakers' stalls, as well as all the stalls in front of the Town Hall burnt. [Bielski J., 1851], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 72]</p>
1589 ? 1590 ??		<p>Possible reconstruction after the fire. The stalls could also have burnt to a cinder and not have been rebuilt.</p>
?	<p>1589 – a fire of stalls on the Market Square [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 67, 245], [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]</p> <p>1760 ?</p> <p>1760 – The stalls near the Town Hall are mentioned. [Follprecht K., Źródła..., 2007, p. 76]</p>	<p>Undetermined period of construction of new stalls – location of stalls could be altered as well.</p> <p>Two possibilities should be considered:</p> <p>a) Stalls mentioned in 1760 could have been reconstructed over the original – in this case they should be considered as a continuation of the previous stalls.</p> <p>b) Information from 1760 concerns another object.</p> <p>1760 – A note mentions 15 stalls. [Follprecht K., Źródła..., 2007, p. 76] Dimensions of 14 stalls are given – approximately 26 meters long when translated from ell.</p> <p>1794 – Paintings show wooden structures adjacent to the dungeon's south side (These structures may however have nothing to do with the <i>stalls near the Town Hall</i>). [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103]</p> <p>A hypothetical reconstruction of the Market Square in the second half of the 16th century shows a group of wooden buildings situated to the south of the Town Hall – <i>i.e.</i> where the <i>stalls near the Town Hall</i> could have been located. [MHmK, II poł. XVI w]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, II poł. XVI w]?</p>
R	<p>1804 ??</p> <p>1820 ??</p> <p>1820 – demolition of the Town Hall</p>	<p>Approximate period of dismantling of the stalls (those mentioned in 1760).</p>



Visual measure of complexity for the *tanners' stalls*.

The diagram points out a considerable number of doubts in data interpretation concerning the artefact's evolution (two confirmed transformations with unknown consequences and two potential transformations – *i.e.* based on circumstantial evidences).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

A single-storey building originally built of wood and transformed into a brick/stone construction. The stalls were used by tanners to sell the leather prepared outside the city walls.

tanner (*cerdo*) [1], 'red' tanner (*rufficerdo*) [2]

... The demand for leather was tremendous, both for its expensive and exclusive types, and for the ordinary and thick ones. Tanners were highly specialised – they worked only on a determined type of leather, in terms of quality and breed. Tawers (*tawyers*) were specialised in soft leather tanning (...) Expensive morocco leather was produced by 'safiannik', suede by 'zamszownik'. One of the most sought after type of leather was *cuir de Cordoue* (cordwain), that is, a goat skin; more rarely calfskin or lambskin, embossed, painted and gilded, used in the Renaissance for furniture, walls and binding books. Tanning of *cuir de Cordoue* was done by gold leather-makers. *Perchemears* were the ones who made parchment. (...) Cheap leather for sheepskin coats was tanned by 'kożusznik', and the more generally the skin of sheep by another leatherworker, called 'baraniarz'. Craftsman who worked with oak bark were called 'dęb-nik'...

... Tanners had to have access to the running water that is necessary for the tanning process. Before tanning, the skins were unhaired, degreased, desalted and soaked in water over a period of 6 hours to 2 days. Due to the unpleasant odours, tanning was considered as a noxious activity and was relegated to the outskirts of town – street names like 'Garbarska' refer to the place where tanners' workshops were located... [3]

In 1604 the tanners' guild's house (*domus contubernii cerdonum Cracoviensium*) was located in the Garbary quarter, behind the Shoemakers' Gate, close to Rudawa river (*in ante portam Cerdonia Sutorum*). [4]

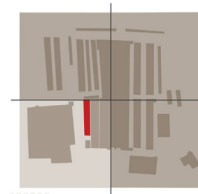
Note 1. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578–1591)*, T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998, p. 347

Note 2. cf. Idem. *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część IV (1598–1606)*, T. VIII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 2000, p. 325

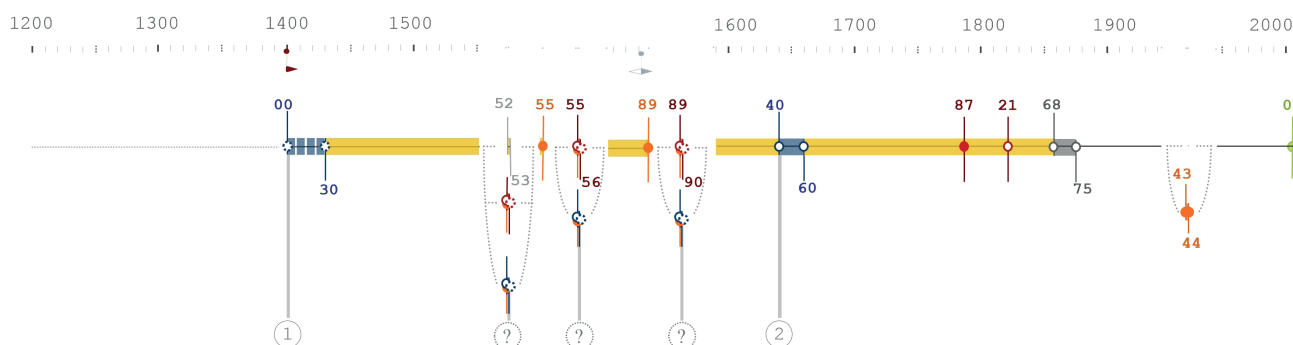
Note 3. cf. Żurawska-Chaszczyńska J., *Słownictwo rzemiosł skórzanich w polszczyźnie historycznej*, praca doktorska, Uniwersytet A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Wydział Filologii Klasycznej, Poznań 2010, pp. 141–143

Note 4. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część I (1568–1577)*, T. V, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1997, p. 213

tanners' stalls / jatki garbarskie jatki



Czerwonych Garbarzy [Banach J., 1998, p. 377]



1	<p>since the beginning of the 15th century [Sudacka A, <i>Wyniki kwerendy...</i>, MHmK]</p> <p>1400 ?? 1430 ??</p> <p>In the second decade of the 15th century commercial facilities of the Market Square were already completely formed. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 53]</p>	<p>Approximate period of construction of the first wooden building. [Sudacka A, <i>Wyniki kwerendy...</i>, MHmK]</p> <p>From the beginning of the 15th century onwards a number of changes occurred in the buildings occupying the Market Square – with the introduction of new facilities such as the Small Scales or of new stalls such as the shoemakers' stalls, the pottery stalls and others. [Sudacka A, <i>Wyniki kwerendy...</i>, MHmK]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 296, il. 141], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., <i>Makieta...</i>, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., <i>Rynek krakowski...</i>], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 104]</p>
	<p>1552</p> <p>1552 – a fire of the council members' house, the notary's house and the market hall for minor traders. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>Possible fire</p> <p>The wooden tanners' stalls were situated close to the buildings touched by the fire. The flames could engulf it as well, so the stalls could burn (at least partially).</p>
?	<p>1552 ? 1553 ??</p>	<p>Possible reconstruction of the wooden building.</p> <p>In 1589 the tanners' stalls were still wooden structures. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]</p>
	<p>1555</p> <p>04 November 1555 [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64], [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, p. 938]</p>	<p>Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – tanners' stalls catch fire and burn. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]</p>
?	<p>1555 ? 1556 ??</p>	<p>Reconstruction of the wooden building.</p> <p>In 1589 the tanners' stalls were still wooden structures. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]</p>
	<p>1589</p> <p>night from 6th to 7th March 1589 [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 67]</p>	<p>A fire of the building. Soon after a complaint was lodged to the municipality because shoemakers and tanners intended to rebuild their stalls in wood again. [Tomkowicz S., 1926 p. 29]</p>
?	<p>1589 ? 1590 ??</p>	<p>Reconstruction of the stalls (still a wooden structure?) [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Świszczowski S., 1948, p. 297, il. 142], [Opaliński P., 2007, w Rynek Główny, p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.]</p>

1614

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94],
[Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

The condition of commercial facilities on the Market Square is so poor that a town clerk does not undertake their registration.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 94], [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 72]

2

1640 ?
1660 ?

The southern wall of the tanners' stalls was reported recently as dating back to the middle of the 17th century.
[Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 145–146]

Construction of a new single-storey brick building for the tanners' stalls – shorter than the neighbouring shoemakers' stalls.

The south wall of the tanners' stalls (built from Baroque bricks on a shallow continuous footing, dated back to the middle of the 17th century) is stratigraphically connected to the wall of a small cellar (object B – a construction touching the northern wall of the shoemakers' stalls).

[Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 145–146, il. 1, 23, 24]

Interior (object B): dirt floor with crushed clay, a layer hardened by stones, gravel and rubble.

[XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il. 28], [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97]

1650 – A hypothetical reconstruction still shows a wooden building.
[*Civitas...*, 2007]

1667 – Tanners' stalls are marked as a municipal property.
[plan 1667 JG]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106], [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120], [Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., *Restauracja...*, il. 63], [Ekielski A., około 1850], [Beyer K., 1858, ban239], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban240], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban244], [Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131], [XX., przed 1868, Grabowski A. Kraków..., p. 28], [XX. *Plan Sukiennic i Kramów...*, przed 1868], [Krieger I., około 1868, ban249], [Walter H., około 1868], [Czachórski W., przed 1873], [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., *Ochrona...*, il. 13], [XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [Krieger I., 1874–1875, ban246], [Krieger I., 1875, ban250], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, *od Szewskiej*], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom], [Bojś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il. 24]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [plan 1773], [plan Żebrowskiego], [plan 1700_1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerzys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813], [plan 1817], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [plan 1836], [plan 1850], [plan 2003–2007], [plan 2004, w Kłuj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il. 1]

1787

1787
inscription on the western wall of the building: *Renovatum sumptu contubernii rufercerdonum civium Cracoviensium Anno Domini 1787 – 10 julii*.
[Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 93–94]

Renovation due to a visit of king Stanisław II August in Krakow.
[Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 93–94]

1787 – The tanners' stalls were shorter and more narrow than the shoemakers' stalls.
[Tomkowicz S., 1907, pp. 7–8], [plan Pucka 1787]

1787 – In the western wall there were a number of partially barred windows opening on the Market Square, and an inscription: *Renovatum sumptu contubernii rufercerdonum civium Cracoviensium Anno Domini 1787 – 10 julii*.
[Rederowa D., 1958, pp. 93–94]

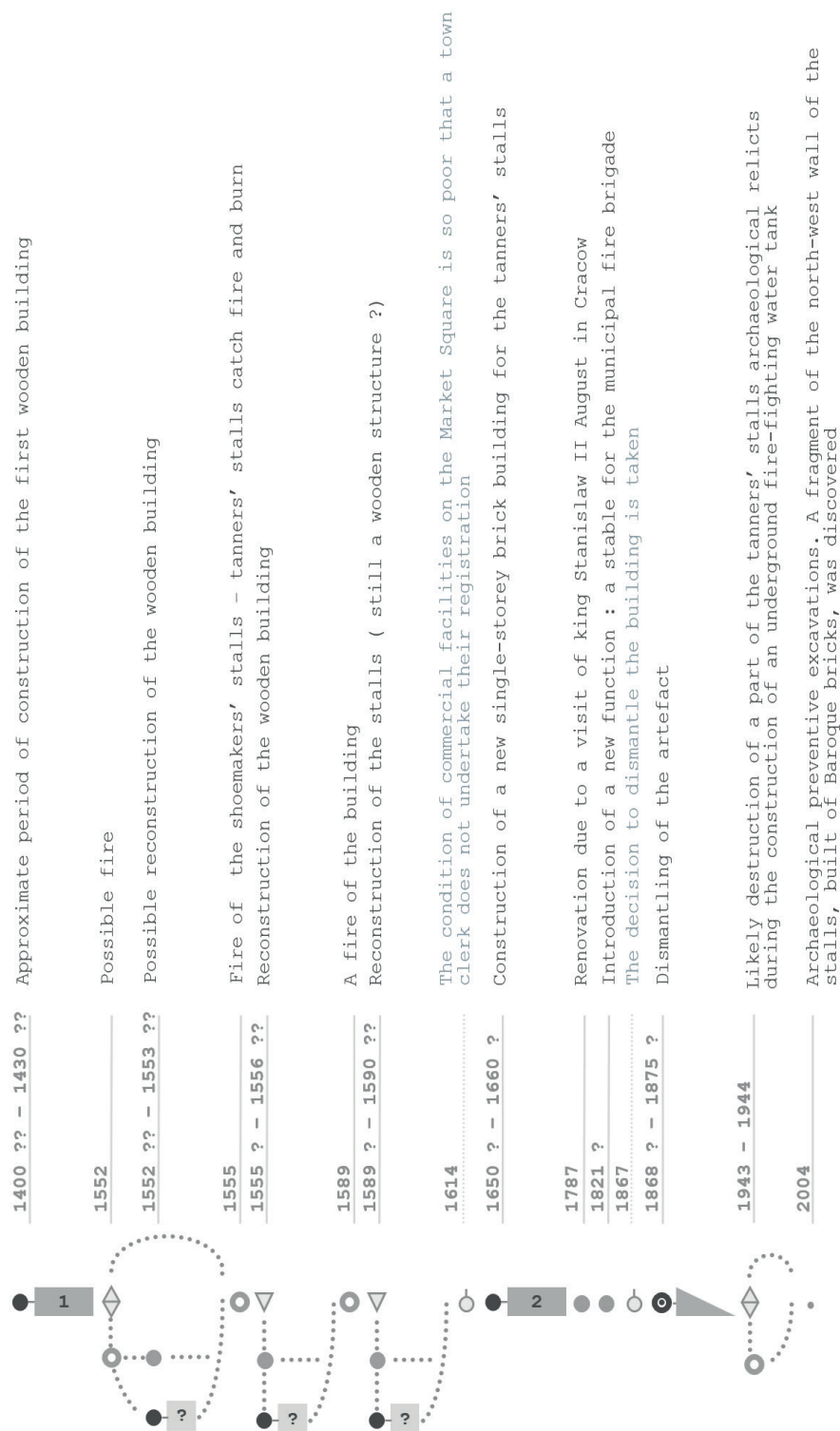
1802–1808 – The edifice appears as divided into unequal portions.
[plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerzys 1802–1808], [plan 1813]

1807–1808 – An inventory of real estate in Krakow mentions the tanners' stalls as *Aerarial Tuchlauben* (number 2).
[Münch H., 1959, p. 11]

1817 – Marked as a stone and brick building. [plan 1817]

1820 – *des Corroiers* (tanners) [plan 1820ir]

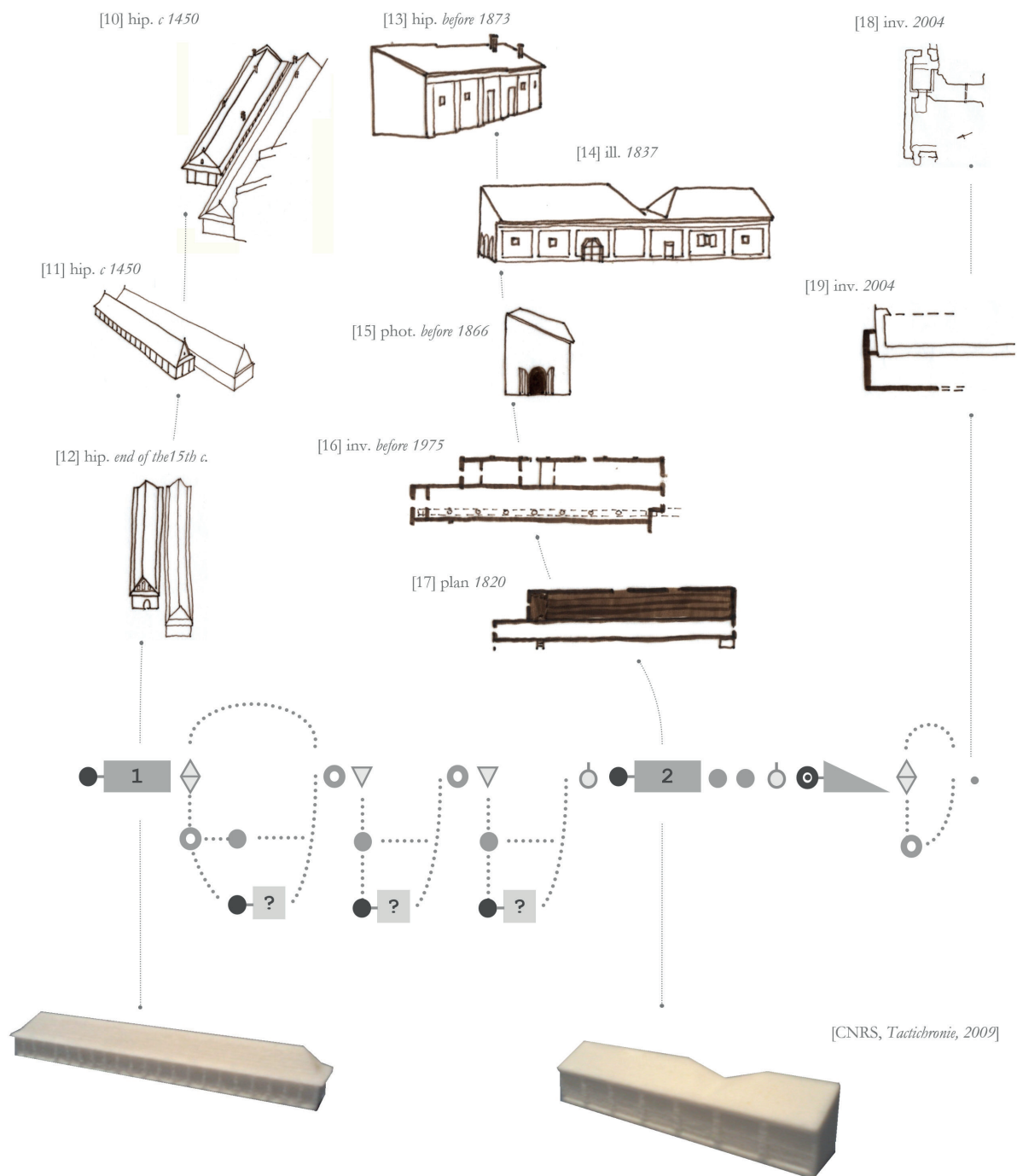
		<p>Introduction of a new function: a stable for the municipal fire brigade. [Banach J., 1998, p. 377], [Czas, 1861, nr 185, p. 2]</p> <p>1832–1836 – not planned for sale. [plan 1832–1836]</p> <p>1834 – marked as a building to be demolished [Plan de situation, 1834]</p> <p>1834 – The building is represented as divided into two parts (the tanners stalls are situated in the northern part). [plan 1834]</p> <p>1861 –... <i>stables built 40 years ago...</i> [Banach J., 1998, p. 377], [Czas, 1861, nr 185, p. 2]</p> <p>1865 –... <i>The shoemakers' stalls (...) hidden behind municipal stables (...) that will probably be demolished because of the poor condition of the portion closest to the Town Hall's tower...</i> [Czas, 1865, nr 265, p. 2], [Banach, 1998, p. 375]</p>
	<p>1821 ?</p> <p>In 1821 the demolition of...<i>stables constructed 40 years ago...</i> is suggested in a newspaper – the object mentioned is in fact the tanners' stalls. [Banach J., 1998, p. 377], [Czas, 1861, nr 185, p. 2]</p>	
	<p>1867</p> <p>June 1867 [Czas, 1861, nr 140, p. 2]</p>	<p>The decision to dismantle the building is taken. [Czas, 1867, nr 140, p. 2]</p>
R	<p>1868 ?</p> <p>June 1867 – The decision to dismantle the building is taken. [Czas, 1867, nr 140, p. 2]</p> <p>November 1873 – Beginning of the dismantling of the shoemakers' stalls [Czas, 1873, nr 255, z 06/XI]</p> <p>1875 ?</p> <p><u>before 1875</u> – The tanners' stalls are still visible on a photograph. [Krieger I., 1875, ban250]</p> <p>1876–1879 – extension and refurbishment of the Cloth Hall. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 239]</p>	<p>Dismantling of the artefact. [Czas, 1867, nr 140, p. 2]</p> <p>1867 – p. Strzelecki writes:...<i>close to the shoemakers' stalls there is a one-storey building (...) transformed today into stables, and that used to be called the tanners' stalls.[After its destruction the city] will have to rent premises for the fire brigade, for municipal vehicles and for the municipal scales...</i> [Czas, 1867, nr 88, p. 2], [Banach J., 1998, p. 377]</p> <p>before 1875 – On a plan showing the site before the renovation and transformation of the Cloth Hall, the northern portion of what used to be the tanners' stalls is still called <i>tanners' stalls</i>, whereas the southern portion is called <i>Gospoda pod Góralami</i> (the highlander tavern). [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom]</p> <p>iconography: [XX. <i>Plan Sukiennic i Kramów...</i>, przed 1868], [Czachórski W., przed 1873], [XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569], [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., <i>Ochrona...</i>, il. 13], [Krieger I., 1875, ban250], [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom]</p>
	<p>1943</p> <p>The fire-fighting water tank was constructed at the turn of 1943 and 1944. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]</p>	<p>Likely destruction of a part of the tanners' stalls archaeological relics during the construction of an underground fire-fighting water tank. [plan 1975]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1975], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2]</p>
	<p>2004</p> <p>[Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 145–146]</p>	<p>Archaeological preventive excavations. A fragment of the north-west wall of the stalls, built of Baroque bricks, was discovered.</p> <p>Authors do not explicitly connect their findings with the tanners' stalls. [Zaitz E., 2006, pp. 96–97], [Łukacz M., 2006, pp. 145–146]</p> <p>maps and plans: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2]</p>



Graph of potential interactions for the *tanners' stalls* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only two steps in the evolution of the building have been identified as certain at this stage. The period of construction of the first known phase of development is approximate. The artefact could have burnt in 1552 and nothing is known about a possible renovation shortly after. The detailed consequences of two other fires (1555 and 1589) are unidentified as well – yet the possibility of morphological transformations of the artefact can not be excluded. The first documented modification of the stalls took place in the fifties of the 17th century. During the second phase of evolution two recurrent transformations took place (renovation and introduction of a new function into the stalls). The decision to dismantle the stalls was taken in 1867 – the building was removed between 1873 and 1875. The relics of the stalls were most likely partially destroyed. During recent archaeological excavations some relics that can be associated with the tanner's stalls were discovered.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *tanners' stalls* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Only two steps in the evolution of the building have been identified at this stage. The data concerning the artefact's early form allows only an approximate hypothetical reconstruction. The second phase of development is well documented (iconographic and cartographic sources).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Visual measure of complexity for the *Town Hall*.

The diagram underlines only one uncertain element (consequences of the 1555 fire) – the remaining indications show that after the destructive transformation a portion of the Town Hall's relics was readapted – this adaptation included annexation of elements of other artefacts.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

The Town Hall was the seat of the municipal authorities for a very long time. Neglected and abandoned it was finally demolished. Only its original ground floor – currently under the Market Square level – survived until nowadays. A portion of its now underground relics has been transformed and adapted into a café and a theatre hall. An entrance to these facilities was created in the 1960's on the side of the buttress flanking the Town Hall's tower.

The undergrounds of the Town Hall and of the granary were used as a municipal wine cellar (*piwnica Świdnicka*). They were transformed into a drinking den called *India*, and seemingly into a torture chamber and a prison as well. [1]

Town Hall administrator and chief of police (*capitaneus Praetorii Cracoviensis, hetman krakowski*). [2]

In Krakow, until the middle of the 19th century fire defence relied completely on the citizens. The Town Hall administrator (*hutman ratuszny*) was officially responsible for the fire security. At the end of the 18th century, this task was assumed by 'decuriones' – owners of houses in the city were organised in such a way that one owner out of ten would be responsible for the fire defence of ten houses. In 1794, the merchant congregation, crafts guilds and chimney sweeps were entrusted with the fire defence of the city. The congregation chose six of its members, who received adequate clothing, and were responsible for managing rescue actions. The youngest members of craft guilds, were supposed to be at the disposal of the municipality in case of fire (they had to report under the Town Hall). At the sound of the drum (in case of fire) they should come armed with axes, iron fire-hooks and cans to predefined meeting points, and from there rush to fight the fire. The chimney sweeps were obliged to participate in fire fighting actions, especially if a fire started in the area where they worked. [3]

... When the building of the Town Hall was being demolished the pile of rubble grew up to the level of the first-storey. It took a long time to carry that rubble away from the town. Clouds of dust covered the whole space of the Market Square, to the extent that it was not reasonable to open the windows... [4]

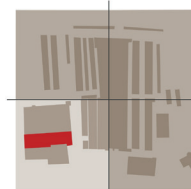
Note 1. cf. Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek Główny*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2008, p. 231

Note 2. cf. Jelonek-Litewka K., Litewka A., Walczy Ł., *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578–1591)*, T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998, p. 347

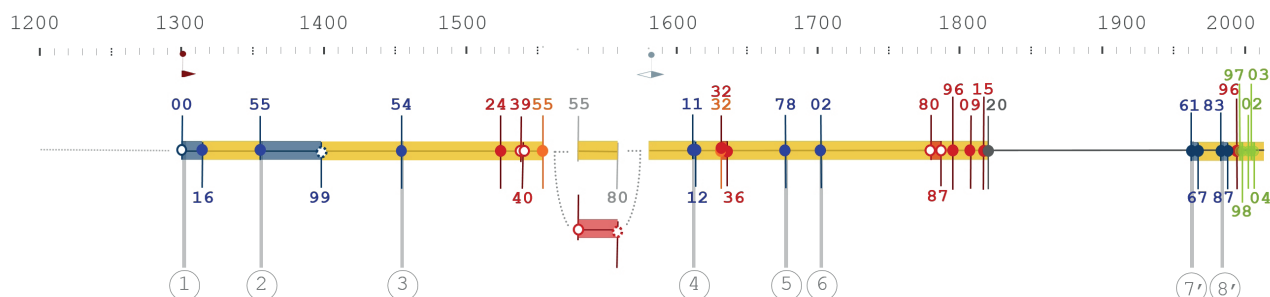
Note 3. cf. *Historia – Od średniowiecza do 1850 roku*, (2010) [on-line] Komenda Miejska Państwowej Straży Pożarnej w Krakowie, <<http://www.psp.krakow.pl/historia.php>>, accessed 02 VIII 2010

Note 4. cf. Girtler K. *Opowiadania*, t. I. s. 175 [after] Bi-eniarzówna J., Małecki J.M., *Dzieje Krakowa, Kraków w latach 1796–1918*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1979, pp. 135–136

Town Hall / Ratusz



Rathus [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 26, 230]
Rathaus [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
Pretorium [Tyska P., 2001, p. 121]
Rathhaus [Münch H., 1959, p. 11]



1

1316 – first mention of the *Rathus*, [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 26, 230], [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007]

1300 ?
1316
1316 – One cannot exclude the possibility that it was built between ten and twenty years earlier. [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 24]

Masonry type is reminiscent of the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Construction of the first Town Hall – two-storey stone building, rectangular layout. The Town Hall was connected to a simple stone and brick (?) defensive tower. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

The town Hall was the seat of the town council, *sąd ławniczy* (a court where a panel of judges, or a judge and two jurors, decided on cases) and the mayor's office. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 26]

Dimension in plan 30 x 10 meters. Only analogies can be used to comment on its possible morphology. [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 24]

In the beginning of the 14th century the Town Hall was a two-storey building. [Opaliński P., 2010, p. 117]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Komorowski W., *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p. 130], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 116, il. 5], [Kabrowski A., *około 1300*]

2

second half of the 14th century
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 57, 231]
1355
1399 ??
1355–1399 ?
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Rebuilding under the supervision of Jan from Toruń – a third floor is added. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 57, 231]

around 1450 – A note concerning the localisation of the bread benches refers to the Town Hall (*Pretorium*). [Tyska P., *około 1450*, pp. 121–124]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Kabrowski A., *II poł. XIV w.*]

3

1454
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Construction of an arcaded porch to the east of the Town Hall. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 33]

iconography: [Brodowski J., 1820, ban 195], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban 184], [Balicki K., 1802, ban 185], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Gottwald, *Ratusz XV w.*, 2007], [Christ F., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1950], [Radi C., *Christ*, 2000], [Radi C., *Essenwein*, 2000], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVII], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVIII], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, 1450], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.], [Komorowski W., *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p. 130], [Kabrowski A., *XV w.*]

1524 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Introduction of a flat and of an office for the *hutman ratuszny* (Town Hall administrator and chief of police). [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

	1539 ? 1540 ?	turn of the thirties and forties of the 15th century [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Renaissance modernisation – introduction of large windows in the eastern façade of the Town Hall, change of the roofing material. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 35] iconography: [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184]
	1555	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Fire of the shoemakers' stalls – the Town Hall catches fire. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 64], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
	1555 ? 1580 ??		Possible repairs after the fire. hypothetical reconstructions: [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.]
4	1611 1612	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 43]	Extension of the Town Hall's eastern porch. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, pp. 42–43] <i>The eastern porch was uncovered, with slabs flooring.</i> [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 43], [Grabowski, 1850, p. 6] iconography: [XX., <i>Ratusz...</i> , przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., <i>Ratusz...</i> , il. 6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802] hypothetical reconstructions: [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 91], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 93], [Civitas..., 2007], [Gottwald, <i>Kraków 1650</i> , 2007], [Radi C., <i>Schmaus i Włodek</i> , 2000], [Kabrowski A., XVII w.] maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 2]
	1632	a fire [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40]	A fire – most probably the Town Hall's roof was burnt. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40] 1632 – purchase invoice... <i>50 ells of rope bought from a roper, a carpenter hired to lift pieces of wood up to the Town Hall's burnt roof...</i> [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40], [Grabowski, 1850, pp. 13–14]
	1632 1636	1632–1636 – The intervention was carried out with difficulty (and lasted long) because of the town's impoverishment. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 90] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Transformations in connection with the construction of the granary – communication is enabled between the two buildings and the roof is corrected. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] 1634 – expenses in relation with works on the Town Hall [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 42] 1667 – building identified as a municipal property, an entrance on the west side is visible; [plan 1667 JG]
5	1678	1678 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 233], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 44], [Muczkowski J., 1906, pp. 17, 19] <i>five years before the 1680 fire</i> [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 101]	A supplementary level is added over the eastern part of the Town Hall – covered by a butterfly roof hidden behind a parapet. Introduction of an arsenal and moving of the mayor's office to the granary. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] iconography: [Stachowicz M., <i>Pochód...</i> , 1796, ban17], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194]] hypothetical reconstructions: [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz XVIII w.</i> , LVII], [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz 1780–1782 w.</i> , LIX], [Radi C., <i>Schmaus i Włodek...</i> , 2000], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i> , 2008], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782</i> , 2006], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i> , p. 120], [Komorowski W., <i>Cracovia 3D</i> , 2011, p. 130]

10 October 1702
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007],
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008,
p. 112], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007,
p. 45], [Muczkowski J., 1906, p. 19]

Some of the corbels supporting the Town Hall's gallery fall down on Swedish soldiers and kill some of them. The gallery is removed.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 112], [Wawel Louis J., 1890, p. 43]

iconography: [XX., *Ulice i Rynek Główny jako tło...*, 1775], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17], [Balicki K., 1802, ban185], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Gąsiorowski B., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820], [Gąsiorowski B., *Północna...*, przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [XX., *Ratusz...*, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., *Ratusz...*, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban188], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XVIII w.*, LVII], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Bandurski R., *przed 1820*, w Brayer A., il. 2], [Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 120], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007], [Opaliński P., *Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782*, 2006], [Opaliński P., *Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820*, 2006]

maps and plans: [plan szwedzki 1702], [plan 1773], [plan 1773_Derisha], [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787], [plan pruski 1794], [plan 1797 z 1848], [plan 1800], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerzys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813], [plan 1820ir]

1702 ?
1749 ?

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

The condition of the Town Hall deteriorates continuously.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

1713 – Water is leaking into the Town Hall's *Izba Pańska* through the roof.
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 45]

1780 ?
1787 ?

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008,
p. 119]
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Renovation due to a visit of king Stanisław II August in Krakow – the Town Hall is painted in pink (!). Close to the flat of the *hutman ratuszny* (head of the municipal police) an apartment for VIP prisoners is arranged.

[plan Pucka 1787], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 119]

1787 – Murray describes the Town Hall as a longitudinal, dark building devoid of any interest, with only one exception: *one chamber on the ground floor*. The cellars of the Town hall ensemble are at that time inhabited by very poor families.
[Murray E, 1787, pp. 86,123]

1792 – Vaulting of the Town Hall in poor condition – threatens to collapse, and with it all of the edifice.
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 47], [Follprecht K., *Nieruchomości...*, 2007, p. 16]

1797 – Water is still leaking through the Town Hall's roof.
[Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 47]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Smuglewicz F., 1794, 1796]

maps and plans: [plan kołłątajowski 1785], [plan Pucka 1787]

1796

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008,
p. 127]
[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Function of the Town hall changes – it is used as a storehouse for junk. Transformation into offices for Austrians and later on for the Napoleonic administration is considered.

[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

1807/08 – Identified as building number 1 – *Rathhaus*
[Münch H., 1959, p. 11]

iconography: [Stachowicz M., *Pochód...*, 1796, ban17], [Balicki K., 1802, ban185], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6]

maps and plans: [plan 1797 z 1848]

	1809	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 129] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	<p>Change of owner following the incorporation of Krakow to the <i>Duchy of Warsaw</i>. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107] maps and plans: [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1813]</p>
	1815	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	<p>The Town Hall ensemble is a governmental property of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i>. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Gąsiorowski B., <i>Ratusz...</i>, przed 1820], [Gąsiorowski B., <i>Północna...</i>, przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [XX., <i>Ratusz...</i>, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., <i>Ratusz...</i>, il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban188], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Bandurski R., <i>przed 1820</i>, w Brayer A., il. 2], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820</i>, 2006]</p>
R	1820	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 134, 230] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	<p>Demolition of the Town Hall – only the original ground floor (basement at the period of demolition) is preserved. Some architectural elements were preserved, but were scattered. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>1817 – Decision is taken to tear down the granary, but to preserve <i>as lasting memory</i> the Town Hall, its tower and the guardhouse. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i>, 2007, pp. 47–48]</p> <p>1819 – The decision concerning the Town Halls demolition was taken. Precise reasons for the demolition are not clear, but one of them must be that the building was in a very poor condition. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134]</p> <p>A portion of the stones from the Town Hall were handed over for the construction of municipal sewage system. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134]</p> <p>1820 – <i>vielle maison de ville abattue</i> (old, already demolished town hall) [plan 1820ir]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1975], [plan 2003–2007]</p>
7'	1961 1967	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 217–218, 234]	<p>Adaptation of a portion of the underground relics of the Town Hall – reconstruction of vaulting, construction of new rooms in the former location of the dungeon's courtyard, creation of a new entrance in the buttress of the Town Hall tower, annexation of two chambers belonging to the granary's basement. (W. Zin, W. Grabski). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 217–218, 234], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>Construction of a concrete tunnel connecting the cellars of the Town Hall with the basement of the Cloth Hall. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 97, il. 2,3]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., po 1967], [Kadłuczka A., 1975_31] maps and plans: [plan 1975], [plan 2004, w Kłuj 2006, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1], [Mamica M., 2005–2006]</p>
8'	1983 1987	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 218]	<p>Modifications of the cellars arrangement – an additional chamber is turned into a theatre hall (<i>teatr Maszkaron</i>). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 218], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>1996 – The new room was taken over by the Ludowy Theatre.</p>

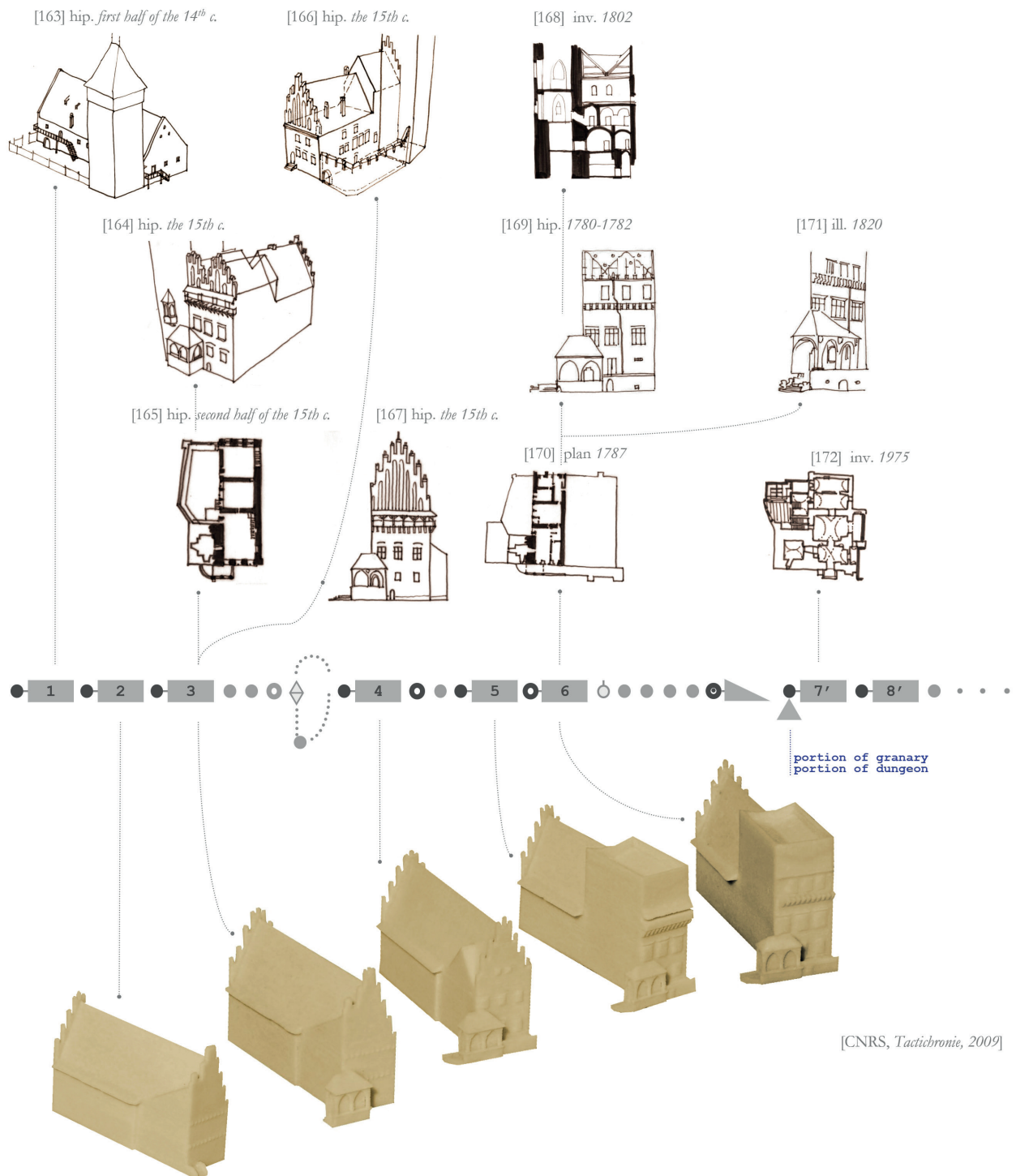
1996	[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]	Insulation of walls and ceilings of the theatre and café. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]
1997 1998	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 234]	Renovation of the cellars – historical, architectural and archaeological investigations (A. Karbowski, W. Komorowski, E. Zaitz). [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
2002	[Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]	The relics of the Town Hall's western walls are revealed during the replacement of the pavement. [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95]
2003 2004	<u>2003–2004</u> [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 210] August – October 2004 [Firlert E., 2010, p. 16]	Archaeological and architectural investigations of western parts of the Town Hall's cellars (relics of the walls were discovered, masonry type is reminiscent of the turn of the 13 th and 14 th centuries (E. Zaitz). [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 95, il. 3, 29] iconography: [Zaitz E., 2006, p. 102, 111–117, il. 3, 19–23, 29], [XX, Łukacz M., 2006, p. 156, il. 13–15] maps and plans: [plan 2003–2007], [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i> , il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i> , il. 1]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Town Hall* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Six phases of development have been identified – prior to the 1820 demolition, and two phases of development related to the reuse of the Town Hall's cellars. Phase number 7 includes annexation of two chambers of the granary's cellars, as well as of fragments of the relics related to the dungeon.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Town Hall* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. The shape of the first evolutionary phase can be proposed only on the bases of analogical examples, the form of the remaining phases of development are at least partially documented.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

'three stalls' / 'trzy kramiki'



Visual measure of complexity for the „three stalls”.

The diagram underlines the difficulties with dating the period of construction of the stalls.

Up to now no relics could be attributed to the 'three stalls'.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

A removed, wooden, small commercial building situated in the neighbourhood of the fish stalls – most probably to its north.

Unknown period of construction of the stalls

... ?? – 1750 ??

Approximate period of removal of the stalls

1804 ?? – 1854 ??

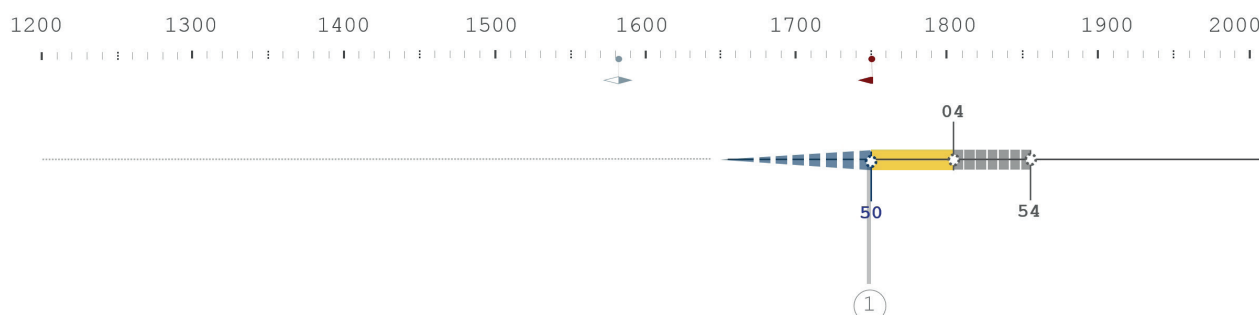
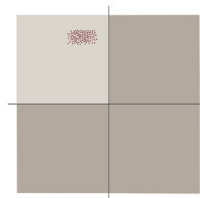


Graph of potential interactions for the 'three stalls' – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one phase of development has been identified for this artefact, the period of its creation can only be dated barely roughly.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

'three stalls' / 'trzy kramiki'



1

... ??
1750 ??

16 June 1777 – a description of the 'three stalls' [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 79]

Unknown period of construction of the stalls.

Wooden stalls, their exact function and localisation are not stated in sources – they were situated somewhere nearby the fish stalls.

June 16th 1777 – Inventory mentions: hereditary stalls of the Awedyk family, made of wood and localised close to the fish stalls. Wooden construction of the stalls is in poor condition. [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 79]

length of the individual stalls: 10,6 and 5 ells (*i.e.* about 5.86, 3.52 and 2.93 meters). The width of all three stalls was 6 ells (about 3.52 m). The tax for individual stalls was established on: 120, 100 and 80 złotych.

June 21st 1782 – Inventory mentions: stalls of the Awedyk family, made of wood (in poor condition – roofs in decay, walls are twisted,...) and localised close to the fish stalls. [Follprecht K., *Źródła...*, 2007, p. 79]

The dimensions of the individual stalls are the same as in 1777. The established tax was lower than before: 85, 65 and 50 złotych.

1787 – Three stalls bordering the fish stalls from the north are represented. [plan Pucka 1787]?

around 1650 – A group of stalls bordering the fish stalls from the north is represented on a hypothetical reconstruction. [Civitas..., 2007]?

hypothetical reconstructions: [Civitas..., 2007]?

maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787]?

R

1804 ?? The last wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square were dismantled in 1854. [Encyklopedia Krakowa, 2000, pp. 863–864], [Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line]

1837 ?–1854 ? – approximate period of removal of the fish stalls

1804 – A portion of the wooden stalls situated on the west side of the Market Square is dismantled. [Wikipedia, *Nieistniejące...*, on-line]

Approximate period of removal of the stalls.

The stalls could have been dismantled together with the fish stalls. This could however have happened before or after.

Town Hall's tower (belfry) / Wieża Ratuszowa



The tower (belfry) of the Town Hall was a symbol of the city's power and independence. It is the last overground element remaining of the Town Hall ensemble – also comprising the Town Hall, the granary, the dungeon and the guardhouse – that were demolished in 1820.

... The tower originally had a defensive character and was associated with the Town Hall. It had the role of a symbol, expressing both the autonomy of the municipality and its close relationship with the state (crown-shaped spire terminated by a finial decorated with the Polish eagle). ... [1]

... in 1680, on the 23rd of May, a frightful accident occurred – lightning struck the tower right below the knob of its spire's finial. Any rescue action was in practice impossible because of the lead melting from the covering of the spire. Due to a strong wind the fire was spread far and wide across the city. Then God released a heavy rain that flooded the fire. Nevertheless the tower, its clock and bell, as well as the Town hall did burn, all the prisoners were let out, a large number of weapons disappeared. The granary was just saved from the fire. ... [2]

... Today remains a tower of 15th century Gothic style, decorated with lesenes. It burnt several times, its last renovation dates back to 1784. Eight years after that, a new bell was cast – a gift of Stanisław August – on which names of towns councillors at that time are written down. From this tower a municipal trumpeter played Bogurodzica [Mother of God, the oldest Polish hymn] to all four sides of the tower, and trumpeters located on each of the 46 towers of the city's defensive system were supposed to play along with him. (...) The Polish coat of arms situated on the south side of the tower were replaced some years ago. From the windows of the tower there is a gorgeous view on the city. The tower is supposed to be renovated. At present there is a guardhouse of weird style flanking it, that used to be located ten years ago elsewhere, inside a building that was demolished after the renovation of the Cloth Hall. ... [3]

... In a 1821 issue of the weekly [later quarterly] 'Krakow Bee' newspaper Senator Soczyński writes an article entitled "Remarks about the embellishment of Krakow" in which he advises to demolish: "the Gothic clock, that by itself is worth nothing, that cannot be left as it is, and that attempts to reuse either by extending it with a new construction or by connecting it to the Cloth Hall would be too costly and would be an indecency going beyond ridiculousness or bad taste."... [4]

Visual measure of complexity for the *Town Hall's tower*.

This very short and simple diagram shows there are no significant differences in the interpretation of the data concerning the Town Hall's tower, although it is one of the oldest and one of the most often changed edifice of all those on the Market Square.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

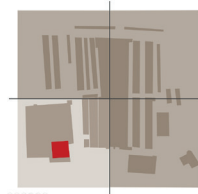
Note 1. cf. Komorowski W., Follprecht K., Rozwój urbanistyczno-architektoniczny Krakowa intra muros w czasach nowożytnych, p. 182 [in] Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta, edited by J. Wyrozumski, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Biblioteka Krakowska, nr 150, Kraków 2007, pp. 156–186

Note 2. cf. Description of the 1680 fire of the Town Hall's tower, found in the knob of the spires finial – Jan Gaudenty Zacherla (town councillor and municipal buildings administrator) [in] Adamczewski J., Nie od razu Kraków rozkopano, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1963, pp. 117–118

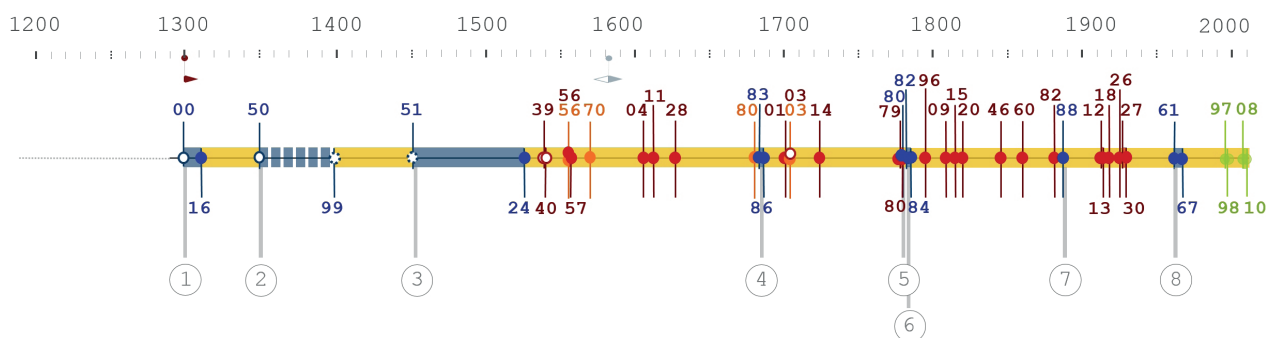
Note 3. cf. Bartoszewicz K., Księga pamiątkowa setnej rocznicy ustanowienia konstytucji 3 Maja, Edited by K. Bartoszewicz (Sukiennice 27), Kraków 1891, pp. 10–11

Note 4. cf. Muczkowski J., Dawny Ratusz Krakowski, Rocznik Krakowski, T. VIII, 1906, p. 40

Town Hall's tower (belfry) / *Wieża Ratuszowa*



thurm [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
turris (pretorii) [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
wieża ratuszowa [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]



1

1300 ?
1316

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 26, 230]
 [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007]

Construction of the Tower – two-storey, defensive, stone and brick (?)
 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 26, 230]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Komorowski W., *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p. 130], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 116, il. 5]

2

1350 ?
1399 ??

second half of the 14th century
 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 41]
 [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007]

Transformation and doubling of the tower's height (up to 40 metres).
 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 41], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 27]

3

1451 ??
1524

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 57]
 [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007]
 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

The tower is covered by a late Gothic spire (lead sheets painted in green). [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, pp. 32–33]
 In 1524 the tower is kitted out with a clock imported from Nuremberg.
 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231]

1521 – Introduction of a 12-hours clock on the Town Halls' tower – first half-clock in Krakow (*i.e.* one cycle representing 12 hours, a system becoming widespread in Europe at that time).

[*Encyklopedia Krakowa*, 2000, p. 1090]

iconography: [Firlet E.M., *Najstarsza...*, 1536–1537], [Van der Rye E., przed 1600], [Braun G., Hogenberg F., 1603–1605], [Dahlberg E., 1655]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Gottwald, *Ratusz XV w.*, 2007], [Christ F., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1950], [Radi C., *Christ*, 2000], [Radi C., *Essenwein*, 2000], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVII], [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVIII], [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta...*, 1949–1950], [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski...*], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 91], [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p. 93], [*Civitas...*, 2007], [Gottwald, *Kraków 1650*, 2007], [MHmK, 1450–1478], [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz. 1, p. 1450], [Komorowski W., *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p. 130], [MHmK, II poł. XVI w.]

maps and plans: [plan 1667 JG]

1539 ?
1540 ?

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231]
 [Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007]

Renovation of the tower – walls are plastered, oriels covered with lead plates, new windowpanes.
 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., *Ratusze...*, 2007, p. 35]

1556

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231]
 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

Fire of the tower.
 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]

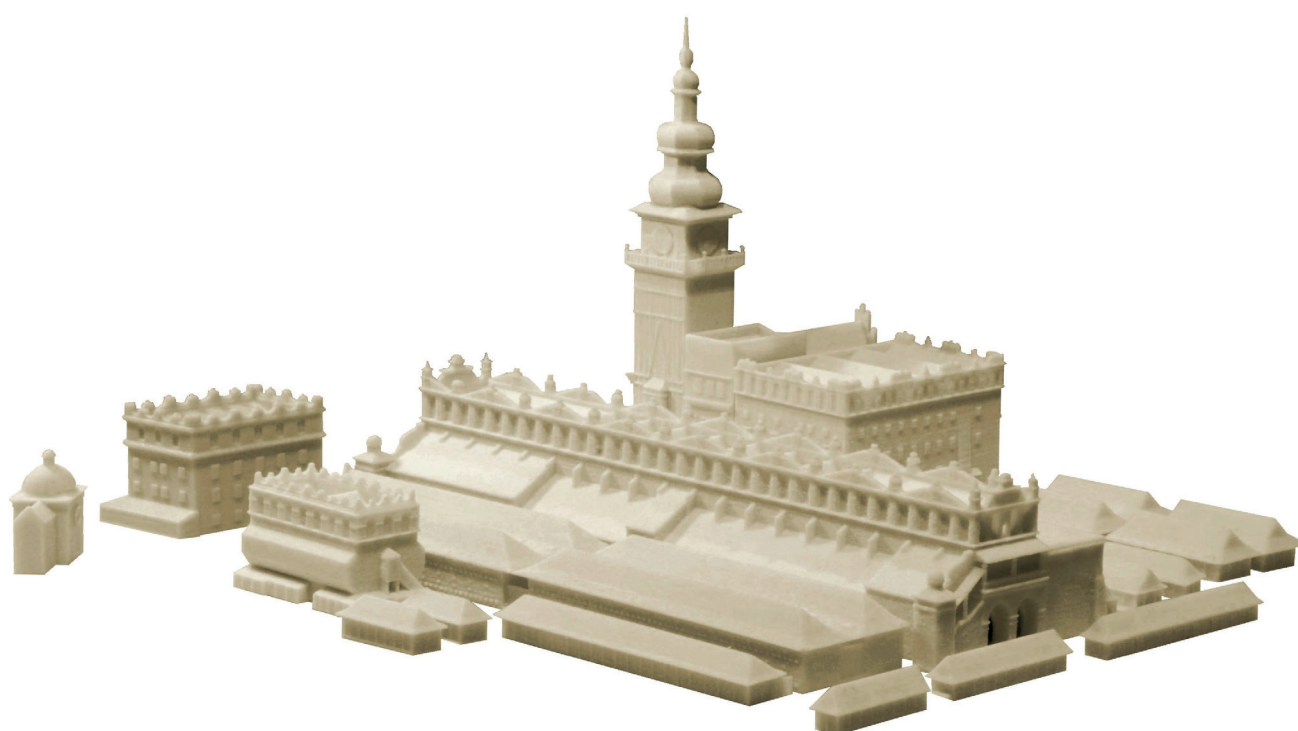
1556 1557	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Renovation of the Tower following the fire. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 35] Spire covered with lead, its turrets painted in green, point of the spire terminated by a crowning sphere covered with gold. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, pp. 35–36]
1570	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 231] [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 28]	Fire of the tower – tracery did not outlive the fire. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, pp. 28, 36]
1604	[Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40]	Refurbishment – coating. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40]
1611	[Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40] [Grabowski A., 1850, p. 13]	Refurbishment – repairs on the spire’s turrets (H. Horlems, J. Scholtz). [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40]
1628	[Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40]	Reinforcement of the Tower’s construction – metallic anchors tied between walls and porch underpinned with masonry. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 40]
1680	25 May 1680 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 99] [Adamczewski J., 1963, pp. 117–118] [Grabowski A., 1850, pp. 14–15] [Muczkowski J., 1906, pp. 19–21]	Lightning strikes the tower and sets it on fire – upper levels are destroyed, including the spire and the clock. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 43] 1680 – As a result of the lightning the tower caught fire – the Gothic spire fell off, the bell melted, and the tower burnt all the way down to the half of its height. [Bieniarzówna J., Małecki J. M., 1994, p. 419] <i>1965 – ...original Gothic wall faces uncovered, as well as stone framings of windows walled in after 1680. Rectangular windows revealed, levels tallying with the wimpergs [ornamental gables] decorating the facades of the tower...</i> [Zin W., 1966, p. 123]
4 1683 1686	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Reconstruction after the fire – The spire’s framing is changed, a new clock is intalled. As a result, cracks appear on the tower, and a buttress is added to reinforce it. The tower is covered by a multi-level Baroque spire surrounded with a gallery (created by Piotr Beber). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 100], [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 43] 1684 (22 December) – town councillor and municipal buildings administrator J. G. Zacherla writes:... <i>I commissioned Paweł Mieczal from Gliwice to make a clock [new clock for the tower] for 2900 złotych...</i> [Adamczewski J., 1963, p. 118] 1684 – installation of a new clock [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, p. 43] <i>The buttress was partly built from reused material coming from:...the wrecked western bay window. When [1961–1967 campaign] workers partly dismantled the upper part of the buttress, they found out that almost every block was a nicely fashioned piece of architectural detail...</i> [Adamczewski J., 1963, p. 120] iconography: [Włodek H., 1675–1700, ban 179], [XX., <i>Ulice i Rynek Główny jako tło...</i> , 1775] hypothetical reconstructions: [Radi C., <i>Schmaus i Włodek</i> , 2000]
1701	[Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, pp. 44–45]	Renovation works – partial replacement of the spire’s structure. [Komorowski W., <i>Ratusze...</i> , 2007, pp. 44–45]

	1702	10 August 1702 [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 45]	The Swedish army enters into Krakow and imposes a high tribute to the city. [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 45]
	1703	night from the 15th to the 16th December 1703 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 113, 233], [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 45] [Anczyc W. L., 1863, p. 142]	Spire leans following gale-force winds. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 113, 233] ... damaged by gale-force winds... [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 113] 1703 –... the tower, already weak, leans following gale-forth winds... [Anczyc W. L., 1863, p. 142]
	1703 ?	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 113, 233] [Anczyc W. L., 1863, p. 142]	Works to prevent the spire from falling down. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 113, 233] 1703 – The City Council (limited by army tribute) could not afford paying for important works...[The City Council] could only afford minimal rescue works... [Anczyc W. L., 1863, p. 142] 1713 –... the tower is in danger of collapsing... [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 45], [Grabowski A., 1850, p. 21]
	1714	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Metal sheets are removed from the spire's roof and replaced by shingles. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]
	1714 ? 1749 ?	[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]	Progressive degradation of the spire. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, pp. 45–46]
	1779 1780	[Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 47]	Reinforcement of the tower's structure. [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 47]
5	1780	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 41, 230], [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 47]	Removal of bay windows. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 41, 230]
6	1782 1784	[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 120–121]	Modernisation – a new spire is built (still present today) thanks to funding from the bishop of Krakow Kajetan Sołtyk and from the king of Poland Stanisław August. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 120–121], [Komorowski W., Ratusze..., 2007, p. 46] Cracks in the tower's walls are merely covered by a lime coating or filled with bricks. [Adamczewski J., 1963, pp. 120–121] 1787 – note: Tower repaired not long ago [plan Pucka 1787] iconography: [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103], [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111], [Smuglewicz F., 1794, 1796], [Stachowicz M., Pochód..., 1796, ban17], [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18], [Balicki K., 1802, ban185], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193], [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194], [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6], [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802], [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107], [Brodowski J., 1819, ban181], [Gąsiorowski B., Ratusz..., przed 1820], [Gąsiorowski B., Północna..., przed 1820], [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104], [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182], [XX., Ratusz..., przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., Ratusz..., il. 6], [Stróżecki J., przed 1820], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184], [Komorowski W., Cracovia 3D, 2011, p. 130], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban188], [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195], [Rogowski, 1820–1822, ban109], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [XX., Plan odwachu..., 1829], [Richter W., 1830, ban110], [Beyer K., 1858, ba n85], [Sosiński J., około 1858, T.I. 1868], [Stroobant F., 1858, ban52], [Walter H., 1859, ban89], [Walter H., około 1859], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban11], [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban219], [Rzewuski W., około 1865, ban90], [Brydak J., 1866, ban128], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243], [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban244], [Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131], [XX., przed 1868, Grabowski A. Kraków..., p. 28], [XX., przed 1868, ken 173], [Walter H., około 1868], [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban222], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban92], [Krieger I., po 1870, ban91], [Krieger I., 1872–1875, ban236], [XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569],

		<p>[Krieger I., 1875, ban238], [Ajdukiewicz T., 1881, ban113], [Krieger I., 1882–1884, ban97], [XX, 1881–1884, ban115], [Kossak J., Tondos P., 1886, ban117], [XX, 1886–1888, ban116]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz XVIII w.</i>, LVII], [Essenwein A., <i>Ratusz 1780–1782 w.</i>, LIX], [Bandurski R., <i>przed 1820</i>, w Brayer A., il. 2], [Radi C., 1829–1881, 2000], [Gottwald, <i>Rynek XVIII w.</i>, 2008], [Opaliński P., 2007, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 120], [Komorowski W. et al., 2007], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782</i>, 2006], [Opaliński P., <i>Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820</i>, 2006]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan Pucka 1787], [plan senacki 1802–1808], [senacki-przerys 1802–1808], [plan 1803–1804], [plan 1813], [plan 1820ir], [Plan de situation, 1834], [plan 1832–1836], [plan 1834], [plan 1836], [plan 1850], [plan niwelacyjny 1878]</p>
1796	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 127] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>The tower becomes the property of the Austrian authorities. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>
1809	<p>July 1809 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 127] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>Incorporation of Krakow into Duchy of Warsaw (tower changes owner). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 127], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802] maps and plans: [plan 1803–1804]</p>
1815	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 130] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>Between 1815 and 1846 the Town Hall ensemble – including the tower – is a governmental property of the <i>Free City of Krakow</i>. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>
1820	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 134] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>	<p>As a result of the demolition of the Town Hall and of the granary, access to the underground level of the tower becomes impossible (until 1961). [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>1843 – On the second floor archives were stored.... <i>Only sparrows could enter the archives room (through unframed windows)...</i> [Estreicher K., 1909, pp. 231–232], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 87]</p> <p>iconography: [Rogowski, 1820–1822, ban109], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824–1827, ban108], [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127], [XX., <i>Plan odwachu...</i>, 1829], [Richter W., 1830, ban110]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Radi C., 1829–1881, 2000]</p>
1846	<p>18 February 1846 [Wikipedia, <i>Powstanie Krakowskie...</i>, on-line]</p>	<p>The Austrian army enters Krakow, the tower changes owner. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p>
1860	<p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, pp. 87–88], [Czas, 1860, nr 209, p. 2]</p>	<p>Repairs on the cornices situated below the level of the clock. [Czas, 1860, nr 209, p. 2]</p>
1882	<p><u>1882</u> [Czas, 1882, nr 235, s.2] during the construction of the guardhouse. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 89]</p>	<p>Small repairs on the Tower – the northern wall and the buttress are filled in. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 89]</p> <p>... [for these repairs] they use small contemporary bricks although they could have ordered from the brickyard bigger ones (...) it is true that the brickwork will be hidden behind a plaster coating but nevertheless it is in contradiction with conservation rules... [Czas, 1882, nr 235, p. 2], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 89]</p>

7	<p>1888</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 234], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 91]</p>	<p>Construction of a terrace on the north façade of the tower, reuse of sculpted lions and baroque decorations left over after the destruction of the Town Hall (designed by S. Żołądani). [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 234], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 91]</p> <p>1888 –... <i>The heap of rubble on the north side of the Tower, from which one could get down into the cellars, was removed. The entrance is now organised in a different manner – a portal with stonework was built, a sculpted lion – formerly belonging to the town hall, and in poor condition – was installed on the railing...</i></p> <p>[Czas, 1888, nr 297, p. 2]</p> <p>iconography: [Rzewuski W., 1890, ban93], [XX, 1895, ban95], [XX, około 1895, poczt.], [XX, przed 1899, ban94], [XX., około 1901, w Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., <i>Rynek...</i>, il. 24], [Klein J., po 1901, ban87], [XX., po 1901, ban130], [XX, przed 1907, poczt.], [XX, 1911, ban12], [Rząca T., 1911–1912, MHF 3727/II], [XX, 1914, ban96], [XX, przed 1926, NAC 1-U-2337-1], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-1], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-5], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-3], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-4], [XX, 1926–1840], [XX., <i>Sukiennice</i>, 1926–1946], [XX, 1926–19146, NAC 1-U-2337-2], [XX, około 1928, w Frančić M., <i>Kalendarz...</i>, p. 21], [Kołowca S., 1930–1939], [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1967/II], [XX, 1930–1939, MHmK FS-7808-IX], [XX, 1931, NAC 1-U-2581-6], [XX, przed 1932, w Tomkowicz S., <i>Wieża...</i>, il. 12], [XX, przed 1932, w Tomkowicz S., <i>Wieża...</i>, il. 16], [XX, 1932–1941, NAC 1-U-2603-1], [XX, 1934, NAC 1-U-2591-1], [XX, przed 1938, poczt.], [XX, 1939–1945, poczt.], [[Kołowca S., przed 1940], [XX., 1946, w Czapska A., et al., il. 37], [Bulhak J., MHF KW760/90], [Kuźmienko J., około 1954], [XX., 1960, <i>rzut na wys. II, HAP PK</i>], [XX., 1960, <i>rzut na wys. I, HAP PK</i>]</p> <p>maps and plans: [plan 1907]</p>
	<p>1912 12 August 1912 – beginning of the works [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 91]</p> <p>1913 autumn 1913 – halting of the works [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 92]</p>	<p>Restoration of the tower (clock level and spire) – project of Zygmunt Hendel, executed by W. Małkowski. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 91]</p> <p>The plaster coating starts to be removed. [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 179–180]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., 1912–1913, ban14], [XX, 1914, ban96], [XX, 1914, fotopolska]</p>
	<p>1918 31 October 1918 [Frančić M., 1964, p. 165]</p>	<p>Change of owner – Poland regains independence. [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>31 October 1918 – Polish troops under the command of colonel B. Roja disarm the Austrian troops present in the town. [Frančić M., 1964, p. 165]</p> <p>iconography: [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-1], [XX, przed 1926, NAC 1-U-2337-1], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-5], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-3], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-4]</p>
	<p>1926 [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-5]</p>	<p>Intervention on the clock – dial is changed.</p> <p>iconography: [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-5], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-3], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-4], [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-1]</p>
	<p>1927 [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 206, 234] 1930 [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 92]</p>	<p>Restoration of the tower – removal of the plaster coating, partial change of the walls' facing, works on the spire. (F. Mączyński, T. Szydłowski, A. Oleś) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 206, 234], [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [XX, 1926–1840], [XX., <i>Sukiennice</i>, 1926–1946], [XX, 1926–19146, NAC 1-U-2337-2], [XX, około 1928, w Frančić M., <i>Kalendarz...</i>, p. 21], [[Kołowca S., 1930–1939], [Mucha S., 1930–1939, MHF 1967/II], [XX, 1930–1939, MHmK FS-7808-IX], [XX, 1934, NAC 1-U-2591-1]</p>

8	<p>1961 1967</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 218–219, 234]</p>	<p>Adaptation of a portion of the underground relics of the Town Hall – stabilisation of the tower (it was leaning approximately 60 cm), creation of a new entrance in the buttress of the tower, construction of a stoop on the north façade, reconstruction of the bay windows and of windows framings, conservation works on the spire and on the facing of the walls, installation of new faces for the clock, creation of a small fountain on the east façade. (W. Zin, W. Grabski).</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 218–219], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, pp. 93–94]</p> <p>The tower is handed over (in terms of administration and right of usage) to the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków.</p> <p>text: [Zin W, 1966, p. 123]</p> <p>iconography: [XX., po 1967], [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.], [Markowski S., około 1997, poczt.]</p> <p>maps and plans: [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., <i>Sprawozdanie z badań...</i>, il. 2], [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., <i>Badania...</i>, il. 1]</p>
	<p>1997 1998</p> <p>[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 10, 234] [Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007] [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2007, p. 94]</p>	<p>Non-invasive conservation works on the tower, archaeological, architectural and historical investigations. (A. Karbowski, W. Komorowski, A. Sudacka, E. Zaitz)</p> <p>[Komorowski W., ATIP, 2007]</p> <p>iconography: [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.], [Markowski S., około 1997, poczt.], [Kalarus T., 2005, w <i>Rynek Główny</i>, p. 223], [Krzysztof P., około 2009]</p>
	<p>2008 2010</p> <p>2008–2010 – conservation works on the first storey of the tower autumn 2010 – conservation works on the ground floor [Firlet E., 2010, p. 19]</p>	<p>Conservation works inside the tower.</p> <p>[Firlet E., 2010, p. 19]</p>



Tangible models (*Tactichronie*) representing architectural objects present on the Market Square in 1709, and notably the Town Hall's Tower at the time of Beber's spire (only the objects the location of which is known are taken into consideration).

top: view from the south, bottom: view from the east.

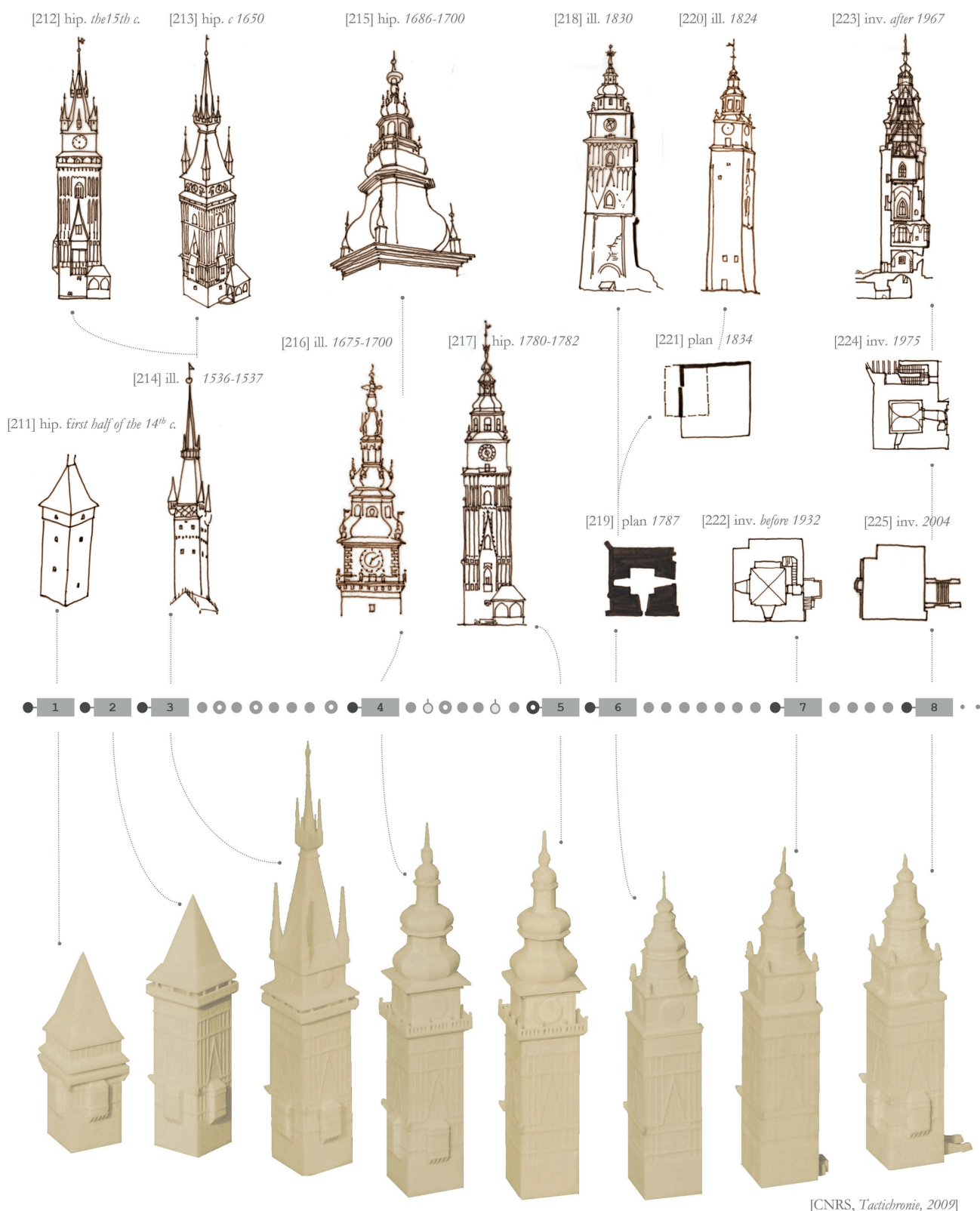
In 1709 Swedish troops entered the town for the fourth time. On his way to Russia, tsarevich Alexei Petrovich Romanov, son of Pyotr Alexeyevich Romanov (Peter the Great), stopped in the city. In the course of less than a century – during the lifetime of Piotr Beber's spire of the Town Halls' tower – four different kings reigned over Poland, two coronations took place in Kraków (August II and August III) and the city was occupied by a number of foreign armies – in 1702, 1704, 1705, 1709 Swedish troops entered the city, in 1711 and 1769 the Russian army did so, and in 1773 Austrian troops. In addition the Russian (1735) and Austrian (1759) armies stopped (sic!) in the city on their marches. cf. [Frančić M., 1964, pp. 89–100]

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



Graph of potential interactions for the *Town Hall's tower* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*. The linear layout of the diagram clearly underlines that, at this stage, although the edifice did change repeatedly over time, there are very little doubts concerning the nature and effects of the transformations that have been identified.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]



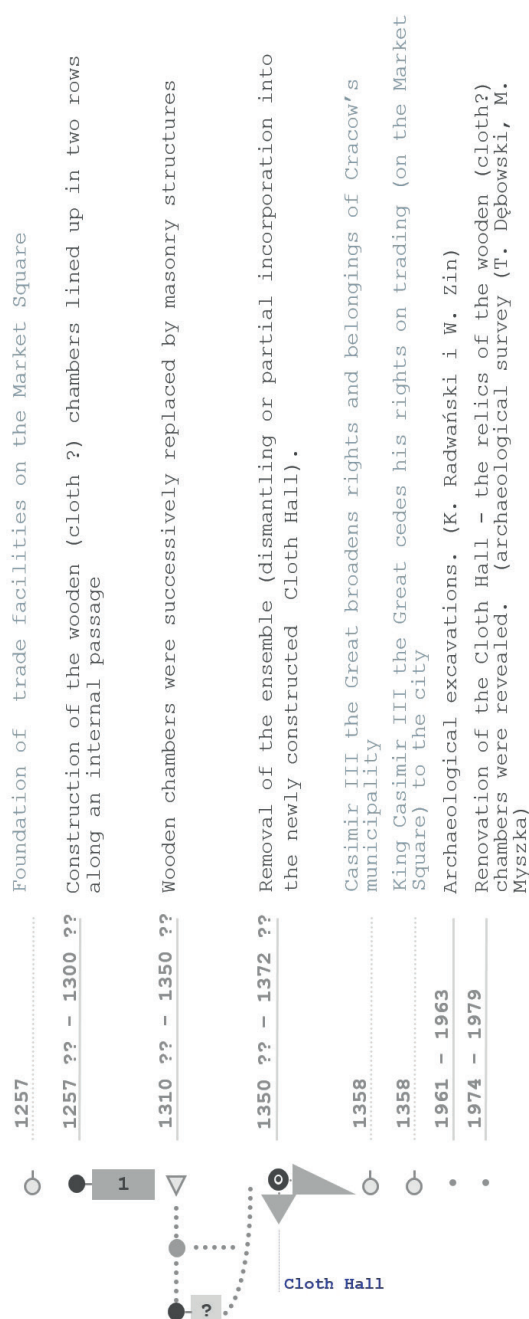
Graph of potential interactions for the *Town Hall's tower* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps. The Town Hall's tower is one of the oldest and one of the most often changed edifice of all those on the Market Square. Unsurprisingly, pieces of information available do not always allow more than hypothetical reconstructions. The corroboration level for reconstructions of the two earliest phases is fairly low. The number and shape of bay windows represented on reconstructions of the third and fourth evolutionary phases, as well as the spire and the clock level of the third phase should also be understood as hypothetical.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

wooden (cloth ?) chambers / *drewniane kramy (sukienne ?)*



A vanished ensemble of wooden trade-related constructions the relics of which were found under the Cloth Hall. Their function is not certain – a good portion of researchers considers this ensemble as the first stage of development of the Cloth Hall.



Visual measure of complexity for the *wooden (cloth ?) chambers*.

The diagram underlines the key moot points in the interpretation of the data available concerning this artefact: there is no consensus on whether the *wooden chambers* were replaced by the Cloth Hall or 'incorporated' into it.

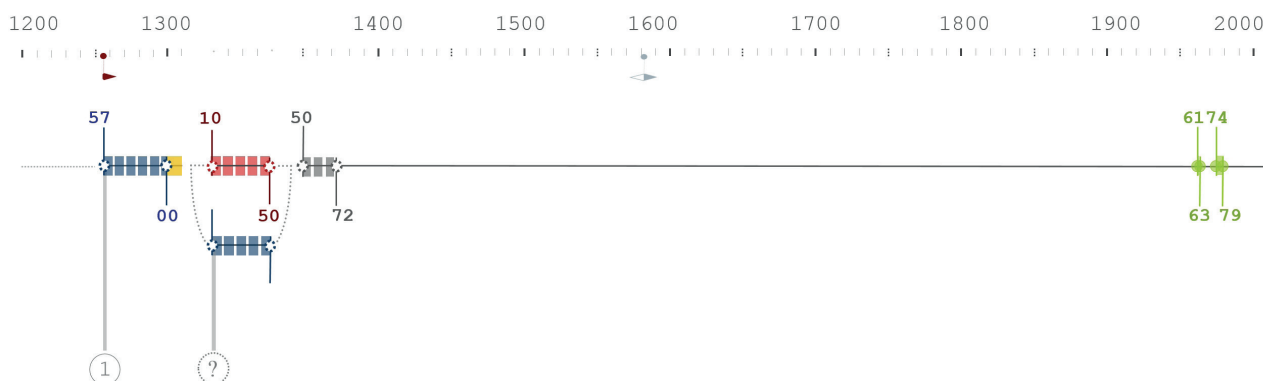
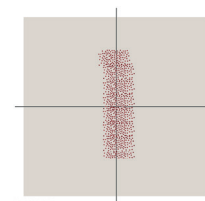
Relics of the artefact were identified during late 20th century archaeological excavations.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

Graph of potential interactions for the *wooden (cloth ?) chambers* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one step in the evolution has been identified as certain at this stage, however some evidence suggests there may have been a second phase of development. This second phase remains however hypothetical: switching to a new construction type does not necessarily imply morphological changes. The building was removed (dismantling or partial incorporation into the newly constructed Cloth Hall) and its relics were revealed during two successive archaeological campaigns. [I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

wooden (cloth ?) chambers / *drewniane kramy (sukiennicze ?)*



1257
05 June 1257
[KDMK I, nr I, p. 1]
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]

Foundation of trade facilities on the Market Square (Boleslaus Charter).

[KDMK I, nr I, p. 1], [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242]

1

1257 ??
1300 ??

undoubtedly straight after 1257
[Dryja P., et al., 2010, p. 182]

second half of the 13th century
[Buško C., 2007, p. 225]

at the same time as the Boleslaus' Stalls (i.e. second half of the 14th century.)
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]

Construction of the wooden (cloth ?) chambers lined up in two rows along an internal passage.

[Buško C., 2007, p. 225], [Dryja P., et al., 2010, p. 183]

They may be associated with the first stage of development of the Cloth Hall.

[Buško C., 2007, p. 225], [Dryja P., et al., 2010, p. 198]

... Contemporary of the stone built cloth stalls [Boleslaus' Stalls], on their western side (i.e. within the nowadays Cloth Hall) there were two rows of wooden buildings, that included also some wooden-clay structures). Those buildings were distributed on both sides of a paved street...

[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]

Ensemble of wooden buildings organised in two rows, separated by a paved, 6 meters wide route.

[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 21]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 121, il. 12], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 115, il. 2], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 101], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 115, il. 3]

?

1310 ??
1350 ??

second half of the 14th century
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 121, il. 12]

Wooden chambers were successively replaced by masonry structures.
[Buško C., 2007, p. 225]

This transformation could have modified the overall morphology of the ensemble.

Among the original wooden buildings, isolated stone built buildings are supposed to have appeared little by little, and got embedded in the later structure of the Gothic Cloth Hall.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]

hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 121, il. 12], [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, p. 102]

R/S

1350 ??
1372 ??

around the middle of the 14th century
[Buško C., 2007, p. 225]

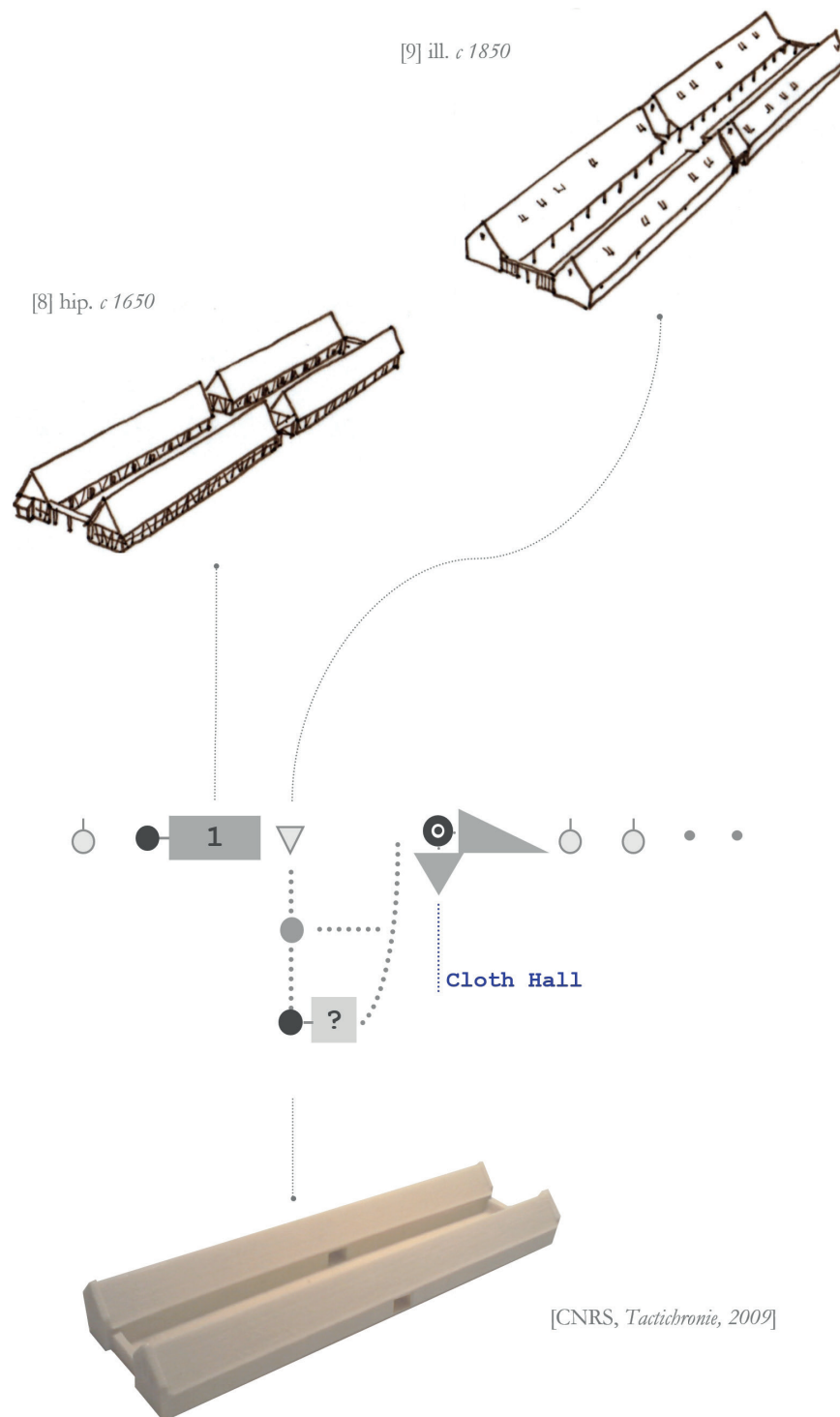
construction of the Cloth Hall, built from brick and stone (1376?-1402)
[Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, pp. 235-237]

Removal of the ensemble (dismantling or partial incorporation into the newly constructed Cloth Hall).
[Buško C., 2007, p. 25]

Some chambers were incorporated in the structure of the Gothic Cloth Hall.
[Niemiec D., 2008, p. 85]

The wooden Cloth Hall were replaced by a new building built from brick and stone.
[Komorowski W., *Kraków. Nowe studia...*, 2007, p. 160]

1358	[<i>Kraków. Nowe studia...</i> , 2007] [Wikipedia, <i>Kalendarium historii Krakowa</i>]	Casimir III the Great broadens rights and belongings of Krakow's municipality. The king expresses a wish that <i>'the town will not be disfigured with chaotic buildings'</i> .
1358	[<i>KDMKI</i> , nr XXXII, p. 36] [Komorowski W., Follprecht K., 2007]	King Casimir III the Great cedes his rights on trading (on the Market Square) to the city.
1961 1963	[Niemic D., 2008, p. 84]	Archaeological excavations. (K. Radwański, W. Zin) [Niemic D., 2008, p. 84]
1974 1979	<u>1974–1979</u> [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242] 1974 –... [Niemic D., 2008, p. 84]	Renovation of the Cloth Hall – the relics of the <i>wooden (cloth ?) chambers</i> were revealed. (archaeological survey (T. Dębowski, M. Myszka) [Komorowski W., Sudacka A., 2008, p. 242], [Niemic D., 2008, p. 84]



Graph of potential interactions for the *wooden (cloth ?) chambers* – with additional visual indications on the possible morphology of the artefact at different steps.

Only one step in the evolution of the building has been identified as certain at this stage. The second morphological transformation is uncertain. The hypothetical reconstructions proposed for both phases of development do not suggest that the second morphological transformation had a big impact on the shape, size or layout of the building.

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]]

wooden-clay trading benches / drewniano-gliniane ławy kramarskie



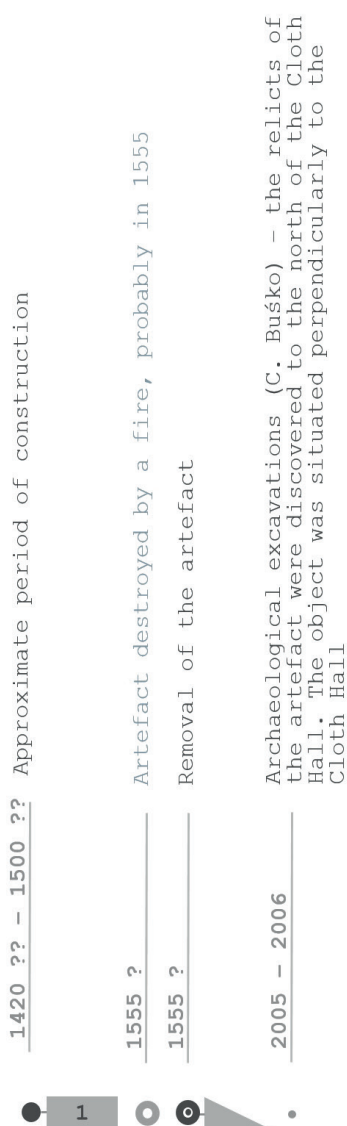
Visual measure of complexity for the *wooden-clay trading benches*.

No differences in the interpretation of the data are underlined by this simple diagram – note that this can be also the result of scanty sources.

The relics of the artefact were discovered during an archaeological campaign (2005–2006).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

A wooden-clay construction (function not clearly identified) the relics of which were discovered close to the northern wall of the Cloth Hall.

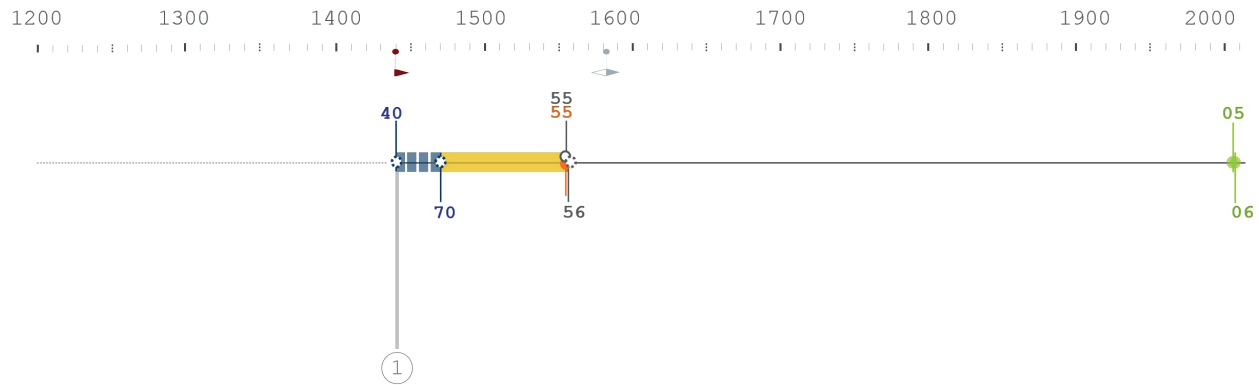
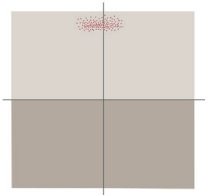


Graph of potential interactions for the *wooden-clay trading benches* – a visualisation of the information compiled in the *chronological chart*.

Only one step in the evolution has been identified at this stage. The construction burnt (possibly in 1555) and its relics were discovered during an archaeological campaign (2005–2006).

[I. Dudek, J.Y. Blaise 2011]

wooden-clay trading benches / drewniano-gliniane ławy kramarskie



1	<p>1440 ?? middle of the 15th century</p> <p>1470 ?? [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]</p>	<p>Approximate period of construction.</p> <p>undefined function (possibly commercial) [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p> <p>Wooden-clay stalls consumed by a fire (probably in 1555), situated close to the northern wall of the Cloth Hall – a paving from the 16th century in the form of a 2 meters wide footpath is contemporary of the stalls. [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p> <p>hypothetical reconstructions: [Krzysztofor nr 28, cz. 1, 1450]?</p>
	<p>1555 ? [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p>	<p>Artefact destroyed by a fire, probably in 1555. [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p>
R	<p>1555 ?</p> <p>1556 ??</p>	<p>Removal of the artefact.</p>
	<p>2005 [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p> <p>2006</p>	<p>Archaeological excavations (C. Buško) – the relics of the artefact were discovered to the north of the Cloth Hall. The object was situated perpendicularly to the Cloth Hall. [Buško C., 2006, p. 68]</p>

Sections One and Two - <i>Method of analysis and Catalogue od atchitectural objects</i>	327
Written sources.....	327
Studies	328
Remaining bibliography	332
Iconography (Krakow)	333
Iconography (analogical objects)	345
Restitutions.....	347
Cartography	351
Illustrations	353
 Section Three - <i>Different Faces Of The One Idea</i>	 365
Written sources and studies.....	365
Illustrations	366
 Section Four - <i>Visual analysis of the collection : cross-examination and sense-making</i>	 374
Bibliography	374

References

(thorough list of the sources used in this study)

The most frequently used abbreviations:

The National Archive (<i>Archiwum Państwowe</i>)	AP
The Krakow Library, Krakow (<i>Biblioteka Krakowska</i>)	BK
The Museum of the History of Photography, Krakow (<i>Muzeum Historii Fotografii</i>)	MHF
The Historical Museum of the City of Krakow (<i>Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa</i>)	MHmK
The National Digital Archives, Warsaw (<i>Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe</i>)	NAC
The Studio of the iconography of Cracow, the National Museum in Krakow (<i>Pracownia Ikonoografii Krakowa, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie</i>)	PIK
The Yearbook of Krakow, Krakow (<i>Rocznik Krakowski</i>)	RK

Sections one and two - Method of analysis and Catalogue of architectural objects

Written sources:

- [1.] Akta Gubernialne w sprawie porządków targowych, ANKr, III/179. 4
- [2.] Akta hipoteczne miasta Krakowa, Kramy Bogate po. 7, rękopis, ANKr, nr inw. W.M. 381 i 381a
- [3.] Akta miast i administracja miejska : *Cech sadelników i słoninarzy w Krakowie 1701-1816* (sygn. rkps 3141), *Rzeźnicy, słoninarze, rybacy, olejarze 1800-1801, 1805-1816* (sygn. Mag I 406-407) Fasc.66/III, *Rybacy, słoninarze 1799-1816*, (sygn. Mag I 410) Fasc.66/V, ANKr
- [4.] *Akt przekazania w dniu 02 VI 1592 zbioru przywilejów, dekretów rejestrów i gotówki starszym kupców z Kramów Bogatych w Krakowie*, rękopis, Biblioteka Naukowa PAU – PAN, Rkps.809
- [5.] *Cech szewców w Krakowie 1546-1821*, ANKr, Akta miasta Krakowa, sygn. rkps 3148-3152
- [6.] Czas, 12 grudnia 1850, nr 282, Kraków 1850
- [7.] Czas, 12 październik 1860, nr 209, Kraków 1860
- [8.] Czas, 14 sierpień 1861, nr 185, Kraków 1861
- [1.] Czas, 01 listopada 1865, nr 250, Kraków 1865
- [2.] Czas, 19 listopada 1865, nr 265, Kraków 1865
- [3.] Czas, 16 kwiecień 1867, nr 88, Kraków 1867
- [4.] Czas, 20 czerwiec 1867, nr 140, Kraków 1867
- [5.] Czas, 16 lipiec 1867, nr 160, Kraków 1867
- [6.] Czas, 04 grudnia 1867, nr 279, Kraków 1867
- [7.] Czas, 13 maja 1868, nr 110, Kraków 1868
- [8.] Czas, 20 maja 1868, nr 116, Kraków 1868
- [9.] Czas, 14 czerwca 1868, nr 135, Kraków 1868
- [10.] Czas, 06 listopada 1873, nr 255, Kraków 1873
- [11.] Czas, 18 sierpień 1882, nr 187, Kraków 1882
- [12.] Czas, 14 październik 1882, nr 235, Kraków 1882
- [13.] Czas, 29 grudnia 1888, nr 297, Kraków 1888
- [14.] *Katalog aktów dawnych miasta Krakowa, I - Dyplomy pergaminowe*, KRZYŻANOWSKI S., Archiwum Aków Dawnych miasta Krakowa, Kraków 1907
- [15.] *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa 1257–1506*, wyd. PIEKOSIŃSKI F., T.I, Kraków 1879
- [16.] *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część I (1568-1577)*, JELONEK-LITEWKA K., LITEWKA A., WALCZY Ł., T. V, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1997
- [17.] *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część II (1578-1591)*, JELONEK-LITEWKA K., LITEWKA A., WALCZY Ł., T. VI, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1998
- [18.] *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część III (1592-1597)*, JELONEK-LITEWKA K., LITEWKA A., WALCZY Ł., T. VII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1999
- [19.] *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część IV (1598-1606)*, JELONEK-LITEWKA K., LITEWKA A., WALCZY Ł., T. VIII, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 2000
- [20.] Lustracja czynszów Sukiennic, Kramów, ANKr, Rkps.1970
- [21.] *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki Miasta Krakowa od 1300 do 1400*, PIEKOSIŃSKI F., SZUJSKI J., cz. I-II [in] *Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, t. 4, Kraków 1877-1878
- [22.] *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa*, PIEKOSIŃSKI F., nakł. Akademii Umiejętności Krakowskiej, Kraków 1885

- [23.] Statuty, prawa i przywileje cechowe, protokoły zebrań, spór z piekarzami krakowskimi, ewidencja uczniów i pomocników, akta różne 1747-1925, Cech paszтетników, traktierników, cukierników [i piernikarzy] w Krakowie, ANKr
- [24.] Statuty, prawa i przywileje cechowe, rejestry rachunkowe, protokoły zebrań, księga mistrzów, gospoda czeladnicza, akta różne z lat 1565 – 1909, Cech introligatorów w Krakowie, ANKr
- [25.] Statuty i przywileje cechowe, protokoły zebrań, spór rybaków krakowskich i kazimierskich, opłaty targowe od ryb, akta różne z lat 1481 – 1802, Cechy rybaków w Krakowie i Kazimierzu, ANKr, nr 29\173\0
- [26.] *Źródła do dziejów zabudowy związanej z handlem we wschodniej części Rynku Głównego w Krakowie (XIV-XIX w.) ze zbiorów Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie*, FOLLPRECHT K., JELONEK-LITEWKA K., wyd. Pracownia Archeologiczno-Architektoniczna „Niegoda”, Kraków 2007
- [27.] *Nieruchomości Miasta Krakowa w okresie Sejmu Czteroletniego. Opis z 1792 roku*, FOLLPRECHT K., APKr, Kraków 2007

Studies:

- [1.] *Architektura gotyku w Polsce*, Dzieje sztuki Polskiej, Warszawa 1995
- [2.] *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, praca zbiorowa, pod redakcją R. Burka, PWN, Warszawa – Kraków 2000
- [3.] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta.*, praca zbiorowa pod redakcją J. Wyzumskiego, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, BK, Nr 150, Kraków 2007
- [4.] Krzysztoforzy nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, II, MHmK, Kraków 2010
- [5.] *Siedziby władz miasta Krakowa*, Krakowska Teka Konserwatorska, T VI, Urząd miasta Krakowa, Kraków 2007
- [6.] ANCZYC W. L., *Izba Pańska, czyli Radziecka w Ratuszu Krakowskim*, Tygodnik Ilustrowany, Kraków 1863, p.141-142
- [7.] ADAMCZEWSKI J., *Nie od razu Kraków rozkopano*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1963
- [8.] BANACH J., *Ikonomia Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, TAIWPN UNIVERSITAS, Kraków 1998
- [9.] BARTOSZEWICZ K., *Księga pamiątkowa setnej rocznicy ustanowienia konstytucji 3 Maja*, Nakładem K. Bartoszewicza (Sukiennice 27), Kraków 1890
- [10.] BIELSKI J., *Joachima Bielskiego dalszy ciąg kroniki polskiej zawierającej dzieje od 1587 do 1598 r.*, Nakładem i drukiem p. Orgelbranda księgarza i typografa, Warszawa 1851
- [11.] BIENIARZÓWNA J., MAŁECKI J.M., *Dzieje Krakowa, Kraków w latach 1796-1918*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1979
- [12.] BIENIARZÓWNA J., MAŁECKI J.M., *Dzieje Krakowa w wiekach XVI-XVIII*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, T. 2, Kraków 1994
- [13.] BRAYER A., *Ratusz Krakowski*, Kraków dawniej i dziś, nr 2, Kraków 1952
- [14.] BUŚKO C., *Wstępne wyniki badań archeologicznych – architektonicznych prowadzonych na Rynku Głównym w 2005-2006 roku*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 19, 2006, pp.67-70
- [15.] BUŚKO C., *Z badań archeologicznych nad miastami południowej Polski. Rynek Główny w Krakowie w świetle prac przeprowadzonych w latach 2005-07*, pp.225-234 [in] KOUŘIL P., MĚŘÍNSKÝ Z., *Sborník příspěvků přednesených na XXXVIII. mezinárodní konferenci archeologie středověku s hlavním zameraním archeológia stredovekého mesta.*, Archaeologia Historia 32/07, Brno XI 2007
- [16.] CHOTKOWSKI M., *Rzemiosła i cechy krakowskie w XV wieku.*, Kraków 1891
- [17.] CHOROWSKA W., LASOTA C., *Zabudowa Rynku Świdnickiego do połowy XVI wieku.*, Wrocław 2010
- [18.] CHMIEL A., *Godła rzemieślnicze i przemysłowe krakowskie od połowy XIV w. Aż do XX w.* Z 8 rycinami w tekście i 121 na tablicach., drukiem m. Muzeum przemysłowego im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie, 1922
- [19.] CHRISTIAN M., *Problemy konserwatorskie Krakowa - z prac Komisji Konserwatorskiej Towarzystwa Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa w latach 1994-1997*, [in] RK, LXIII Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1997, pp.171-182
- [20.] CZAPSKA A., GARTKIEWICZ P., *Rynek w Krakowie, Warszawa 1954* [in] *Elementy urbanistyki polskiej*, praca zbiorowa pod red. W. Ostrowskiego i P. Szafera, Place, zes. 1

- [21.] DMOCHOWSKI Z., *The architecture of Poland. An historical survey*, Polish Research Center, London 1956
- [22.] DUDEK I., *Architektoniczno-konserwatorska rekonstrukcja Kramów Bogatych Rynku Głównego a Krakowie przy użyciu technik komputerowych*, praca doktorska, Kraków 2000
- [23.] DRYJA S., GŁOWA W., NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie - fazy budowy*, [in] Krzysztoforzy nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, pp.173-198
- [24.] DUŻYK J., *Sukiennice*, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1952
- [25.] ESSENWEIN A., *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale der Stadt Krakau*, Nürnberg 1866, tafel LVII, [on-line] Małopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, <<http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=57591&dirids=1>>, accessed 13 VII 2012
- [26.] ESTREICHER K., *Wspomnienie Ambrożego Grabowskiego*, 2. Biblioteka Krakowska nr 41, Kraków 1909
- [27.] ESTREICHER K., *Kraków*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, t. CLXX, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1968
- [28.] FIRLET E., *Podziemia Rynku Głównego w Krakowie – od eksploatacji do trasy turystycznej*, [in] Krzysztoforzy nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, pp.9-52
- [29.] FIRLET E.M., *Najstarsza Panorama Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 1998
- [30.] FRANČIĆ M., *Kalendarz dziejów Krakowa*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1964
- [31.] FRYCZ A., *Restauracja i konserwacja zabytków architektury w Polsce w latach 1795-1918*, PWN, Warszawa 1975
- [32.] GLOGLER Z., *Encyklopedia Staropolska. Ilustrowana*, Druk P. Laskauera i W. Babickiego, Tom I-IV Warszawa 1900 [on-line] Wikiźródła, <http://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Encyklopedia_staropolska/Handel>, accessed 06 X 2011
- [33.] GOŁĘBIEWSKI Ł., *Lud Polski. Jego zwyczaje i zabobony*, W drukarni A. Gałęzowskiego i Spółki, 1830
- [34.] GRABOWSKI A., *Dawne zabytki miasta Krakowa*, Kraków 1850
- [35.] GRABOWSKI A., *Kraków i jego okolice opisał historycznie Ambroży Grabowski.*, Nakł. Księgarni D. E. Friedleina, Kraków 1866
- [36.] HAJOK D., *Podziemny Rynek gotowy już jesienią*, Gazeta Wyborcza, Kraków 11 II 2010
- [37.] JAGLARZ M., *Księgarstwo krakowskie XVI wieku*, BK, nr 147, 2004
- [38.] JAMROZ J., *Restauracja gmachu Sukiennic*, Krakowska Oficyna Wydawnicza, nr 4, Kraków 1959
- [39.] JANCZYKOWSKI J., *Informacja Małopolskiego Wojewódzkiego Konserwatora Zabytków dotycząca prac na obszarze płyty Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 19, 2006, pp.71-75
- [40.] KADŁUCZKA A., *Ochrona zabytków Krakowa*, Nauka dla Wszystkich, nr 400, Ossolineum, Kraków 1986
- [41.] KADŁUCZKA A., *Opracowanie materiałów archiwalnych dla struktur przestrzennych pod płytą Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, maszynopis powielony, Kraków 1993
- [42.] KADŁUCZKA A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne aspekty podziemnych rezerwatów architektonicznych na przykładzie Rynku Krakowskiego*, praca doktorska, Kraków 1975
- [43.] KADŁUCZKA A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego” w Krakowie*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 19, 2006, pp.61-66
- [44.] KADŁUCZKA A., *Restauracja i modernizacja Galerii Sztuki Polskiej XIX wieku Muzeum Narodowego w Sukiennicach w Krakowie*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 27, 2010, pp.153-160
- [45.] KAWECKI S., *Stanisława Kaweckiego Opis miasta Krakowa w obrębie okopów w r. 1836 (z planem miasta Krakowa z r. 1836 i ilustracjami)*, wydał i przypisami opatrzył Adam Chmiel., nakł. Tow. Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, BK nr 65, Kraków 1927
- [46.] KĘDER I., KOMOROWSKI W., ZEŃCZAK A., *Ikonaografia Kościoła Mariackiego i placu Mariackiego Małego Rynku, ulicy Mikołajskiej, Siennej i św. Krzyża w Krakowie*, UNIVERSITAS, Kraków 1999
- [47.] KLECZKOWSKI A., *Święte pamiątki Krakowa. Ozdobione 102 drzeworytami tyntowymi*, Kraków 1883, Nakładem A Napieralskiego, Druk. Wł. L. Anczyca i Spółki
- [48.] KLEIN F., *Klejnoty Krakowa*, Kraków 1923
- [49.] KLEIN F., *Stary Kraków*, Czas, Kraków 1916

- [50.] KLUJ M., PAWLIKOWSKI M., ZAITZ E., *Badania mineralogiczne osadów antropogenicznych oraz wybranych materiałów budowlanych odkrytych pod płytą Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, Materiały Archeologiczne, tom XXXVI, Kraków 2006, pp.186-200
- [51.] KOŁACZKOWSKI J., *Wiadomości dotyczące się przemysłu i sztuki dawnej w Polsce*, Wyd. M. Kański, Kraków 1888
- [52.] KOMOROWSKI W., *Krakowska Waga Wielka w średniowieczu*, RK, T. LXXII, 2006, pp.33-44
- [53.] KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusze Krakowskie*, [in] *Siedziby władz miasta Krakowa*, Krakowska Teka Konserwatorska, T. VI, Kraków 2007, pp.21-81
- [54.] KOMOROWSKI W., *Krakowski ratusz w średniowieczu i domniemany dwór Artusa w Krakowie*, [in] *Rocznik Krakowski*, T. LXIV, 1998
- [55.] KOMOROWSKI W., FOLLPRECHT K., *Rozwój urbanistyczno-architektoniczny Krakowa intra muros w czasach nowożytnych*, [in] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta.*, praca zbiorowa pod redakcją J. Wyrozumskiego, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, BK, Nr 150, Kraków 2007, pp.191-292
- [56.] KOMOROWSKI W., FOLLPRECHT K., *Rozwój urbanistyczno-architektoniczny Krakowa intra muros w czasach nowożytnych*, [in] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta.*, praca zbiorowa pod redakcją J. Wyrozumskiego, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, BK, Nr 150, Kraków 2007, pp.156-186
- [57.] KOMOROWSKI W., KĘDER I., *Ikonaografia Kościoła Dominikanów i ulicy Grodzkiej w Krakowie*, UNIVERSITAS, Kraków 1999
- [58.] KOMOROWSKI W., SUDACKA A., *Wieża Ratuszowa w wiekach XIX i XX*, [in] *Siedziby władz miasta Krakowa*, Krakowska Teka Konserwatorska, T. VI, Kraków 2007, pp.83-99
- [59.] KOMOROWSKI W., SUDACKA A., *Rynek Główny*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2008
- [60.] KRAWCZYK A., *The British In Poland in seventeenth century*, [in] *The Seventeenth Century*, 2002, Vol. 17, Issue 2, p.254
- [61.] KOZIOŁ A. A., *Na krakowskim Rynku. Historia i obyczaje o lokacji do najnowszych czasów.*, WAM, Kraków 2007
- [62.] KRĄPIEC M., SZYCHOWSKA-KRĄPIEC E., DANEK M., KŁUSEK M., *Analiza dendrologiczna drzewa pozyskanego w trakcie badań wykopaliskowych prowadzonych w Krakowie na Rynku Głównym po zachodniej stronie Sukiennic*, Materiały Archeologiczne, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, pp.181-184
- [63.] KUCIA A., *Funkcje rzemieślniczo-handlowe rynków, średniowiecznego Krakowa*, Kazimierza i Kleparza, *Wratislavia Antiqua*, T.13, 2011
- [64.] KUTRZEBA S., *Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich na tle stosunków handlowych Polski*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, Kraków 1902
- [65.] LEPIARCZYK J., *Przebudowa czy konserwacja? Problematyki krakowskich Sukiennic*, Ochrona Zabytków, r. III, 1955
- [66.] LUDWIKOWSKI L., *Sukiennice*, Sport i Turystyka, Warszawa 1978
- [67.] ŁUKACZ M., *Badania architektoniczne relikwów murewaną zabudowy pod zachodnią częścią Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, Materiały Archeologiczne, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, pp.143-167
- [68.] ŁUSZCZKIEWICZ W., *Dawny Romański kościół św. Wojciecha w Krakowie. Widok elewacji południowej*, RK, T. III, 1900, pp.153-171
- [69.] ŁUSZCZKIEWICZ W., *Sukiennice krakowskie: dzieje gmachu i jego obecnej przebudowy : z 6 tablicami*, nakł. Tow. Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1899. BK, nr 11
- [70.] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D - rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 2011
- [71.] MAREK M., *Reconstitution numérique de l'aménagement historique de Cracovie. Projet réalisé au Musée Historique de la Ville de Cracovie*, [in] *Actes de l'Ecole Thématique : Modélisation informationnelle pour l'architecture patrimoniale*, Saint-Maximin la Sainte-Baume, 2006, MIA Journal, vol.0, no 1, VII-2006, pp.93-103
- [72.] MACZYŃSKI J., *Pamiętka z Krakowa : opis tego miasta i jego okolic*, Druk. J. Czecha, Kraków 1815 (?)
- [73.] MIGDAŁ W., MIGDAŁ Ł., *Słownictwo gwarowe w hodowli zwierząt*, [in] *Wiadomości Zootechniczne*, Uniwersytet Rolniczy im. Hugona Kollątaja w Krakowie, R. XLVI, (2008), pp.53-62,
- [74.] MOSSAKOWSKA W., ZEŃCZAK A., *Kraków na starej fotografii*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1984
- [75.] MUCZKOWSKI J., *Dawny Ratusz Krakowski*, RK, T. VIII, 1906, pp.1-50
- [76.] MÜNCH H., *Plan Miasta Krakowa Ignacego Enderle z lat 1802-1808 tak zwany Senacki wraz z wykazem realności miasta z początki XIX wieku*, MHmK, Kraków 1959

- [77.] MURRAY E., *Opisanie topograficzne i filozoficzne miasta Krakowa*, 1787 [in] Estreicher K. *Emanuela Murrya Opisanie Krakowa a literatura o Krakowie i plan Kollatajowski*, RK, T. XLVIII, 1977, pp.77-154
- [78.] NOWOLECKI A., *Wykaz ulic, placów, kościołów i domów miasta Krakowa i jego przedmieść*, Kraków 1878
- [79.] OPALIŃSKI P., *Rekonstrukcja cyfrowa infrastruktury architektonicznej Rynku krakowskiego w XIV i XV wieku.*, [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, pp.113-128
- [80.] PACHOŃSKI J., *Drukarze, księgarze i bibliofile krakowscy*, 1750-1815., Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1962
- [81.] PACHOŃSKI J., *Zmierzch sławetnych z życia mieszczan w Krakowie w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1956
- [82.] PIEKOSIŃSKI F., SZUJSKI J., *Stary Kraków*, Spółka Wydawnicza, Kraków 1901
- [83.] PIERADZKA K., *Kraków w relacjach cudzoziemców X-XVII wieku*, RK T. XXVIII, Kraków 1937
- [84.] PIERADZKA K., *Rozkwit średnio-wiecznego Krakowa*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1957
- [85.] RADI C., *L'Ancien l'hôtel de ville de Cracovie. La maquette numérique comme outil de simulation d'hypothèse de restitution*, (1657-1700), travail de fin d'études, EAML, Marseille 2006
- [86.] RADWAŃSKI K., *Budowle drewniane odkryte pod poziomami romańskimi kościoła św. Wojciecha w Krakowie*, Materiały Archeologiczne, tom XI, Kraków 1970, pp.7-23
- [87.] RADWAŃSKI K., *Kraków przedlokacyjny*, Rozwój przestrzenny, Kraków 1975
- [88.] REDEROWA D., *Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami Krakowa poroźbiorowego (1796-1809). Część I. Zagadnienia urbanistyczne*, (jako zeszyt 2), T. XXXIV, 1958-1959, pp.61-178
- [89.] REYMAN-WALCZAK B., *Monety z badań Rynku Głównego w Krakowie w 2003-2004*, Materiały Archeologiczne, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, pp.169-180
- [90.] RODLER O., *Mittelalterliches Krakau*, Buchverlag Deutscher Osten GMBH, Kraków 1943
- [91.] RICHTER K., *Kadaster miasta Krakowa z wieku XIX, XVIII i XVII*, Kraków 1862
- [92.] RUSEK F., *Dzieje Kijaków piaszcząńskich*, nakładem własnym autora, Kraków 1998
- [93.] SMONIEWSKI J. W., *Wiadomości historyczno-statystyczne o kościele archiprezbiterialnym N. Panny Maryi przy rynku w Krakowie*, drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1868
- [94.] SUDACKA A., *Budynek Małej Wagi na Rynku Krakowskim na podstawie źródeł historycznych*, RK t. LXXII, 2006, pp.45-56
- [95.] ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice na Rynku Krakowskim w epoce gotyku i renesansu*, [in] Biuletyn Historii Kultury i Sztuki, r. X, Warszawa 1948
- [96.] TOBIASZ M., *Pierwsze wieki Krakowa*, Wojewódzki Ośrodek Informacji Turystycznej, Kraków, 1974
- [97.] TOBIASZ M., *Restauracja zabytków architektury Krakowa (1897-1975)*, Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wrocław-Kraków 1977
- [98.] TOMKOWICZ S., *Plan Rynku krakowskiego z roku 1787*, Drukarnia „Czasu”, osobne odbicie z IX Rocznika Krakowskiego nakładem autora, Kraków 1907
- [99.] TOMKOWICZ S., *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, BK, nr 63-64, Kraków 1926
- [100.] TOMKOWICZ S., *Wieża dawnego Ratusza na Rynku Krakowskim*, RK, T. XXIII, 1932, pp.1-16
- [101.] TURNAU I., *Skórnictwo odzieżowe w Polsce XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1975
- [102.] TYSZKA P., *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV-XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców*, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 2001
- [103.] WACHOLZ S., *Rzeczpospolita Krakowska 1815-1830*, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, Warszawa 1957
- [104.] WAWEL LOUIS J., *Przechadzka kronikarza po Rynku Krakowskim*, Czas, Kraków 1890
- [105.] WAWEL LOUIS J., *Urywki z dziejów i życia mieszkańców*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1977
- [106.] WĘCŁAWOWICZ T., *Założenie miasta w Krakowie, czyli o symbolicznym wymiarze Wielkiej Lokacji z roku 1257*, Wiadomości Konserwatorskie, nr 21/2007, pp.15-19
- [107.] WYROBISZ A., *Szkło w Polsce od XIV do XVII wieku*, Kraków- Wrocław 1968

- [108.] WYCZAŃSKI A., *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI wieku i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku.*, Instytut Historii PAN, PWN, Warszawa 1969
- [109.] ZAITZ E., *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych prowadzonych w Krakowie w 2004 roku przy przebudowie nawierzchni płyty Rynku Głównego po zachodniej stronie Sukiennic*, Materiały Archeologiczne, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, pp.79-142
- [110.] ZAITZ E., *Sprawozdanie z prac archeologicznych przy wieży ratuszowej na Rynku Głównym w Krakowie w roku 1996*, [maszynopis] archiwum działu Krakowa Przedlokacyjnego Muzeum Archeologiczne w Krakowie, Kraków 1996
- [111.] ZIN W., *Kronika prac i problemów konserwatorskich Krakowa w latach 1959 -1964*, [in] RK, T. XXXVII, 1965, pp.145-154
- [112.] ZIN W., *Kronika prac i problemów konserwatorskich Krakowa w latach 1965*, [in] RK, T. XXXVIII, 1966, pp.123-126
- [113.] ZIN W., *Kronika prac i problemów konserwatorskich Krakowa za rok 1966*, [in] RK, T. XXXVIII, 1966, pp.145-154
- [114.] ZIN W., GRABSKI W., *Wczesnośredniowieczne budowle Krakowa w świetle ostatnich badań*, [in] RK, T. XXXVIII, 1966, pp.33-73
- [115.] ŻURAWSKA-CHASZCZEWSKA J., *Słownictwo rzemiosł skórzanych w polszczyźnie historycznej*, praca doktorska, Uniwersytet A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Wydział Filologii Klasycznej, Poznań 2010

Remaining bibliography

- [1.] ALBERT J., *One Plus One Equals Three or More. Factual Facts and Actual Facts*, [in] ALBERT J., Search Versus Re-Search, Hartford 1969
- [2.] ALLEN J.F., *Towards a general theory of action and time*, Artificial Intelligence, 23, pp.124-154
- [3.] BOCHENSKI J. M., *Współczesne metody myślenia*, W drodze, Poznań 1992
- [4.] BLAISE J.Y., DUDEK I., *Profiling artefact changes: a methodological proposal for the classification and visualisation of architectural transformations*. [in] M. Ioannides et al., Digital Heritage, Proceedings of VSMM 2008, Budapest 2008, Archeolingua, , pp.349-356
- [5.] BLAISE J.Y., DUDEK I., *Visual assessment of heritage architecture life cycles*, [in] Journal of Universal Computer Science, 8th International Conference on Knowledge Management, Graz 2008, pp.349-357
- [6.] BLAISE J.Y., DUDEK I., *Understanding changes in historic architecture. Can we provide tools and methods for visual reasoning*, [in] Proceedings of IVAPP 2010, Angers, International Conference on Information Visualization Theory and Applications, INSTICC Press, pp.91-100
- [7.] CNRS (J.Y. Blaise, I. Dudek), *Tactichronie - Maquettes tactiles de représentation de contenus patrimoniaux pour déficients visuels*, patent N°: FR 09 55726, 21VIII 2009
- [8.] CUSANUS N., *De Docta Ignorantia, 1440* ; tłumaczenie Jasper Hopkins *On Learned Ignorance (De Docta Ignorantia) by Nicholas of Cusa*, , II wydanie 1985, [on-line] <<http://jasper-hopkins.info>>, accessed 06 IV 2012 ; *De la docte ignorance*, éd. la Maisnie, P.U.F., Paris 1930, [on-line] <http://jm.nicolle.pagesperso-orange.fr/cusa/publidocti/page_docti.htm>, accessed 06.IV 2012
- [9.] ECO U., *The infinity of lists*, MacLehose Press, London 2009 (translated from Italian by A. McEwen)
- [10.] KOMOROWSKI W., *Projet ATIP 2006, Modèles informationnels 2D/3D multi-échelles pour l'analyse et la contextualisation spatio-temporelle des évolutions du bâti*, CNRS, SHS 2007-2009
- [11.] LEM S., *Głos Pana*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1968
- [12.] LEFEBVRE B., RODIER X., SALIGNY L., *Understanding Urban fabric with the OH_FET model based on social use, space and time*, Archeologia e Calcolatori, 19, 2008, pp.195-214
- [13.] LESZCZAK O., *Problem czasu w semiotyce: idiosynchronia - diachronia - panchronia*, [in] The Peculiarity of Man, vol. 9, Warszawa-Kielce, 2003, pp.301-330
- [14.] LE MOIGNE J. L., *La théorie du système général. Théorie de la modélisation*, Les classiques du Réseau Intelligence de la Complexité, 1994, p.33 [on-line] <www.mexapc.org>, accessed 07 X 2008
- [15.] POINCARÉ Henri, *La Valeur de la Science*, 1902, [on-line] <http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/La_Valeur_de_la_Science> accessed 10 X 2007
- [16.] PRATCHETT T., STEWARD I., COHEN J., (tłum. P.W. Cholewa), *Nauka Świata Dysku III*, Prószyński i S-ka, Warszawa, 2009 (org. 2005)

- [17.] ROD J.K., *The third choice*, [on-line] <<http://193.55.107.3/semiogra/rod/rod.htm>>, accessed 30.II.2009
- [18.] SPENCE R., *Information visualisation*, Addison Wesley ACM Press 2001
- [19.] TRICART J., *Cours de géographie humaine*. Fascicule II, *Habitat Urbain*, Centre de Documentation Universitaire, Paris 1952
- [20.] TUFTE E. R., *Envisioning Information*, Graphic Press, Cheshire 1990
- [21.] TUFTE E. R., *Visual Explanation*, Graphics Press, Cheshire 1997
- [22.] TUFTE E. R., *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*, Graphics Press, Cheshire, Second Edition, 2006
- [23.] VERDIER N., *L'échelle dans quelques sciences sociales: Petite histoire d'une absence d'interdisciplinarité*, [on-line] <halshs.ccsd.cnrs.fr/docs/00/10/44/85/PDF/verdierechelle.pdf>, accessed 30.I.2007
- [24.] ZUBKO R. E., *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to Twentieths Century*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1985 [on-line] <http://books.google.fr/books?id=0l_k-XMliQIC&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr#v=onepage&q&f=false>, accessed 27.II.2013

Iconography (Krakow):

- [1.] *Album fotografii dawnego Krakowa z atelier Ignacego Kriegera*, opr. Andruszkiewicz, KAW, Kraków 1989
- [Ajdukiewicz T., 1881, ban113] AJDUKIEWICZ T., *Wieża ratuszowa od zachodu*, (1881), MNK nr III-r.a. 12776, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.113
- [Balicki K., 1802, ban185] BALICKI K., *Południowa elewacja Ratusza*, (1802), PIK neg. 543, ban185
[in] KREMER K., *Wiadomość o niektórych starożytnych budynkach krakowskich, ze stanowiska sztuki uważanych*, Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego z Uniwersytetem Jagiellońskim złączonego. Oddziału Sztuki i Archeologii, zeszyt II, Kraków 1852, p.296
- [Bednarczyk J., 24 IX 2010] BEDNARCZYK J., *Podziemia Rynku Krakowskiego*, (2010) [on-line] *Odkryją tajemnice krakowskich podziemi*, Strona PolskaLokalna.pl, 24 IX 2010, <<http://polskalokalna.pl/news/odkryja-tajemnice-krakowskich-podziemi,1535900>>, accessed 06 X 2010
- [Beyer K., 1858, ban239] BEYER K., *Sukiennice od Południa*, (1858), MNK, nr inw. Fot.6300, PIK neg. 8916, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.239
- [Beyer K., 1858, ban85] BEYER K., *Widok rynku od ulicy Grodzkiej*, (1858), MNW, Archiwum Ikonograficzne, nr inw. 41158, sygn. Album11, PIK neg. 8920, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.85
- [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.8] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Odsłonięte korony części murów kabatów – rzut, inwentaryzacja*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.8, p.154
- [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.4] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Piwniczka północnego obiektu – inwentaryzacja. Rzut korony murów*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.4, p.150
- [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.5] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Piwniczka północnego obiektu – inwentaryzacja - widoki, przekroje*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.5, p.151
- [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.24] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Północna partia Zachodniej ściany Kramów Szewskich, piwniczka obiektu B, inwentaryzacja – rzut koron murów*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.24, p.164
- [Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.17] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Zachodni mur fundamentowy Kramów Szewskich, inwentaryzacja – rzut korony, widok fragmentów lica*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.17, p.159
- [Braun G., Hogenberg F., 1603-1605] BRAUN G., HOGENBERG F., *Kraków na początku XVII wieku*, miedzioryt (1603-1605) [in] *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1617
- [Brodowski J., 1819, ban181] BRODOWSKI J., *Ratusz i Spichlerz od północy*, (1819), MHmK, nr inw. 668/VIII, PIK neg. 1731, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.181
- [Brodowski J., 1819, ban190] BRODOWSKI J., *Ganek wzdłuż elewacji Ratusza*, (1819), MHmK, nr inw. 690/VIII, PIK neg. 2160, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.190
- [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban186] BRODOWSKI J., *Kabaty od południowego-zachodu*, (przed 1820), MHmK, nr inw. 669/VIII [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.186

- [Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban189] BRODOWSKI J., *Spichlerz od zachodu*, (przed 1820), MHmK, nr inw. 670/VIII, PIK neg. 1845, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.189
- [Brodowski J., 1820, ban184] BRODOWSKI J., *Ratusz i Sukiennice od południowego-wschodu*, (1820), MHmK, nr inw. 949/VIII, PIK neg. 1821, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.184
- [Brodowski J., 1820, ban188] BRODOWSKI J., *Południowa część Ratusza od południowego-zachodu*, (1820), MHmK, nr inw. 672/VIII, PIK neg. 2157, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.188
- [Brodowski J., 1820, ban192] BRODOWSKI J., *Kabaty*, (1820), MHmK, nr inw. 686/VIII, PIK neg. 1734, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.192
- [Brodowski J., 1820, ban195] BRODOWSKI J., *Wschodnia elewacja ratusza*, (1820), MHmK, nr inw. 59/VIII recto, PIK neg. 1898, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.195
- [Brodowski J., 1840, ban252] BRODOWSKI J., *Kramy w północno-zachodniej części Rynku*, (1840), MHmK, nr inw. 221/VIII, PIK neg. 1752, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.252
- [Brodowski J., 1843, ban253] BRODOWSKI J., *Zabudowa przy Sukiennicach*, (1843), MHmK, nr inw. 222/VIII, PIK neg. 1608, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.253
- [Brodowski J., 1849, ban254] BRODOWSKI J., *Kramy żelazne i przybudówki przy Sukiennicach*, (1849) MHmK, nr inw. 223/VIII, PIK neg. 1607, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.254
- [Brydak J., 1866, ban128] BRYDAK J., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy*, (1866), MNK, nr inw. III-r.a. 8118, PIK neg. 1281, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.128
- [Bulhak J., MHF KW760/90] BUŁHAK J., *Podcienia Sukiennic i wieża Ratuszowa od północy*, (1949), MHF, repr. KW 760/90
- [Cercha M., przed 1868] CERCHA M., *Południowo-wschodnia część kramów Bogatych*, (przed 1868)
- [Cercha M., 1868, ban54] CERCHA M., *Kościół św. Wojciecha i Kramy Bogate od strony ulicy Grodzkiej*, (1868), MNK, nr inw. 162 003, PIK neg. 801, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.54
- [Cercha M., 1869, MHmK 1171/III] CERCHA M., *Kościół św. Wojciecha i wschodnia strona rynku*, (1869), MHmK, nr inw. 1171/III
- [Czachórski W., przed 1873] CZACHÓRSKI W., *Sukiennice jatki garbarskie i szewskie*, (przed 1873), rysunek ołówkiem, w zbiorach MNK, nr inw. N.I. 317267
- [Dahlberg E., 1655] DAHLBERG E., *Oblężenie Krakowa w 1655*, (1655) [in] Samuel PUFENDORF, *De rebus a Carolo gustavo Sueciae rege gestis...*, Norimberga 1696, tabl. 16.
Jest to kopia naśladownictwa ryciny z *Civitatiss* (1617), będąca lustrzanym jego odbiciem. Prawdopodobnie niesłusznie przypisywana Dahlbergowi.
- [Ekielski A., około 1850] EKIELSKI A., *Sukiennice około 1850 roku*. (1850), zbiory Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie, przechowywany w willi Karola Estreichera [on-line] Strona Archiwum fotografii Miasta Krakowa, *Rynek Główny w Krakowie*, <http://www.wawel.net/rynek_stare.htm>, accessed 25 IV 2011
- [Gašiorowski B., *Północna ...*, przed 1820] GAŠIOROWSKI B., *Północna ściana spichlerza*, akwarela (przed 1820), ze zbiorów BJ, prawdopodobnie kopia rysunku Józefa Brodowskiego, MHmK, nr inw. 668/VIII. [in] Wacholz S., *Rzeczpospolita Krakowska ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 2
- [Gašiorowski B., *Ratusz ...*, przed 1820] GAŠIOROWSKI B., *Ratusz krakowski przed zburzeniem*, (przed 1820), z teki Friedleina, kompilacja różnych widoków, głównie Józefa Brodowskiego i Schmausa von Livonegg
- [Gorgolewski W., około 1997, poczt.] GORGOLEWSKI W., *Kraków z lotu ptaka* (około 1997), Agencja MARGO, pocztówka
- [Gryglewski A., około 1865, ban242] GRYGLEWSKI A., *Południowa fasada Sukiennic*, (około 1865), MNK, nr inw. III-r.a. 764, PIK neg. 670, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.242
- [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban166] GRYGLEWSKI A., *Północny bok Rynku Krakowskiego*, (przed 1868), zamieszczony w tygodniku *Kłosy*, t. IX, Warszawa 1869, nr 232, p.349, PIK neg. 2329, [in] Banach J., *Ikonaografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.166

- [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban243] GRYGLEWSKI A., *Sukiennice i przyległe budynki od południowego zachodu*, (przed 1868), MNK, Rysunki Polskie, nr inw. 14304/2, PIK neg. 4178, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.243
- [Gryglewski A., przed 1868, ban244] GRYGLEWSKI A., *Sukiennice i przyległe budynki od południowego zachodu*, (przed 1868), MNK, nr inw. 126 972, PIK neg. 2835, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.244
- [Hegenberger M., przed 1866] HEGENBERGER M. (?), *Wieża ratuszowa od północy*, (przed 1866), MNK, nr inw. III/Fot/782, PIK neg. 6108, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.131
- [Hoffmann K., 1857, ban215] HOFFMANN K., Północna część Sukiennic i Kramy Bogate, (1857), MNK, nr inw. III-r.a. 9115, PIK neg. 672, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.215
- [Kadłuczka A., 1975_31] KADŁUCZKA A., *Kraków, Ratusz-Kawiarnia* (1975) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne ...*, *op.cit.*, praca doktorska, Kraków 1975, fig. 31
- [Kadłuczka A., 1975_22] KADŁUCZKA A., *Kraków, kościół św. Wojciecha* (1975) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne ...*, *op.cit.*, praca doktorska, Kraków 1975, fig. 22
- [Kadłuczka A., 1975_21] KADŁUCZKA A., *Kraków, kościół św. Wojciecha – Muzeum Podziemne Historii Rynku Głównego* (1975) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne ...*, *op.cit.*, praca doktorska, Kraków 1975, fig. 21
- [Kadłuczka A., 1975_23] KADŁUCZKA A., *Kraków, kościół św. Wojciecha - Muzeum Historii Rynku Głównego* (1975) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne ...*, *op.cit.*, praca doktorska, Kraków 1975, fig. 23
- [Kadłuczka A., 1975_53] KADŁUCZKA A., *Zestawienie porównawcze wielkości niektórych rezerwatów – Kraków, Ratusz* (1975) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne ...*, *op.cit.*, praca doktorska, Kraków 1975, fig. 53
- [Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p.20] KALARUS T., *Pozostałości najstarszej murowanej zabudowy pod Kramami Bogatymi*, (2005) MHmK [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.20
- [Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p.223] KALARUS T., *Wschodnia część rynku. Zdjęcie z wieży kościoła Mariackiego*, (2005) MHmK [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.223
- [Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p.37] KALARUS T., *Relikty Wielkiej Wagi po odstąpieniu*, (2005) MHmK [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.37
- [Kalarus T., 2005-a] KALARUS T., *Widok ogólny tereny badań*, (2005), MHmK [in] Buśko C., *Wstępne wyniki...*, *op.cit.*, p.69, ill.1
- [Klein J., po 1901, ban87] KLEIN J. (?), *Kraków Rynek*, (po 1901), ANKr, zbiór Ikonograficzny, nr inw. C IV/5, PIK neg. 7489, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.87
- [Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., *Restauracja ...*, il.63] KNAUS A., *Wschodnia i zachodnia elewacja oraz plan Sukiennic według pomiaru z 1848 roku*, (1955) ANKr, przerys Knausa, miejsce przechowywania oryginału nieznane [in] Frycz J., *Restauracja ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.63
- [Kołowca S., 1930-1939] KOŁOWCA S., *Wieża Ratuszowa*, (1930-1939), pocztówka
- [Kołowca S., *Kraków ...*, 1930-1939] KOŁOWCA S., *Kraków. Rynek Główny*, (lata 30-te XX w.), pocztówka
- [Kołowca S., przed 1940] KOŁOWCA S., *Alter Markt*, (przed 1940), pocztówka
- [Kołowca S., 1943-44] KOŁOWCA S., *Odstąpione piwnice ratusza w czasie kopania zbiornika na wodę*. [in] praca zbiorowa pod redakcją J. Dąbrowskiego, *Kraków pod Rzędami Wroga 1939-1945*, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1946 [on-line] Wikipedia <http://pl.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Plik:WWII_Krakow_-_09.jpg&filetimestamp=20080522034511>, accessed 08 X 2011
- [Komorowski W. et al., 2007] KOMOROWSKI W., SUDACKA A., WĘCŁAWOWICZ T., OPALIŃSKI P., KWAŚNIEWICZ A., RUDEK M., *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku krakowskiego, według Planu Dominika Pucka z 1787 roku*, (1787) MHmK [in] [on-line] *KRAKÓW – Europejskie Miasto Prawa Magdeburgskiego 1257-1791*, (2007) <<http://www.lokacjakrakow.tron.pl/n/pl/zoom/223>>, accessed 06 X 2010

- [Kormanek K., 1802, ban193] KORMANEK K., *Ratusz i spichlerz od północnego-zachodu*, (1802), dołączona do artykułu Kremiera, *Wiadomość o niektórych starożytnych budynkach krakowskich ze stanowiska sztuki uważanych*, Rocznik TNK nr 23, 1852, PIK neg. 548, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.193
- [Kormanek K., 1802, ban194] KORMANEK K., *Ratusz i spichlerz od południowego-wschodu*, (1802), w artykule Kremiera, *Wiadomość o niektórych starożytnych budynkach krakowskich ze stanowiska sztuki uważanych*, Rocznik TNK nr 23, 1852, PIK neg. 547, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.194
- [Kossak J., Tondos S., 1886, ban117] KOSSAK J., TONDOS S., *Wieża ratuszowa z neogotyckim odwachem*, (1886), PIK neg. 104, [in] *Klejnoty Miasta Krakowa, 24 widoków w chromolitografiach podług oryginalnych akwarel Juliusza Kossaka i Stanisława Tondosa*, z tekstem historycznym W. Łuszczkiewicza, Kraków 1886 [faktycznie 1887], tabl. nlb 2; Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.117
- [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119] KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od Zach.*, (1824), ANKr, Teki Grabowskiego, nr inw. E 26, fig. 6, PIK neg. 1340 [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.119
- [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824-1827, ban108] KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południa.*, (1824-1827), ANKr, Teki Grabowskiego, nr inw. E 26, fig. 7, PIK neg. 1342 [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.108
- [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824-1827, ban5] KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od zachodu.*, (1824-1827), ANKr, Teki Grabowskiego, nr inw. E 26, fig. 5, PIK neg.1341 [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, il.5
- [Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127] KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy.*, (1827), ANKr, Teki Grabowskiego, nr inw. E 26, fig. 4, PIK neg. 1343 [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.127
- [Kozarski A., około 1868] KOZARSKI A., *Sukiennice przed odnowieniem*, (około 1868) ze zdjęcia Rzewuskiego [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.222, PIK neg. 2328, org.: Walerego Rzewuskiego w MHMK, nr inw. Fs/1099/IX
- [Kremer K., 1802, banfig6] KREMER K., *Rzut poziomy parteru Ratusza według stanu z 1802 roku – rekonstrukcja treści zaginionego planu autorstwa Schmausa von Livonegg*, (1802), [in] Muczkowski J., *Dawny Ratusz*, *op.cit.* p.41; Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 6
- [Krieger I., około 1865, ban220] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od północy*, (około 1865), MHmK, nr inw. 3861/K, PIK neg. 7240, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.220
- [Krieger I., 1867, ban221] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate od północnego-wschodu*, (1867), BJ, zbiory graficzne, nr inw. I.F.7311, PIK neg. 3630, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.221
- [Krieger I., około 1868, ban249] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od północnego-zachodu*, (około 1868), MHmK, nr inw. 3858/K PIK neg. 7237, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.249
- [Maliszewski W., około 1868, PIK.3657] MALISZEWSKI W., *Sukiennice od północnego-zachodu*, (około 1868), zbiory prywatne, PIK neg. 3657
- [Krieger I., 1869-1871, ban21] KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od północy*, (1869-1871), MHmK, nr inw. 1741/K, PIK neg. 4959, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.21
- [Krieger I., przed 1875, MHmK_1971/K] KRIEGER I., *Stragany na rynku*, fragment, (przed 1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1971/K [in] Ignacy Krieger ..., *op.cit.*, ill.11
- [Krieger I., około 1870, MHmK_3610/K] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice przed odnowieniem od północnego-wschodu*, (około 1870), MHmK, nr inw. 3610/K [in] Ignacy Krieger ..., *op.cit.*, ill.6
- [Krieger I., 1872-1875, MHmK_1809/K] KRIEGER I., *Targ przed Sukiennicami*, fragment (1872-1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1809/K [in] Ignacy Krieger ..., *op.cit.*, ill.9
- [Krieger I., około 1870, MHmK_1834/K] KRIEGER I., *Kościół Mariacki i północna część Sukiennic*, (po 1870), MHMK, nr inw. 1834/K [in] Ignacy Krieger ..., *op.cit.*, ill.1
- [Krieger I., po 1870, ban64] KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południowego zachodu*, (po 1870), MHmK, nr inw. 2172/K, PIK neg. 4845, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.64

- [Krieger I., po 1870, ban65] KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południowego zachodu*, (po 1870), MHmK, nr inw. 1179/K, PIK neg. 4854, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.65
- [Krieger I., po 1870, ban66] KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południowego zachodu*, (po 1870), MHmK, nr inw. 1780/K, PIK neg. 4844, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.66
- [Krieger I., po 1870, ban91] KRIEGER I., *Kamienica betmańska i wieża ratuszowa i Wielka waga od południowego-wschodu*, (po 1870), MHmK, nr inw. 3857/K, PIK neg. 7236, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.91
- [Krieger I., po 1870, ban92] KRIEGER I., *Kamienica betmańska i wieża ratuszowa i Wielka waga od południowego-wschodu*, (po 1870), ANKr, sygn. A V/86, PIK neg. 5801, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.92
- [Krieger I., 1872-1875, ban167] KRIEGER I., *Kościół Mariacki i północna część Sukiennic*, (1872-1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1809/K, PIK neg. 6953, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.167
- [Krieger I., 1872-1875, ban236] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice*, (1872-1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1855/K, PIK neg. 5924, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.236
- [Krieger I., 1872-1875, ban237] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice i wschodnia połowa Rynku od północnego-wschodu*, (1872-1875), MHmK, nr inw. 3610/K, PIK neg. 7272, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.237
- [Krieger I., 1874-1875, ban246] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od południa*, (1874-1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1820/K, PIK neg. 6928, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.246
- [Krieger I., 1875, ban238] KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od północnego-wschodu*, (1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1856/K, PIK neg. 6932, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.238
- [Krieger I., przed 1875, ban250] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od północnego-zachodu*, (przed 1875), MHmK, nr inw. 1818/K, PIK neg. 6926, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.250
- [Krieger I., zapewne 1879, ban262] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od północnego wschodu*, (zapewne 1879), MHmK 1828/K, PIK neg. 4957, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.262
- [Krieger I., 1879-1880, ban271] KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od południowego wschodu*, (1879-1880), MHmK, nr inw. 1832/K, PIK neg. 6929, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.271
- [Krieger I., 1882-1884, ban97] KRIEGER I., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu*, (1882-1884), MHmK, nr inw. 1812/K, PIK neg. 6924, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.97
- [Krieger I., 1901-1907, ban261] KRIEGER I., *Północna fasada Sukiennic i wieża ratuszowa*, (1901-1907), MHmK, nr inw. 1852/K, PIK neg. 4956, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.261
- [Krieger I., przed 1858, MHmK 723/VIII] KRIEGER I., *Północna część Rynku Krakowskiego*, (około 1858), MHmK, nr inw. 723/VIII
- [Krieger I., przed 1884, ban22] KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia Połowa Rynku*, (przed 1884), MNK, nr inw. XVIII/Fot./4883, PIK neg. 8359, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.22
- [Krzan P., 2006] KRZAN P., *Prace remontowe na Rynku Głównym*, (2006), [on-line] <http://www.krakow4u.pl/inne/rynek_glowny/html_foto/rynek_glowny_006.html>, accessed 07 X 2010
- [Krzan P., około 2009] KRZAN P., *Rynek z lotu ptaka*, (około 2009), [on-line] <www.krakow4u.pl>, accessed 06 X 2010
- [Krzan P., X 2010] KRZAN P., *Multimedialne widowisko muzyczne z okazji otwarcia muzeum: Podziemia Rynku*, (X 2010), [on-line] <http://www.krakow4u.pl/krakow_sukiennice.html>, accessed 07 X 2010
- [Kuźmienko J., około 1954] KUŹMIENKO J., *Rynek w Krakowie zgodnie z koncepcjami sprzed II wojny światowej*, (około 1954), [in] Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.16
- [Leski J., około 1865] LESKI J., *Widok Sukiennic i Kramów Bogatych z wieży kościoła Mariackiego* – rysunek ze zdjęcia W. Maliszewskiego, (około 1865), PIK neg. 2321, zdjęcie oryginalne Walerego Maliszewskiego, w ANKr, sygn. A III/810.
- [Lipnicki F., 1835] LIPNICKI F., *Kościół św. Wojciecha*, (1835), Litografia, egzemplarz w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej, Dział Grafiki, nr inw. J.3868, t. 65

- [Łuszczkiewicz W., *Widok Sukiennic w XV wieku, 1400-1499*] ŁUSZCZKIEWICZ W., *Widok Sukiennic w XV wieku, (1400-1499)* [in] Pieradzka K., *Rozkwit ..., op.cit.*, p.155
- [Mączyński F., 1900, ban57] MĄCZYŃSKI F., *Kościół św. Wojciecha, (1900)*, MHmK, nr inw. 1424/VIII, PIK neg. 1864, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.57
- [Maliszewski W., około 1863, ban40] MALISZEWSKI W., *Kościół św. Wojciecha, (około 1863)*, MHmK, nr inw. Fs./951/6/IX, PIK neg. 6163, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.40
- [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban11] MALISZEWSKI W., *Widok na Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate z wieży Mariackiej, (około 1865)*, MHmK, nr inw. 723/II, PIK neg. 5212, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.11
- [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban20] MALISZEWSKI W., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od północy, (około 1865)*, ANKr, Zbiór Ikonoграфiczny, nr inw. A III/799, PIK neg. 5206, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.20
- [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban219] MALISZEWSKI W., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate od północnego-wschodu, (około 1865)*, PIK neg. 5717, Kraków zbiory prywatne [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.219
- [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban240] MALISZEWSKI W., *Sukiennice od południa, (około 1865)*, MHmK, nr inw. Fs/106.IX, PIK neg. 6133, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.240
- [Maliszewski W., około 1865, ban63] MALISZEWSKI W., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południowego-zachodu, (około 1865)*, MHmK, nr inw. Fs/951/5/XI, PIK neg. 6162, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.63
- [Maliszewski W., po 1860, ban152] MALISZEWSKI W., *Północna część Kramów Bogatych od południowego-wschodu, (po 1860)*, MNK, nr inw. III/Fot/784, PIK neg. 8925, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.152
- [Marciniak A., kamienne kramy, 2007-2010] MARCINIAK A., *Kamienne kramy, (2010)* [on-line] Klub podróżników Śródziemie, *Podziemne tajemnice Krakowa – Rynek Główny*, <<http://www.klubpodroznikow.com/relacje/podziemna/608-podziemny-krakow->>, accessed 11 IX 2011
- [Marciniak A., kramy bogate, 2007-2010] MARCINIAK A., *Kramy Bogate, (2010)* [on-line] Klub podróżników Śródziemie, *Podziemne tajemnice Krakowa – Rynek Główny*, <<http://www.klubpodroznikow.com/relacje/podziemna/608-podziemny-krakow->>, accessed 11 IX 2011
- [Markowski S., około 1997, poczt.] MARKOWSKI S., *Kraków z lotu ptaka (około 1997)*, KAW, pocztówka
- [Matejko J., 1857, ban6] MATEJKO J., *Widok z wieży ratuszowej na kościół Mariacki, (około 1857)*, zamieszczony w tygodniku *Kłosy*, t. III, Warszawa 1866, nr 78, p.308, PIK neg. 2324, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.6
- [Miezan M., Pregierz, 2010] MIEZIAN M., *Mydlniki, Dawny pregierz krakowski, przeniesiony w XIX w. do wsi Mydlniki, (2010)* [on-line] Wikimedia, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pr%C4%99gierz_w_Mydlnikach.jpg>, accessed 11 X 2010
- [Mucha S., 1930-1939, MHF 1963/II] MUCHA S., *Kościół Mariacki w Krakowie, (1930-1939)*, MHF 1963/II
- [Mucha S., 1930-1939, MHF 1966/II] MUCHA S., *Wschodnia część Rynku, (1930-1939)*, MHF 1966/II
- [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.9] XX., *Odsłonięte korony zachowanej partii murów i ścian fundamentowych południowo-wschodniej części odwachu (2004)* [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ..., op.cit.*, ill.9
- [Mucha S., 1930-1939, MHF 1967/II] MUCHA S., *Wieża Ratuszowa z odwachem, (1930-1939)*, MHF 1967/II
- [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106] PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok południowej części rynku krakowskiego, (1837)*, MHmK, nr inw. 785/VIII, PIK neg. 1746, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.106
- [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120] PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok zachodniej części rynku krakowskiego, (1837)*, MHmK, nr inw. 784/VIII, PIK neg. 1746, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.120
- [Piątkowski T., 1837, ban53] PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok południowo-wschodniej części rynku krakowskiego, (1837)*, MHmK, nr inw. 786/VIII [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ..., op.cit.*, ill.53

- [Pryliński T., 1878, w *Rynek Główny*, p.166] PRYLIŃSKI T., *Projekt przebudowy Sukiennic zatwierdzony do realizacji*, (1878), miejsce przechowywania oryginału nieznane [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.166
- [Richter W., 1830, ban110] RICHTER W., *Wieża ratuszowa od zachodu.*, (1830), MHmK, nr inw. 531/III, PIK neg. 2130, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.110
- [Rogowski, 1820-1822, ban109] ROGOWSKI M., *Odwach*, (1820-1822), MHmK, nr inw. 684/VIII, PIK neg. 1977, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.109
- [Rząca T., 1911-1912, MHF 3727/II] RZĄCA T., *Południowa część Rynku z Sukiennicami i odwachem*. (1911-1912), MHF 3727/II
- [Rzewuski W., około1865, ban90] RZEWUSKI W., *Kamienica hetmańska i wieża ratuszowa i Wielka waga od południowego-wschodu*, (około 1865), Kraków, zbiory prywatne, PIK neg. 5701, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.90
- [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban222] RZEWUSKI W., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate od północnego-wschodu*, (1868), MHmK, nr inw. Fs/1099/IX, PIK neg. 6143, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.222
- [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban225] RZEWUSKI W., *Kramy Bogate podczas rozbiórki*, (1868), BJ, Zbiory graficzne, nr inw. I.F. 7790, PIK neg. 4330, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.225
- [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban226] RZEWUSKI W., *Kramy Bogate podczas rozbiórki*, (1868), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A V/702, PIK neg. 5921, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.226
- [Rzewuski W., 1868, ban227] RZEWUSKI W., *Kramy Bogate podczas rozbiórki*, (1868), BJ, Zbiory graficzne, nr inw. I.F. 7792, PIK neg. 4331, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.227
- [Rzewuski W., po 1868, ban245] RZEWUSKI W., *Sukiennice od południa.*, (po 1868), MNK nr inw. III/Fot/786, PIK neg. 8918, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.245
- [Rzewuski W., 1890, ban93] RZEWUSKI W., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu.*, (po 1890), Kraków, zbiory prywatne, PIK neg. 5741, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.93
- [Rzewuski W., 1891, ban33] RZEWUSKI W., *Południowo-wschodnia część Rynku Głównego od północnego-wschodu.*, (1891), Kraków, zbiory prywatne, PIK neg. 5751, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.33
- [Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802] SCHMAUS VON LIVONEGG, *Inwentaryzacja Ratusza Krakowskiego* (1802), elewacje, rzuty, przekroje, ANKr, zb. ikon., sygn. Ratusz 1, plan I-VI
- [Smuglewicz F., 1794, 1796] SMUGLEWICZ F., *Przysięga Tadeusza Kościuszki na Rynku w Krakowie*, (1794), 1796, [in] Wikipedia <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Smuglewicz_Kosciuszko_2.jpg>, accessed 31.I.2012
- [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103] STACHOWICZ M., *Sprowadzenie jeńców i armat spod Racławic*, (1794), MHmK, nr inw. 7221/II, PIK neg. 1240, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.103
- [Stachowicz M., 1794, ban111] STACHOWICZ M., *Przysięga T. Kościuszki, rynek Główny od zachodu*, (1794), MHmK, nr inw. 786/VIII, PIK neg. 2120, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.111
- [Stachowicz M., 1794, Frančić_104] STACHOWICZ M., *Przysięga Tadeusza Kościuszki, na Rynku w Krakowie*, (1794) [in] Frančić M., *Kalendarz dziejów ...*, *op.cit.*, p.104
- [Stachowicz M., *Pochód ...*, 1796, ban17] STACHOWICZ M., *Pochód księcia Auersperga z Pałacu Spiskiego do kościoła Mariackiego*, (1796), MHmK, nr inw. 569/III, PIK neg. 2123, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.17
- [Stachowicz M., *Wnętrze...*, pocz. XIX w.] STACHOWICZ M., *Wnętrze Kramów Bogatych*, pocz. XIX w., MHmK, nr inw. 588/III, PIK neg. 2115
- [Stachowicz M., 1809, ban107] STACHOWICZ M., *Rynek Główny od południa*, (1809), PIK neg. 25, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.107
- [Stachowicz M., przed 1820, ban104] STACHOWICZ M., *Rynek Główny od południa*, (przed 1820), MNK, nr inw. 74492, PIK neg. 497, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.104
- [Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18] STACHOWICZ T.B., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego – widok od północnego-wschodu* (około 1800), MHmK, nr inw. 256/III, PIK neg. 2110, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.18

- [Stachowicz T.B., pocz. XIX w., ban259] STACHOWICZ T.B według Stachowicza M., *Wnętrze Kramów Bogatych*, pocz. XIX w., MHmK, nr inw. 588/III, PIK neg. 2115, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.259
- [Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182] STACHOWICZ T.B., *Ratusz od północnego-wschodu.*, (przed 1820), MHmK, nr inw. 232/III, PIK neg. 2091, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.182
- [Stachowicz T.B, 1850, ban260] STACHOWICZ T.B., *Wnętrze jatek szewskich* (zapewne około 1850), MHmK, nr inw. 589/III, PIK neg. 2114, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.260
- [Stroobant F., 1858, ban161] STROOBANT F., *Kościół Mariacki i północna strona Sukiennic*, (1858), PIK neg. 125, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.161
- [Stroobant F., 1858, ban216] STROOBANT F., *Północna część Sukiennic od północnego-wschodu*, (1858), PIK neg.135, [in] *Starożytne gmachy Krakowa zdjęte z natury przez F. Stroobanta i objaśnione tekstem historycznym (sztuk 13)*. W Krakowie, własność i nakład Litografii „Czasu” [1862]; Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.216
- [Stroobant F., 1858, ban52] STROOBANT F., *Dom Komisji, wieża ratuszowa, Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate*, (1858), PIK neg.136, [in] *Starożytne gmachy Krakowa zdjęte z natury przez F. Stroobanta i objaśnione tekstem historycznym (sztuk 13)*. W Krakowie, własność i nakład Litografii „Czasu” [1862]; Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.52
- [Stroobant F., 1858, ken171] STROOBANT F., *Południowa część placu Mariackiego od wschodu*, (1858), PIK neg. 128, [in] *Starożytne gmachy Krakowa zdjęte z natury przez F. Stroobanta i objaśnione tekstem historycznym (sztuk 13)*. W Krakowie, własność i nakład Litografii „Czasu” [1862], tabl. 4; Kęder I., Komorowski W., Zeńczak A., *Ikonografia Kościoła Mariackiego...*, *op.cit.*, ill.171
- [Stróżecki J., przed 1820] STRÓŻECKI J., *Ratusz Krakowski*, (1849), ANKr, zbiór ikonograficzny, sygn. B-III-38
- [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, il. 149] ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Fasada południowa przed przebudową*, (przed 1875) [in] Świszczowski S., *Sukiennice ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.149
- [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, od Siennej] ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice przed przebudową, widok od Siennej*, (przed 1875) [in] Świszczowski S., *Sukiennice ...*, *op.cit.*
- [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, od Szewskiej] ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice przed przebudową, widok od Szewskiej*, (przed 1875) [in] Świszczowski S., *Sukiennice ...*, *op.cit.*,
- [Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom] ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice przed przebudową, przyziom*, (przed 1875) [in] Świszczowski S., *Sukiennice ...*, *op.cit.*
- [Van der Rye E., przed 1600] VAN DER RYE E., *Panorama -widok Krakowa od południowego wschodu* (przed 1600), rysował z natury VAN DER RYE, rytował Joris HOEFNAGEL [in] *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1617, T. VI, tabl. 44.
- [Walter H., 1858-1859, ban62] WALTER H., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południowego-zachodu*, (1858-1859), PIK neg. 1, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.62
- [Walter H., 1859, ban89] WALTER H., *Sukiennice Cracovie Mai 1859*, (1859), MNK, nr inw. III.-r.a. 6318, PIK neg. 645, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.89
- [Walter H., około 1859] WALTER H., *Południowa część Rynku.*, (około 1859) [in] *Album widoków Krakowa i jego okolic*, wyd. 1, Litografia „Czasu”, nr 7. Egzemplarze w MNK, ANKr, MHMK.
- [Walter H., 1859-1860, ken166] WALTER H., *l'église St. Marie à Cracovie Août 1859 et Mars 1860.*, (1859-1860), MNK, nr inw. III.-r.a. 6315, PIK neg. 643, [in] Kęder I., Komorowski W., Zeńczak A., *Ikonografia Kościoła Mariackiego...*, *op.cit.*, ill.166
- [Walter H., 1860, ken167] WALTER H., *Kościół Panny Maryi w Krakowie od wschodu.*, (1860), BJ, Zbiory Graficzne, nr inw. 34133 IV M.O.G, PIK neg. 6041, [in] Kęder I., Komorowski W., Zeńczak A., *Ikonografia Kościoła Mariackiego...*, *op.cit.*, ill.167
- [Walter H., około1868] WALTER H., *Północna część Rynku.*, (około 1868)
- [Wenzel J., 1855, ken165] WENZEL J., *Kościół archiprezbiterialny N.P. Maryi widziany z rogu ulicy Szpitalnej*, (1855) PIK neg. 3013, [in] Wicłogłowski, *Kościół krakowski nrydane w stalorytach z treścionym onych opisem*, Kraków 1855, ill.5

- [Włodek H., 1675-1700, ban179] WŁODEK H., *Ratusz i Spichlerz po 1686 od północy*, (1675-1700), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A V/756, PIK neg. 5559, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.179
- [Woch B., 2009, MHmK] WOCH B., *Podziemne kubatury obejmujące szlak turystyczny po podziemiach Rynku Głównego*, (2009), MHmK
- [Zajączkowski J., 1867-1868, ban223] ZAJĄCZKOWSKI J., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate wschodu*, (około 1867-1868), MNK, nr inw. Fot/2218, PIK neg. 8210, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.223
- [Zajączkowski J., 1867-1868, ban224] ZAJĄCZKOWSKI J., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate wschodu*, (około 1867-1868), MNK, nr inw. Fot/2219, PIK neg. 8211, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.224
- [Zaleski M., 1836, ban158] ZALESKI M., *Północna część Rynku od zachodu*, (1836), MHmK, nr inw. 207/III, PIK neg. 2131, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.158
- [Tyszką P., 1390-1399, il.2] XX. *Schemat układu przestrzennego ław chlebowych w końcu XIV wieku. System numerycznego oznaczania nieruchomości w stosunku do „krzyża. „Kwartaly” oznaczone wedle nazw obiektów.* (1390-1399) [in] Tyszką P., *Obraz przestrzenny...*, *op.cit.*, p.105, ill.2
- [Tyszką P., 1430-1500, il.3] XX. *Schemat układu przestrzennego kramów bogatych w Konstrukcja opisowa „od krzyża. Krzyż rozumiany jako przecięcie uliczki poprzecznej i podłużnej*, (1430-1500) [in] Tyszką P., *Obraz przestrzenny...*, *op.cit.*, p.115, ill.3
- [Tyszką P., 1430-1500, il.4] XX. *Schemat układu przestrzennego kramów bogatych w Konstrukcja opisowa „od krzyża. Krzyż rozumiany jako uliczka poprzeczna.* (1430-1500) [in] Tyszką P., *Obraz przestrzenny...*, *op.cit.*, p.116, ill.4
- [Tyszką P., około 1450, il.6] XX. *Schemat układu przestrzennego ław chlebowych w połowie XV wieku. System numerycznego oznaczania nieruchomości w stosunku do „krzyża. „Połony” i „kwartaly” oznaczone wedle nazw sąsiadujących z nimi obiektów, cyfry w nawiasach oznaczają kolejność nylczania ław w zapisie.* (około 1450) [in] Tyszką P., *Obraz przestrzenny...*, *op.cit.*, p.124, ill.6
- [Tyszką P., około 1450, il.5] XX. *System oznaczania numerycznego ław chlebowych w stosunku do „krzyża”. Z wykorzystaniem hali Sukiennic, bud garncarskich i solnych jako punktów orientacyjnych. Schemat układu przestrzennego w połowie XV wieku*, (około 1450) [in] Tyszką P., *Obraz przestrzenny...*, *op.cit.*, p.118, ill.5
- [Firllet E.M., Najstarsza ..., 1536-1537] XX, *Widok Krakowa od południowego wschodu*, (1536-1537), oryginał w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Würzburgu [in] FIRLET E.M., *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa.*, MHmK, Kraków 1998
- [Sosiński J., około 1858, T.I. 1868] SOSIŃSKI J., *Wieża po-ratuszowa w Krakowie*, (około 1858), drzeworyt [in] Tygodnik Ilustrowany, 1868, p.258
- [Gozdarowski E., około 1858] GOZDAROWSKI E. *Rynek Krakowski od południowego wschodu*, rysował Kozarski A., według fotografii Rzewuskiego, (około 1858) drzeworyt [in] Tygodnik Ilustrowany, nr 310 z 20 IX 1865, p.96
- [XX., *Ulice i Rynek Główny jako tło ...*, 1775] XX., *Ulice i Rynek Główny jako tło Procesji ku czci św. Jana Kantego, w dniu 15 lipca 1775 roku*, rysunek piórką i ołówkiem lawowany, Zakrystia kościoła św. Anny w Krakowie, (1775) [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.119
- [XX., *Ratusz ...*, przed 1820, w Muczkowski J., *Ratusz ...*, il.6] XX., *Ratusz w Krakowie, fasada wschodnia*, stan przed zburzeniem (przed 1820) [in] Muczkowski J., *Dawny ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 6
- [Zinke J.W., 1855] ZINKE J.W., *Kościółek S-go Wojciecha u Rynku* (przed 1855), staloryt, [in] Wielogłowski W., *Kościół Krakowski w stalorytach z treściowym onych opisem*. Kraków, druk J. Feyertag we Wiedniu, tabl. 6
- [XX., 1782-1804, tab.6] XX., *Hôtel de Ville à Cracovie*, (około 1782-1804), staloryt, wydana w Paryżu w 1840, tabl. 6
- [XX, 1820-1822, ban51] XX, *Rynek i kościół św. Wojciecha*, (po 1820-1822), MHmK, nr inw. 722/VIII, PIK neg. 6423 [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.51
- [XX., *Plan odwachu...*, 1829] XX, *Plan Odwachu Głównego dannego.*, (03 kwietnia 1829), ANKr, zb. kart., teka XXV b/1

- [XX., 1930-1939, AFG, 3463] XX., *Rynek Główny i kwiaciarki*, ok. 1930, Archiwum Fotografii Genealogicznej, [on-line] <<http://www.genealogia.okiem.pl/foto2/displayimage.php?album=84&pid=3463>>, accessed 13 IX 2011
- [XX., 1840, ban61] XX., *Rynek i kościół św. Wojciecha*, (około 1840), ANKr, Teki Grabowskiego, E 54 fig. 905, PIK neg. 1287, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.61
- [XX., przed 1857, MHmK 1560/VIII] XX., *Południowa część Rynku*, MHmK, (przed 1857) sygn. 1560/VIII
- [XX., około 1860, ban218] XX., *Sukiennice w Krakowie*, (około 1860), litografia, ANKr, Teki Grabowskiego, E 22 fig. 58, PIK neg. 1089, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.218
- [XX., po 1860, ban19] XX., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od północy*, (po 1860), MNK, nr inw. 79846, PIK neg. 8915, NAC (1863) sygn. 1-U-2569a [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.19
- [XX., 1860-1861, ban217] XX., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate od północnego-wschodu*, (1860-1861), w piątym wydaniu przewodnika Grabowskiego, 1866, p.30, PIK neg. 140, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.217
- [XX., około 1865, ban164] XX., *Kościół Mariacki i Sukiennice*, (około 1865) MHmK, nr inw. Fs/246/IX, PIK neg. 6118, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.164
- [XX., po 1967] XX., *Inwentaryzacja po pracach adaptacyjnych prowadzonych przez W. Zina*, (po 1967) [in] Borusiewicz W., *Konserwacja zabytków budownictwa murowanego*, Warszawa 1971
- [XX., przed 1868, ban165] XX., *Północny bok Rynku, widok od zachodu*, (przed 1868), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A V/711, PIK neg. 5930, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.165
- [XX., przed 1868, ban67] XX., *Sukiennice, Wielka Waga i Kramy Bogate*, (przed 1868), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A III/542, PIK neg. 5134, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, il.67
- [XX., przed 1868, MHmK FS1247/IX] XX. (W. Maliszewski ?), *Północna część Kramów Bogatych*, (około 1868), MHmK, sygn. FS247/IX
- [XX., przed 1868, MHmK FS12812/IX] XX., *Środkowa część kramów bogatych i kościół św. Wojciecha od południa*, (przed 1868) MHmK, sygn. FS12812/IX
- [XX., przed 1868, ken173] XX., *Zakęcie między kościołem Panny Maryi i S[więtej] Barbary w Krakowie*, (przed 1868), ANKr, nr inw. A/III/636, PIK neg. 5154, [in] Kęder I., Komorowski W., Zeńczak A., *Ikonoграфия Kościoła Mariackiego...*, *op.cit.*, ill.173
- [XX., przed 1868, Grabowski A. *Kraków...*, p.28] XX., *Południowo-zachodnia część Rynku*, (przed 1835), [in] Grabowski A., *Kraków i jego okolice*, 1835, p.28
- [XX. *Plan Sukiennic i Kramów ...*, przed 1868] XX., *Plan Sukiennic i Kramów Bogatych, jatek szewskich i garbarskich, Rzut poziomy dołu*, rysunek piórką i ołówkiem, (przed 1868), MNK, sygn. III-Pl 20052-2053
- [XX., przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569] XX., *Rekonstrukcja wyglądu Sukiennic w XIX w.*, (przed 1873) z roku 1935, NAC sygn. 1-U-2569
- [XX., przed 1873, Kadłuczka. A., *Ochrona...*, il.13] XX., *Sukiennice od północy*, (przed 1873), [in] Kadłuczka A., *Ochrona ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.13
- [XX., po 1880, MNK III-PL-4757] XX., *Sukiennice, Rzuty piętra i parteru z kramami – rysunek inwentaryzacyjny*, (po 1880), MNK, nr inw. III-PL-4757
- [XX., 1881-1884, ban115] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu*, (1882-1884), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. C IV/29, PIK neg. 7662, [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.115
- [XX., po 1886, MNK 20-f-127] XX., *Kościół św. Wojciecha* (po 1886), MNK nr inw. 20-f-127 [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.185
- [XX., 1886-1888, ban116] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od zachodu*, (1886-1888), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, sygn. A V/90, PIK neg. 5805 [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.116
- [XX., 1890, ban9] XX., *Południowo-wschodnia część Rynku Głównego*, (1890), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, sygn. A IV/863, PIK neg. 5610 [in] Banach J., *Ikonoграфия Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, il.9

- [XX, około 1895, poczt.] XX, *Wieża ratuszowa i północno-zachodnia strona rynku.*, (około 1895), pocztówka
- [XX, 1895, ban95] XX, *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu.*, pocztówka, (1895), PIK neg. 7560, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.95
- [XX, przed 1899, ban94] XX, *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu.*, (przed 1899), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A II/593, PIK neg. 4627, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.94
- [XX., około 1914, w Czapska A., et al., il.24] XX., *Rynek w lotu ptaka*, (około 1914), NAC sygn. 1-U-2335 [in] Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.24
- [XX, przed 1907, poczt.] XX, *Wieża ratuszowa i północno-zachodnia strona rynku.*, (przed 1907), pocztówka
- [XX., 1912-1913, ban14] XX., *Sukiennice od strony północno-wschodniej i część Rynku Głównego*, (1912-1913), ANKr, Zbiór Ikonograficzny, nr inw. A IV/535, PIK neg. 5422 [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.14
- [XX, 1914, fotopolska] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa i Sukiennice.*, (zapewne 1914) [on-line] Fotopolska <<http://malopolskie.fotopolska.eu/230961.foto.html>>, accessed 21 III 2011
- [XX, 1910, ban102] XX., *Arcyksiążę Fryderyk w Krakowie – wnętrże podcieni odwachu*, (1910), PIK neg. 3134, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, il.102
- [XX., po 1901, ban130] XX., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy*, (po 1901), BJ, Zbiory graficzne, Albumy Kadera, album I, fot. 294, PIK neg. 8596, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.130
- [XX, 1911, ban12] XX, *Widok na pomnik Mickiewicza z wieży Mariackiej*, (1911), ANKr AKOWIE, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A II/280, PIK neg. 4609, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.12
- [XX, 1914, ban96] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu*, (1914), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A II/511, PIK neg. 4616, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.96
- [XX., 1914, ban274] XX., *Sukiennice od ulicy Brackiej*, (1914), ANKr, Zbiór ikonograficzny, nr inw. A II/279, PIK neg. 4610, [in] Banach J., *Ikonografia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.274
- [XX, przed 1926, NAC 1-U-2337-1] XX., *Widok Rynku z lotu ptaka*, (przed 1926), NAC sygn. 1-U-2337-1
- [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-3] XX, *Instalacja zegara na wieży ratuszowej*, (1926), NAC sygn. 1-U-2572-3
- [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-4] XX., *Instalacja zegara na wieży ratuszowej*, (1926), NAC sygn. 1-U-2572-4
- [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-5] XX, *Instalacja zegara na wieży ratuszowej*, (1926), NAC sygn. 1-U-2572-5
- [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2572-1] XX., *Wieża Ratuszowa*, (1926), NAC sygn. 1-U-2572-1
- [XX, 1938, NAC 1-U-2599-8] XX., *Sukiennice od ulicy Floriańskiej*, (1938), NAC sygn. 1-U-2599-8
- [XX, 1932-1941, NAC 1-U-2603-1] XX., *Rynek od Wiślniej*, (1932-1941), NAC sygn. 1-U-2603-1
- [XX, 1926, NAC 1-U-2924] XX., *Kościół św. Wojciecha*, (1926), NAC sygn. 1-U-2924
- [XX, 1939-1940, NAC 2-8332] XX., *Kościół Wojciecha z wieży kościoła Mariackiego*, (1939-1940), NAC sygn. 2-8332
- [XX, 1926-1840] XX, *Wieża ratuszowa*, (1926-1940)
- [XX, 1926-19146, NAC 1-U-2337-2] XX., *Sukiennice i wieża Ratuszowa z wieży Mariackiej*, (1926-1946), NAC sygn. 1-U-2337-2
- [XX., *Sukiennice*, 1926-1946] XX., *Sukiennice i wieża Ratuszowa z wieży Mariackiej*, (1926-1946), [on-line] <<http://www.krakow.travel/upload/object/2009-07/4566-1248759470-rynek-z-powietrza-2.jpg>>, accessed 06 X 2010
- [XX, około 1928, w Franćić M., *Kalendarz...*, p.21] XX, *Rynek Krakowski z lotu ptaka*, (około 1928), [in] Franćić M., *Kalendarz...*, *op.cit.*, p.21
- [XX, 1930-1939, MHmK FS-7808-IX] XX., *Odwach i wieża ratuszowa*, (1930-1939), MHmK FS-7808-IX [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.91, p.207; Rodler O., *Mittelalterliches...*, *op.cit.*, ill.13

- [XX, 1931, NAC 1-U-2581-6] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem*, (1931), NAC sygn. 1-U-2581-6
- [XX, przed 1932, w Tomkowicz S., *Wieża...*, il.12] XX., *Wieża Ratuszowa w Krakowie. Rzut poziomy parteru*. (przed 1932) [in] Tomkowicz S., *Wieża...*, *op.cit.*, ill.12
- [XX, przed 1932, w Tomkowicz S., *Wieża...*, il.16] XX., *Wieża Ratuszowa w Krakowie. Przekrój pionowy po płaszczyźnie południowo-północnej*, (przed 1932) [in] Tomkowicz S., *Wieża...*, *op.cit.*, ill.16
- [XX, 1934, NAC 1-U-2591-1] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem*, (1834), NAC sygn. 1-U-2591-1
- [XX, przed 1938, poczt.] XX., *Wieża ratuszowa i Sukiennice w wieży kościoła Mariackiego*, (przed 1938), pocztówka
- [XX, 1939-1945, poczt.] XX., *Zachodnia część Rynku Głównego od północy*, (1939-1945), pocztówka
- [XX., 1946, w Czapska A., et al., il.37] XX., *Elewacja południowa wieży ratuszowej. Zdjęcie pomiarowe sprzed zniesienia odwachu*, (1946), [in] Czapska A., Gartkiewicz P., Rynek ..., *op.cit.*, fig. 37
- [XX., 1960, *rzut na wys. I, HAP PK*] XX., *Wieża Ratuszowa w Krakowie. Inwentaryzacja 1960, przeskalowana z oryginalnego pomiaru HAP 1:50, skala 1:100, Rzut na wys. I*, (1960) Pracownia Konserwatorska (HAP - Katedra Historii Architektury Polskiej), Politechnika Krakowska
- [XX., 1960, *rzut na wys. II, HAP PK*] XX., *Wieża Ratuszowa w Krakowie. Inwentaryzacja 1960, przeskalowana z oryginalnego pomiaru HAP 1:50, skala 1:100, Rzut na wys. II*, (1960) Pracownia Konserwatorska HAP, PK
- [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., *Budowle...*, il.3] XX., *Główny kościół św. Wojciecha, rzut*, (1963), [in] Radwański K., *Budowle...*, *op.cit.*, ill.3
- [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., *Budowle...*, il.5] XX., *Główny kościół św. Wojciecha*, (1963), [in] Radwański K., *Budowle...*, *op.cit.*, ill.5
- [XX., 1963, w Radwański K., *Budowle...*, il.7] XX., *Główny kościół św. Wojciecha, rzut poziomy*, (1963), [in] Radwański K., *Budowle...*, *op.cit.*, ill.7
- [XX, 2004, Kluj M., 2006, il.3] XX., *Prace archeologiczne na Rynku - Wykop 5/04, przekrój nawarstwień i murów w północnej części wykopu*, (2004), [in] Kluj M. et al., *Badania mineralogiczne...*, *op.cit.*, p.197, il.3
- [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.23] XX., *Mury piwnicznej obiektu B*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania...*, *op.cit.*, ill.23, p.163
- [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.25] XX., *Mury piwnicznej obiektu B*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania...*, *op.cit.*, ill.25, p.164
- [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.14] XX., *Kraków, Północna część Rynku Głównego. Renesansowa piwniczka - wykop budowlany*, (2004), [in] Zaitz E., 2006, ill.14, p.109
- [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.25] XX., *Kraków, Północna część Rynku Głównego. Ceglane mury zachodniej i północnej ściany obiektu B dostawionego do Kramów szewskich - wykop budowlany*, (2004), [in] Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, *op.cit.*, ill.25, p.115
- [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.49] XX., *Kraków, Północna część Rynku Głównego. Relikty kramów drewnianych z XIV w. odkrytych w 2004 roku*, (2004), [in] Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, *op.cit.*, ill.49, p.129
- [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.50] XX., *Kraków, Północna część Rynku Głównego. Relikty drewnianych kramów z XIV w.*, (2004), [in] Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, *op.cit.*, ill.50, p.130
- [XX., *Wykopaliska...*, 2005] XX., *Wykopaliska na Rynku - Wielka Waga*, (2005), [on-line] <<http://www.fototrip.pl/zdjecie,27232.html>>, accessed 06 X 2010
- [XX., Bereza/2006, il.6] XX., *Stan Tarasu nad arkadami i dachu pulpitu nad sklepami*, (2006) [in] Karczmarczyk S., Bereza W., *Sukiennice - problemy ochrony, badań i modernizacji*, Wrocław - Kliczków, 2006, ill.6
- [XX., 2005-2006, WK 19/2006, p.65, il.10] XX., *Kraków, Rynek Główny: odslonięte relikty XIII-wiecznych kramów (?) odnalezione w ulicze XIV-wiecznych Kramów Bogatych*, (2005-2006) [in] Kadłuczka A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego”...*, *op.cit.*, il.10
- [XX., 2005-2006, WK 19/2006, p.65, il.8] XX., *Kraków, Rynek Główny: odkopane relikty pomieszczeń Wagi Wielkiej zachowane pod nawierzchnią*, (2005-2006) [in] Kadłuczka A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego”...*, *op.cit.*, il.8
- [XX., 2005-2006, WK 19/2006, p.65, il.9] XX., *Kraków, Rynek Główny: odkopane relikty komór warsztatów pod nieistniejącymi sklepami Kramów Bogatych*, (2005-2006) [in] Kadłuczka A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego”...*, *op.cit.*, il.9

- [XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il.62] XX., *Kraków, Środkowa część Rynku Głównego, przekop pod kanał technologiczny (wykop 6/04) w sukiennicach. Relikty gotyckiego muru kamiennego „kramów rybnych, sadelnych lub piekarskich” przeciętego przez fundament Sukiennic z lat 1875-1880. widok od SW*, (2004) [in] Zaitz E., *Materiały Archeologiczne*, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, p.141, fig. 62
- [XX, w Zaitz E., 2006, il.28] XX., *Kraków, Środkowa część Rynku Głównego, wykop budowlany pod choinkę (wykop 15/04) profil 14 południowy. Przekrój muru zachodniej ściany dobudówki (obiektu B) oraz nawarstwień w jego sąsiedztwie*. (2004) [in] Zaitz E., *Materiały Archeologiczne*, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, p.117, fig. 28
- [XX., *Sukiennice-rzut*, 2006] XX., *Rzut Sukiennic*, (2006) [in] Karczmarczyk S., Bereza W., *Sukiennice – problemy ochrony, badań i modernizacji*, Wrocław - Kliczków, 2006, ill.2
- [XX., *Sukiennice-projekt*, 2006] XX., *Sukiennice projekt*, (2006) [in] Karczmarczyk S., Bereza W., *Sukiennice – problemy ochrony, badań i modernizacji*, Wrocław - Kliczków, 2006, ill.7, 8
- [XX., 2009, DP] XX., *Wizualizacja: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, Szlak turystyczny po podziemiach Rynku Głównego*, (2009), MHmK, [on-line] *Dziennik Polski* 31 XII 2009, <<http://www.dziennik.krakow.pl/pl/warto-wiedziec/inwestycje-miejskie/986903-szlak-turystyczny-po-podziemiach-rynku-glownego.html>>, accessed 06 X 2010
- [XX., 2010, UMCS] XX., *Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa - szlak turystyczny po podziemiach Rynku Głównego*, fragment ekspozycji, (2010) MHmK, wystawa Rynek Podziemny [in] *Podziemia Rynku W Krakowie – Fotoreportaż*, Strona Historycy.org

Iconography (analogical objects):

- [Albucasis, BnF fol. 80v, 1400-1499] ALBUCASIS, *Tacuinum sanitatis*, Allemagne (Rhénanie), XVe siècle, Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Latin 9333, fol. 80v.
- [Barbant C., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników, 1875] BARBANT C., *Hildesheim - Knochenbauramtsbaus auf dem Marktplatz (Deutschland)*, 1875, [on-line] <http://www.french-engravings.com/product_info.php?products_id=9904&language=de>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [Beschey J.F., 1750-1799, RO 854] BESCHEY J.F., *Marché au poisson au bord de la mer*, (2e moitié 18e siècle), Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, no RO 854 [in] Joconde, Catalogue des Collections des Musées de France
- [Binek R., Poznań, Waga_1] BINEK R., *Poznań, Waga miejska, po prawej fragment odwachu, z tyłu widoczny fragment ratusza*, (2010 ?) [in] Wikipedia, *Waga miejska w Poznaniu*, [on-line] <http://pl.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Plik:Waga_miejska_Poznan_od_W.jpg&filetimestamp=20050423224129>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [Le Blondel A., 1870, BmL. alb.E1,9] LE BLONDEL A., *Lille, Marché aux poissons*, (1870), Bibliothèque municipale de Lille, alb. E1. 9
- [Le Blondel A., 1870, BmL. alb.E1,10] LE BLONDEL A., *Lille : Marché aux poissons, construit en février 1805 par l'architecte Benjamin-Joseph Dewarlez (1767-1819), détruit en 1870 pour le percement de la rue de la Gare*, (1870), Bibliothèque municipale de Lille, alb E1. 10
- [Boldoduc E., 1865, BmL.44213, pl.32] BOLDODUC E., *Lille : Marché aux poissons*, lithographie (1893), Bibliothèque municipale de Lille, 44213, planche 32
- [Bout P., 1675-1725, MR 573] BOUT P., *Le Marché aux poissons (d'Anvers)*, (4e quart 17e siècle ; 1er quart 18e siècle), Fontainebleau, musée national du château de Fontainebleau, no INV 1068 ; MR 573 [in] Joconde, Catalogue des Collections des Musées de France
- [Dodell R., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników-makieta, 2010] DODELL R., *Hildesheim, Makieta Knochenbauramtsbaus*, from exhibition *History of the reconstruction/ construction of history*, 2010, [on-line] <<http://www.flickr.com/photos/dorena-wm/4845619956/>>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [Lancelot M.T., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników, 1892] LANCELOT M.T., *Hildesheim – Knochenbauramtsbaus*, 1892, [on-line] <http://www.french-engravings.com/product_info.php?products_id=11007&language=de>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [Muray, Strasbourg, Kammerzell, 1840] MURAY, *La Maison Kammerzell*, 1840, Cabinet des Estampes, Musée de Strasbourg, La Maison Kammerzell : Restaurant gastronomique Strasbourg, [on-line] <<http://www.maison-kammerzell.com/maison-kammerzell-article115.html>>, accessed 05.X 2010

- [Mützel H., 1825, Wrocław, Czerner O, il.190] MÜTZEL H., *Wrocław, Ratusz od południowego-zachodu*, (1825), MN Wrocław [in] Czerner O., *Wrocław w dawnej rycinie*, Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1989, ill.190
- [Mylius K.F., Frankfurt nad Menem, Waga miejska, 1874] MYLIUS K.F., *Frankfurt nad Menem, Waga miejska*, (1874) [in] Wikipedia, [on-line] <[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadtwaage_\(Frankfurt\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadtwaage_(Frankfurt))>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [Olaus Magnus, 1555, *l'étal d'un poissonnier*] [in] Carl Friedrich Fay, Franz Rittweger: *Bilder aus dem alten Frankfurt am Main. Nach der Natur. Verlag von Carl Friedrich Fay*, Frankfurt am Main 1896–1911, [on-line] <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frankfurt_Am_Main-Fay_151-Die_Stadtwaage_neben_dem_Leinwandhaus-1874.jpg>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [Reiffenstein C.T., Frankfurt nad Menem, Waga miejska, 1873] OLAAUS MAGNUS, *L'étal d'un poissonnier*, 1555, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, [on-line] <<http://grande-boucherie.chez-alice.fr/poisson-mer.htm>>, accessed 12 IX 2010
- [Remshart K., 1736, Wrocław, Czerner O, il.126] REIFFENSTEIN C.T., *Frankfurt nad Menem, Waga miejska, parter wewnętrzny*, 1873, [online] <[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadtwaage_\(Frankfurt\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadtwaage_(Frankfurt))>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [Thomas III de Saluces, BnF fol. 167, 1400-1405] REMSHART K., *Wrocław, Południowa część Rynku*, (1736) według Wernera W.B., BU Wrocław [in] Czerner O., *Wrocław w dawnej rycinie*, Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1989, ill.126
- [XX., 1850, BmL Lefebvre_12,81] THOMAS III DE SALUCES, *Le Chevalier errant*, France (Paris), vers 1400-1405, Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Français 12559, fol. 167
- [XX., Behem_1, B], 1505] XX., *Lille : La Grande Place : Marché du samedi*, (1855), Bibliothèque municipale de Lille, Fonds Lefebvre 12, 81
- [XX., Braunschweig, Waga miejska, 1890-1905] XX., *Kram uliczny*, miniatura z *Kodeksu Behema*, 1505 r., Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie
- [XX., Bruges, Le petit marché aux poissons_4] XX., *Braunschweig, Waga miejska*, (1890-1905), Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Photochrom Prints Collection, sygn. LC-DIG-ppmsca-00507, Wikipedia, *Alte Waage (Braunschweig)*, [on-line] <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Alte_Waage_1900.jpg>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., Bruges, Marché aux poissons_2] XX., *Bruges, Le Petit Marche aux Poissons*, pocztówka, [on-line] <cartesanciennes.skynetblogs.be/tag/1/BRUGES>, accessed V 2010
- [XX., Bruxelles, marché au beurre_1, 1820-1869] XX., *Vismarket de Bruges*, [on-line] <http://www.que-faire-en-belgique.be/tourisme/que_visiter_commune_bruges_centre.htm> accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., Bruxelles, Marché aux grains, 1907] XX., *Bruxelles, ancien marché au beurre*, przerys I. Dudek, oryginał [on-line] *Les marchés de Bruxelles*, [za] Jean d'Osta, <<http://www.ecoles.cfwb.be/argattidegamond/Bo%C3%AEte%20%C3%A0%20outils/Bruxelles/Bonnecroy/March%C3%A9s.htm>>, accessed 09. IX 2011
- [XX., Bruxelles, Marché aux poissons_6] XX., *Bruxelles, Vieux marché aux grains*, [on-line] <<http://sofei-vandenaemet.skynetblogs.be/tag/vismet>>, 12 IX 2010
- [XX., Edinburgh, Waga miejska, 1745] XX., *Bruxelles, Marché aux poissons vue depuis la tour ouest de l'église*, [on-line] <[http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jnb4fybolbij:onezab.wordpress.com/2009/02/26/places-de-marche-a-bruxelles/+bruxelles+ancien+marc%20%20a9+au+beurre+\(pierres+et+rues+1982%20%20d=1%20%20fr%20%20d=dnk%20%20fr](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jnb4fybolbij:onezab.wordpress.com/2009/02/26/places-de-marche-a-bruxelles/+bruxelles+ancien+marc%20%20a9+au+beurre+(pierres+et+rues+1982%20%20d=1%20%20fr%20%20d=dnk%20%20fr))>, accessed 12 IX 2010
- [XX., Hattingen, Ratusz_2] XX., *Edinburgh, Waga miejska*, 1745 [in] James Grant *Old and new Edinburgh*, p.332, [on-line] <<http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk>>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., Hildesheim, Dom Rzeźników, 1900] XX., *Hattingen, Ratusz*, [online] <[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadtwaage_\(Frankfurt\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadtwaage_(Frankfurt))>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, 1830] XX., *Hildesheim, Knochenhaueramtsbaus auf dem Marktplatz*, 1900, [on-line] , <http://de.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dewiki/615164#Bauwerke_und_Kunstdenkm.C3.A4ler> , accessed 05.X 2010
- [XX., Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, 1830] XX., *Stadtansicht Konstanz*, około 1830, [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Stadtansicht_Konstanz.jpg&filetimestamp=20060216175927>, accessed 05.X 2010

- [XX, Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, 1890-1905] XX., *Konstanz, Konzilgebäude*, Baden, Germany, 1890-1905, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Photochrom Collection, [reproduction number pmsca 00293], [on-line] <<http://luirig.altvista.org/cpm/displayimage.php?album=39&pos=1501>>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [XX, Konstanz, Konzilgebäude, około 2010] XX., *Konstanz, Konzilgebäude*, około 2010, [in] European Sampler Tour, [on-line] <<http://www.sem-co.com/~snowman/trip/ger2002/index.html>>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [XX, Marché aux poissons_1] CHAUVEAU ?, *Le marché au poisson des halles*, (około 1650), [on-line] <http://cd94-upbc.creteil.infm.fr/Histoire-geographie_cycle3/HG/Images_Histoire_01.htm>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., w Nagel W., *Das mittelalterliche* ..., il.341] XX., *Noerdlingen. Dom Kuśnierski zbudowany w 1426.*, [in] Nagel W., *Das mittelalterliche Kaufhaus und seine Stellung in der Stadt.*, Gebr. Mann, Berlin 1971, ill.341
- [XX., Nördlingen, Dom Kuśnierski] XX., *Nördlingen, Dom Kuśnierski zbudowany w 1426*, [on-line] <http://www.ansichtskarten-center.de/webshop/shop/USER_ARTIKEL_HANDLING_AUFRUF.php>, accessed 01.X 2010
- [XX., Nysa, Waga_1] XX., *Nysa, Waga miejska*, (lata 50-te, 70-te XX wieku?), Strona Forum.Nysa.PL, [on-line] <<http://forum.nysa.pl/viewtopic.php?t=12>>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., Nysa, Waga_2] XX., *Nysa, Waga miejska*, (data ?), Forum.Nysa.PL Strona Główna, [on-line] <<http://forum.nysa.pl/viewtopic.php?t=12>>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., Nysa, Waga_3] XX., *Nysa, Waga miejska*, (data ?), pocztówka
- [XX., Nysa, Waga miejska, 1894] XX., *Nysa, Waga miejska*, (1894), Strona *Der deutsche Osten – Schlesien*, [on-line] <<http://forum.nysa.pl/viewtopic.php?t=12>>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [XX., poissons d'eau douce] XX., *Poissons d'eau douce*, [on-line] BOILEAU E., *Le Livre Des Métiers*, analyse par René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot, Paris 1879, [on-line] <<http://grande-boucherie.chez-alice.fr/poisson-de-fleuve.htm>>, accessed 12 IX 2010
- [XX, Strasbourg, Kammerzell, 1890-1905] XX., *La Maison Kammerzell*, 1890-1905, Photoglob AG, Zürich, Switzerland or Detroit Publishing Company, Detroit, Michigan, LC-DIG-ppmsca-00018 from Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Photochrom Prints Collection, [on-line] <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Strassburg_um_1900.jpg>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [XX, Strasbourg, Kammerzell, _1] XX., *Strasbourg, la Maison Kammerzell*, [in] *La Maison Kammerzell : Restaurant gastronomique Strasbourg*, [on-line] <<http://www.maison-kammerzell.com/maison-kammerzell-article115.html>>, accessed 05.X 2010
- [XX., Targ, Renesans] XX., *Targ, drzeworyt włoski z okresu Renesansu*, [on-line] *Le territoire boucher*, <<http://grande-boucherie.chez-alice.fr/Grand-Chalet-Grande-Boucherie.htm>>, accessed 12 IX 2010
- [XX, Ypres, Marché aux poissons_2] XX., *Ypres, ancien marche aux poissons*, [on-line] <http://www.que-faire-en-belgique.be/tourisme/que-visiter/commune_ypres_photos.htm>, accessed V 2010

Restitutions:

- [1] ORKISZ M., OLISZEWSKI M., PIANOWSKI Z., *Wirtualna Rekonstrukcja Krakowa*, [CD-ROM], MM Interactive, Kraków 2000
 - [2] Strona Studia Projektowego Modele Architektoniczne, *Modele historyczne*, [on-line] <<http://www.gottwald.pl/>>, accessed 27 IX 2010
- [Civitas ..., 2007] *Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis, A.D. 1650*, DVD, MHmK, 2007
- [Bandurski R., *przed 1820*, w Brayer A., il.2] BANDURSKI R., *Rekonstrukcja widoku ratusza*, (przed 1820) [in] Brayer A., *Ratusz Krakowski*, 1952, fig. 2
- [Blaise J.Y., VRML, 2009] BLAISE J.Y., DUDEK I., *Hipoteza rekonstrukcyjna II fazy ewolucyjnej Małej Wagi – II połowa XV wieku*, digital model VRML (2009)
- [Bojęś-Białasik, *Rekonstrukcja* ..., 2008] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A. *Rekonstrukcja wyglądu XIV wiecznych kramów drewnianych (taw chlebowych ?) odkrytych w 2004 na Runku Głównym w Krakowie po północno zachodniej stronie Sukiennic*, [in] Niemiec D., *Średniowieczny Rynek* ..., *op.cit.*, p.86

- [Bojęś-Białasik, *Szkic...*, 2008] BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Szkic roboczy z 2004 z rekonstrukcją ław chlebowych z XIV w. odkrytych po północno zachodniej stronie Sukiennic*, [in] Niemiec D., *Średniowieczny Rynek...*, *op.cit.*, p.86
- [Christ F., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1950] CHRIST F., *Ratusz Krakowski w XV wieku, hipoteza rekonstrukcyjna*, (1950) MHmK
- [Duch W., 11_MHK, 2010] DUCH W., *Ulice średniowiecznego Krakowa*, plan nr 11, Muzeum Rynku Podziemnego, (2010) MHmK, wystawa Rynek Podziemny [on-line] Historia.org.pl
<<http://picasaweb.google.com/108881231175947834151/OtwarciePodziemiRynkuWKrakowie24092010#>>, accessed 11 XI 2010
- [Essenwein A., *Ratusz 1780-1782 w.*, LIX] ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski 1780-1782, fasada wschodnia* [in] Essenwein A., *Die Mittelalterlichen...*, *op.cit.*, tafel LIX
- [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVIII] ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski w drugiej połowie XV w.*, plany [in] Essenwein A., *Die Mittelalterlichen...*, *op.cit.*, tafel LVII
- [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, LVIII] ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski w drugiej połowie XV w.*, fasada wschodnia [in] Essenwein A., *Die Mittelalterlichen...*, *op.cit.*, tafel LVIII
- [Essenwein A., *Ratusz XVIII w.*, LVII] ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski w pierwszej połowie XVIII w.*, plany [in] Essenwein A., *Die Mittelalterlichen...*, *op.cit.*, tafel LVII
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.123, il.16] GŁOWA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Mała Waga w XV w.*, MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.123, fig. 16
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, faza I, pocz. XIII w.] GŁOWA W., NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Jedna z propozycji rekonstrukcji kramów z fazy I*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.162
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, faza II, przed 1350] GŁOWA W., NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Jedna z propozycji rekonstrukcji Kramów Bogatych z fazy II*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.162
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.101] GÓRECKI A., *Blok śródmiejski, przełom XIII i XIV w., na podstawie planu D, Pucka z 1787 r.*, restitution [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.101
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.102] GÓRECKI A., *Blok śródmiejski, po połowie XIV w., na podstawie planu D, Pucka z 1787 r.*, restitution [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.102
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.104] GÓRECKI A., *Blok śródmiejski, przełom XV i XVI w., na podstawie planu D, Pucka z 1787 r.*, restitution [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.104
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.189] GÓRECKI A., *Sukiennice po odbudowie „renesansowej” po pożarze z 1555 r., na podstawie planu D, Pucka z 1787 r.*, [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.189
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, Ratusz, p.43] KOMOROWSKI W., *Plansza Ratusz z wystawy Rynek Krakowski. Rekonstrukcje cyfrowe budowli z fazy pierwszej połowa XIV w., druga połowa XV w., druga połowa XVIII w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.43
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.116, il.5] KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz krakowski w pierwszej połowie XIV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.116, fig. 5
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.121, il.12] NIEWALDA W., FIRLET E., OPALIŃSKI P., *Trzy fazy rozbudowy Sukiennic: z końca XIII w., drugiej połowy XIV w. i przełomu XIV i XV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.121, fig. 12
- [Kabrowski A., około 1300] KARBOWSKI A., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz krakowski około 1300.* [in] KOMOROWSKI W., *Krakowski ratusz w średniowieczu i domniemany dwór Artusa w*

- Krakowie, Rocznik Krakowski, T. LXIV, 1998, p.10, ill.2
- [Kabrowski A., II poł. XIV w] KARBOWSKI A., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz krakowski w II połowie XIV w.* (II poł. XIV w.) [in] KOMOROWSKI W., *Krakowski ratusz w średniowieczu i domniemany dwór Artusa w Krakowie*, Rocznik Krakowski, T. LXIV, 1998, p.10, ill.2
- [Kabrowski A., XV w] KARBOWSKI A., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz krakowski XV w.* (XV w) [in] KOMOROWSKI W., *Krakowski ratusz w średniowieczu i domniemany dwór Artusa w Krakowie*, Rocznik Krakowski, T. LXIV, 1998, p.11, ill.2
- [Kabrowski A., XVII w] KARBOWSKI A., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz krakowski XVII w.* (XVII w) [in] KOMOROWSKI W., *Krakowski ratusz w średniowieczu i domniemany dwór Artusa w Krakowie*, Rocznik Krakowski, T. LXIV, 1998, p.11, ill.2
- [Kwaśniewicz A., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.121] KWAŚNIEWICZ A., KOMOROWSKI W., *Wielka Waga po przebudowie w latach 1786-1787 – rekonstrukcja.*, (2007), MHmK [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.69, p.121
- [Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta ...*, 1949-1950] LEPIARCZYK J., SCHÖNBORN B., *Makieta Krakowa średniowiecznego, stan z końca XV wieku*, (1949-1950), MHmK
- [Niewalda W., w *Rynek Główny*, il.17, p.38] NIEWALDA W., *Rekonstrukcja Wielkiej Wagi – stan z XV wieku*, [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.38
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.271] NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Wielka Waga w fazie III i IV, widok od południowego wschodu. Wariant bryły z dachem dwuspadowym*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.271
- [MHmK, II poł. XVI w] MHmK, *kartka widokowa, Rynek Krakowski przełom XVI / XVII w* [in] MHmK, *Rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, (2011) [on-line] Strona Muzeum Historyczne Krakowa - wydawnictwa, <<http://sklep.mhk.pl/main/produkt.php?i=564>>, accessed 13 IX 2011
- [MHmK, *Sukiennice*, 2011] MHmK, *Sukiennice XV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., (2011) [in] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D - rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 2011, p.119; [on-line] *Cracovia 3D. Rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, <<http://wystawy.gdzieco.pl/Krakow/2011/Cracovia-3D-Rekonstrukcje-cyfrowe-historycznej-zabudowy-Krakowa>>, accessed 06 X 2011
- [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.120] OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz i Odwach około 1787 roku. Widok od południa.*, MHmK (2007), [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.120
- [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.91] OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz około 1650 roku.*, MHmK (2007), [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.91
- [Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.93] OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz około 1650 roku.*, MHmK (2007), [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.93
- [Opaliński P., *Jatki szęwskie*, 2006] OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Jatki szęwskie*, MHmK (po 1599) [in] Marek M., *Reconstitution ...*, *op.cit.*
- [Opaliński P., *Sukiennice ...*, 2006] OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate (1 połowa XIX)* MHmK [in] Marek M., *Reconstitution ...*, *op.cit.*
- [Opaliński P., w *Rynek Główny*, p.112] OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Mała Waga, Kramy Bogate i Sukiennice w 1787 – rekonstrukcja.*, MHmK (2007) [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.112
- [Opaliński P., w *Rynek Główny*, p.68] OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Rekonstrukcja Wagi Małej po przebudowie z 1594, stan z 1787.*, MHmK (2007) [in] Komorowski W., Sudacka A., *Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.68
- [Opaliński P., *Zabudowa Rynku przed 1801*, 2006] OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Zabudowa Rynku (przed 1820)* MHmK [in] Marek M., *Reconstitution ...*, *op.cit.*
- [Opaliński P., *Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1782*, 2006] OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Zespół Ratuszowy w Krakowie stan przed zburzeniem (przed 1782)* MHmK [in] Marek M., *Reconstitution ...*, *op.cit.*

- [Opaliński P., *Zespół Ratuszowy przed 1820*, 2006]
- OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Zespół Ratuszowy w Krakowie stan przed zburzeniem (przed 1820)* MHmK [in] Marek M., *Reconstitution ...*, *op.cit.*
- [Radi C., *1829-1881*, 2000]
- RADI C., *Maya, étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, maquettes créées en 1999-2000.*, (po 1829) travail de fin d'études, EAML, Marseille 2000
- [Radi C., *Christ*, 2000]
- RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, maquettes créées en 1999-2000 selon Christ F.*, (1400-1499), travail de fin d'études, EAML, Marseille 2000
- [Radi C., *Essenwein*, 2000]
- RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, maquettes créées en 1999-2000 selon Essenwein A.*, (1400-1499), travail de fin d'études, EAML, Marseille 2000
- [Radi C., *Schmaus i Wlodek*, 2000]
- RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, maquettes créées en 1999-2000 selon Schmaus von Livonegg*, (1657-1700), travail de fin d'études, EAML, Marseille 2000
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.124, il.18]
- SCHEJBAL-DEREŃ K., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Wielka Waga oraz targ ołowny w XV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.124, fig. 18
- [Schönborn B., *Rynek krakowski końcem XV wieku*...]
- SCHÖNBORN B., *Rynek krakowski końcem XV wieku*, [in] Pieradzka K., *Rozkwit ...*, *op.cit.*, p.151
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.115, il.3]
- SŁAWIŃSKI S., GŁOWA W., ZAITZ E., *Najstarsza murowana zabudowa kupiecka zlokalizowana po wschodniej stronie Sukiennic oraz kramy drewniane po stronie zachodniej. Stan z początku XIV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.115, fig. 3
- [Świszczowski S., 1948, p.296, il.141]
- ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1450 r.*, [in] Świszczowski S., *Sukiennice ...*, *op.cit.*, p.296, ill.141
- [Świszczowski S., 1948, p.297, il.142]
- ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1550 r.*, [in] Świszczowski S., *Sukiennice ...*, *op.cit.*, p.297, ill.142
- [Zaitz E., et al., 2011, p.167]
- ZAITZ E., GAWĘŁ R., CZARNOWICZ M., *Kościół św. Wojciecha według stanu z XII wieku wraz z otoczeniem i odtworzonym cmentarzem*, MHmK [in] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D - rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 2011, p.167
- [Tyszka P., 1390-1410, il.1]
- XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku krakowskiego oraz nazw obiektów i miejsc w końcu XIV i XV w.*, (1390-1499)[in] Tyszka P., *Obraz przestrzenny...*, *op.cit.*, p.102, il.1
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.115, il.2]
- XX. *Domniemany zespół Sukiennic z końca XIII w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.115, fig. 2
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.116, il.4]
- XX. *Waga Ołowna wraz z zabudową magazynowo-gospodarczą. Stan z początku XIV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, p.116, fig. 4
- [XX., MM Interactive, 2006]
- XX., *Kościół św. Wojciecha*, (po 1100) [in] *Kraków 1000 lat temu - virtualna rekonstrukcja*, Część I, MM Interactive, DVD, 2006, [on-line] 4:00 minuta filmu, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MtIM8lxJOEI>> , accessed 08 III 2013
- [XX., *Pierwotny ...*, w Łuszczkiewicz W., 1900, il.15]
- XX., *Pierwotny wygląd kościoła św. Wojciecha*, (po 1100) [in] Łuszczkiewicz W., *Dawny ...*, *op.cit.*, p.15, ill.8
- [XX, WK, 27/2010, p.156, il.1]
- XX. *Balustrada i fragment podłogi dystansowej tarasu dla publiczności*, (2010) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Restauracja i modernizacja...*, *op.cit.*, p.156, il.1
- [XX, WK, 27/2010, p.156, il.2]
- XX. *Dach pogrążony po korekcie nachylenia z centralną podgrzewaną rynną*, (2010) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Restauracja i modernizacja...*, *op.cit.*, p.156, il.2
- [XX, WK, 27/2010, p.156, il.9]
- XX. *Nowy taras dla publiczności od strony wschodniej*, (2010) [in] KADŁUCZKA A., *Restauracja i modernizacja...*, *op.cit.*, p.156, il.9
- [Gottwald, *Ratusz XV w.*, 2007]
- XX, *Makieta, Ratusz XV wiek*, MHmK [in] Strona Studia Projektowego Modele Architektoniczne, *Modele historyczne*, *op.cit.*

- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, il.17] SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Wielka Waga w XV w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P. [in] Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, Kraków 2010, p.124, fig. 17
- [MHmK, *Wielka Waga*, XV] XX., *Model Wielkiej Wagi w swojej pierwotnej formie (makieta z Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa), XV wiek*, [in] Wikipedia, fotografia (2011)
<<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:DSCF9254.JPG>>, accessed 08 IV 2013
- [Gottwald, *Rynek XV/III w.*, 2008] XX., *Makieta Ratusz XV/III w.*, MHmK [in] Strona Studia Projektowego Modele Architektoniczne, *Modele historyczne*, op.cit.
- [Gottwald, *Kraków 1650*, 2007] XX., *Makieta Kraków 1650.*, MHmK [in] Strona Studia Projektowego Modele Architektoniczne, *Modele historyczne*, op.cit.
- [MHmK, 1450-1478] XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w.*, (2010), MHmK, wystawa Rynek Podziemny, fot. W. Duch [in] W. DUCH, *Podziemia Rynku w Krakowie otworzone - drugiego takiego muzeum nie ma na świecie – relacja*, Strona Historia.org.pl, z 25 IX 2010, [on-line],
<<http://picasaweb.google.com/108881231175947834151/OtwarciePodziemiRynkuWKrakowie24092010#>>, accessed 11 XI 2010
- [Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, 1450] XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z połowy XV wieku.* (2010) MHmK [in] OPALIŃSKI P., *Rekonstrukcja cyfrowa infrastruktury architektonicznej Rynku krakowskiego w XIV i XV wieku.*, Krzysztofory nr 28, praca zbiorowa pod red. Elżbiety Firlet, cz. I, MHmK, Kraków 2010, pp.120-121, ill.22
- [XX, w Łukacz M., 2006, il.26] XX., *Piwniczka obiektu „B” przy zachodnim i północnym murze kramów szewskich widoczna posadzka wykonana z barokowej palcówki kładzonej blatem.* [in] ŁUKACZ M., *Badania architektoniczne reliktyw murowanej zabudowy pod zachodnią częścią Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, Materiały Archeologiczne, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, p.165, fig. 26
- [XX, w Łukacz M., 2006, il.27] XX., *Piwniczka obiektu „B” przy zachodnim i północnym murze kramów szewskich – z lewej widoczne dostawienie ceglanego wiatku ściany zachodniej piwniczki do kamiennego wiatku ściany północnej kramów szewskich.* [in] ŁUKACZ M., *Badania architektoniczne reliktyw murowanej zabudowy pod zachodnią częścią Rynku Głównego w Krakowie*, Materiały Archeologiczne, t. XXXVI, Kraków 2006, p.165, fig. 27
- [XX, *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p.108] XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z pierwszej połowy XIV w.*, MHmK [in] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D - rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 2011, p.108
- [XX, *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p.112] XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z drugiej połowy XV/III w.* MHmK [in] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D - rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 2011, p.112
- [XX, *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p.114] XX. *Rekonstrukcja kramów Bolesławowskich. Stan z pierwszej połowy XIV w. Nietypowy plan obiektu położonego w północnej części wschodniego rzędu kramów - warianty.* MHmK [in] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D - rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa*, MHmK, Kraków 2011, p.114
- [Komorowski W., *Cracovia 3D*, 2011, p.130] KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz Krakowski. Rekonstrukcja według stanu z II połowy XVII w.*, digital model OPALIŃSKI P., MHmK [in] MAREK M., *Cracovia 3D. Rekonstrukcje cyfrowe historycznej zabudowy Krakowa.*, MHmK 2011, p.130

Cartography:

- [1.] *Katalog dawnych map wielkoskalowych Krakowa*, (pod redakcją) M. Odlanickiego-Poczobutta, PWN, Warszawa-Kraków 1981
- [plan 1667 JG] Plan Krakowa z 1667 wykonany przez J. Gostumiowskiego (wg badań Janiny Stoksik), ANKr zb. kart. sygn. I
- [plan szwedzki 1702] Plan szwedzki Krakowa z 1702 r., oryginał w Sztokholmie w zbiorach Krigsarkivet

- [plan 1773] Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka sprzed 1773 r., osiemnastowieczna kopia planu Plan Krakowa z 1667, ANKr [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.5
- [plan Żebrowskiego] Plan Krakowa przerobiony z planu 1667 i Planu Pucka przez Żebrowskiego, ANKr, sygn. I-3d [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.6
- [plan1700_1773] Plan Krakowa sporządzony przez Klemensa Bąkowskiego, w 1896 roku na podstawie planów z lat 1700 i 1773. Jest to odtworzenie układu urbanistycznego Krakowa z XVIII w., ANKr.
- [plan 1773_Derisha] Plan Krakowa Derisha z 1773 r., oryginał w Kriegsarchiv we Wiedniu, *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.13
- [plan kollaťajowski 1785] Kollaťajowski plan Krakowa z 1785 r., MHmK nr inw. 2104/VIII
- [plan Pucka 1787] Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., opublikowany w Tomkowicz S., *Plan Rynku krakowskiego ...*, *op.cit.*
- [plan pruski 1794] Pruski plan Krakowa z 1794 r. oryginał w Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Kartenabteilung w Berlinie [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.26
- [plan 1797 z 1848] Plan Krakowa z 1797 r., w kopii z 1848 r., MHmK, sygn. 31/VIIIa [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.29
- [plan 1800] Plan Krakowa z około 1800 r., oryginał we Wiedniu, fotokopia ANKr, sygn. I-5 [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.32
- [plan senacki 1802-1808] Senacki plan Krakowa (1802-1808) oryginał ANKr, zb. kart. sygn. I-6, sekcje 35 i 36 [in] Münch H., *Plan Miasta Krakowa...*, tabl. XXVI
- [senacki -przerys 1802-1808] Przerys planu Senackiego miasta Krakowa (1802-1808), wykonany pod kierunkiem A. Karczewskiego, [in] Münch H., *Plan Miasta Krakowa...*, *op.cit.*, sekcja 41
- [plan 1803-1804] Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), oryginał, ANKr, zb. kart., sygn. teka XV, 1, plan 42 [in] Banach J., *Ikonomia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 2; Rederowa D., *Studia ...*, *op.cit.*, p.87, ill.2
- [plan 1813] Plan Południowej części Rynku, z wyznaczeniem nowego kanału prowadzącego do Domu Komisja (nr 6) od istniejącego już kanału przy ul. Wiślniej., (1813) [in] Rederowa D., *Studia ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 21
- [plan 1817] Plan Krakowa M. Passecka z około 1817 r., [in] MHmK sygn. 8/T/VIIIa, MNK XVIII/Mp/1038. III,
- [plan 1820ir] Plan Rynku przed 1820, BJ, sygn. IR1051
- [plan 1831] Plan Krakowa Mostowskiego z 1831 r., ANKr, sygn. II-15 [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.38
- [plan 1832-1836] Plan położenia kramów na Rynku Głównym Krakowa (1832-1836), Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, sygn. Zb. Kart., Teka XXIV, plan 1 [in] Banach J., *Ikonomia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 4
- [plan 1834] Plan Rynku Głównego (1834), ANKr, zb. kart., sygn. teka XV, 1, plan 42 [in] Banach J., *Ikonomia Rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, fig. 3
- [Plan de situation, 1834] Plan de situation du bâtiment dit Sukiennice : dépôts de draps situé sur la Grande place de la ville de Cracovie (około 1834), MHmK nr inw. 787/VIII
- [plan 1836] Plan Krakowa T. Żebrowskiego z 1836 r., ANKr, sygn. II-16 [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.39
- [plan 1850] Plan Krakowa Niewiarowskiego z 1850 r., ANKr, sygn. II-18 [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.43
- [plan niwelacyjny 1878] Plan sytuacyjny i niwelacyjny miasta Krakowa z 1878 r., ANKr, zb. kart. sygn. I-6 [in] *Katalog dawnych ...*, *op.cit.*, ill.53

- [plan 1907] Plan Katastralny Krakowa z 1907 r., ANKr, zb. kart. sygn. I-14a, sekcja 41 [in] Komorowski W., Kęder I., *Ikonoграфия Kościoła Dominikanów ...*, *op.cit.*, p.477, fig. 6
- [plan 1975] Stan zachowania relikwów średniowiecznej architektury Rynku Krakowskiego, (1975) [in] Kadluczka A., *Teoretyczne i techniczne ...*, *op.cit.*, p.77
- [Mamica M., 2005-2006] Plan wykopów (kolor szary) z naniesionymi relikwami XIII-wiecznych Sukiennic oraz brukowanymi ciągami komunikacyjnymi (kolor czerwony), MAMICA M., (2005-2006), [in] Buśko C., *Wstępne wyniki...*, *op.cit.*, p.69, ill.2
- [plan 2003-2007] Plan relikwów średniowiecznych i nowożytnych budowli odsłoniętych na Rynku Głównym w Krakowie w latach 2003–2007 (badania archeologiczne E. Zaitza i D. Niemca oraz C. Buśki) [in] NIEMIEC D., *Średniowieczny Rynek ...*, *op.cit.*, p.85
- [plan 2009] Projekt : *Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa – szlak Turystyczny po podziemiach Rynku Głównego*, OPALIŃSKI P. WOCH B., na podstawie dokumentacji architektonicznej wykonanej przez studio architektoniczne ARCHECON, (2009) MHmK, wystawa Rynek Podziemny [in] Firlet E. *Projekt : Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa – szlak Turystyczny po podziemiach Rynku Głównego*, (2009) [on-line] Strona MHmK, accessed 05 V 2010
- [plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il.2] Rozmieszczenie wykopów archeologicznych na planie Rynku Głównego w Krakowie, (2004), [in] Kluj M. et al., *Badania mineralogiczne...*, *op.cit.*, p.196, il.2
- [XX., 2004, WK 19/2006, il.12] XX., *Kraków, Rynek Główny: rozwiązanie projektowe zatwierdzone do realizacji w 2004 roku*, [in] Kadluczka A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego”...*, *op.cit.*, p.65, il.12
- [XX., 2005-2006, WK 19/2006, il.13] XX., *Kraków, Rynek Główny : koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego” uwzględniająca rezultaty badań archeologicznych w latach 2005–2006*, [in] Kadluczka A., *Koncepcja „Rynku Podziemnego”...*, *op.cit.*, p.65, il.13
- [XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.2] XX., *Kraków, zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, relikw drewnianych i murowanych obiektów architektonicznych odkrytych w 2004 roku, sytuacja, stratygrafia.*, (2004), [in] Zaitz E., 2006, ill.2, p.101
- [XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.1] XX., *Zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, z relikwami obiektów architektonicznych, sytuacja, stratygrafia.*, (2004), [in] Łukacz M., *Badania ...*, *op.cit.*, p.147, ill.1
- [MHmK., Plan Podziemi] KALARUS T. *Plan Podziemi*, MHmK [on-line] strona Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa , Podziemia Rynku, <<http://mhk.pl/zalaczniki/PODZIEMIA%20A1%20awers.jpg>>, accessed 11 XI 2010

Illustrations:

A specification of the drawings used in the graphs of potential interactions

Freehand drawings used in the graphs of potential interactions are simplified, schematic sketches redrawn on the basis of iconographic and cartographic materials, as well as restitutions. They contain the basic information on the appearance, proportions or the arrangement of particular objects in consecutive developmental phases.

In the diagrams comparing a potential form of an object in particular periods, for each drawing there have been used abbreviations containing information on the documents on the basis of which each drawing was prepared. The abbreviations could be expressed, for example, in the following way: [4] *drawn around 1850*.

The respective components of each abbreviation contain: the number of the diagram (e.g. [4]) – according to the chart below, the information on the character of the source used (e.g. drawn), as well as the approximate date characterising the period that the drawing concerns. (e.g. *around 1550*).

The information on the character of the source used is presented in the following way:

The *hip.* abbreviation is used for sources presenting restitutions (i.e. reconstruction hypotheses).

The *ill.* abbreviation is used for representations of artistic nature, made on the basis of observations or life sketches. This group comprises freehand sketches, watercolours, woodcuts, etc.

- The *phot.* abbreviation is used for photographs.
- The *inv.* abbreviation is used for drawings and diagrams presenting the results of architectural or archaeological research, as well as adaptation projects of particular objects.
- The diagrams prepared on the basis of documents of cartographic nature are marked as *plan.*

the
diagram
number a reference to the materials on the basis of which a simplified drawing was made

1. XX., *Makieta Ratusz XVIII w., op.cit.*
[Gottwald, Rynek XVIII w., 2008]
2. *Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis, A.D. 1650, op.cit.*
[Civitas ..., 2007]
3. STACHOWICZ M., *Pochód księcia ..., op.cit.*
[Stachowicz M., *Pochód ...*, 1796, ban17]
4. EKIELSKI A., *Sukiennice około 1850 roku, op.cit.*
[Ekielski A., około 1850]
5. BRODOWSKI J., *Zabudowa przy Sukiennicach, op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., 1843, ban253]
6. BRODOWSKI J., *Kramy w północno-zachodniej części Rynku, op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., 1840, ban252]
7. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy., op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]
8. XX. *Domniemany zespół Sukiennic z końca XIII w., op.cit.*
[[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.115, il.2]
9. NIEWALDA W., FIRLET E., OPALIŃSKI P., *Trzy fazy rozbudowy Sukiennic: z końca XIII w., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.121, il.12]
10. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
11. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1450 r., op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.296, il.141]
12. LEPIARCZYK J., SCHÖNBORN B., *Makieta Krakowa średniowiecznego ..., op.cit.*
[Lepiarczyk J., Schönbörn B., *Makieta ...*, 1949-1950]
13. XX. *Rekonstrukcja wyglądu Sukiennic w XIX w., op.cit.*
[XX, przed 1873, NAC 1-U-2569]
14. PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok zachodniej części rynku krakowskiego, op.cit.*
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]
15. HEGENBERGER M. (?), *Wieża ratuszowa od północy, op.cit.*
[Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131]
16. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice przed przebudową, przyziom, op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., przed 1975, przyziom]
17. *Plan Rynku przed 1820, op.cit.*
[plan 1820ir]
18. BOJĘŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Północna partia Zachodniej ściany ..., op.cit.*
[Bojęś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.24]
19. XX., *Kraków, zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, relikty drewnianych ..., op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.2]
20. XX. *System oznaczania numerycznego ław chlebowych w stosunku do „krzyża”. ..., op.cit.*
[Tyszka P., około 1450, il.5]
21. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w., op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
22. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1450 r., op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.296, il.141]
23. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
24. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1550 r., op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.297, il.142]
25. *Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis, A.D. 1650, DVD, op.cit.*
[Civitas ..., 2007]

26. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
27. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
28. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka sprzed 1773 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
29. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy.*, (1827), *op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]
30. Plan położenia kramów na Rynku Głównym Krakowa (1832-1836), *op.cit.*
[plan 1832-1836]
31. Plan de situation du bâtiment dit Sukiennice ..., *op.cit.*
[Plan de situation, 1834]
32. EKIELSKI A., *Sukiennice około 1850 roku.*, *op.cit.*
[Ekielski A., około 1850]
33. PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok zachodniej części rynku krakowskiego*, *op.cit.*
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]
34. BRODOWSKI J., *Zabudowa przy Sukiennicach*, *op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., 1843, ban253]
35. XX. *System oznaczania numerycznego ław chlebowych w stosunku do „krzyża”*. ..., *op.cit.*
[Tysza P., około 1450, il.5]
36. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
37. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1450 r.*, *op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.296, il.141]
38. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku.*, *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofor nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
39. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1550 r.*, *op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.297, il.142]
40. *Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis, A.D. 1650*, *op.cit.*
[Civitas ..., 2007]
41. Plan Rynku przed 1820, *op.cit.*
[plan 1820ir]
42. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
43. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka sprzed 1773 r., *op.cit.*
[plan1700_1773]
44. Senacki plan Krakowa (1802-1808), *op.cit.*
[plan senacki 1802-1808]
45. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
46. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku.*, *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofor nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
47. *Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis, A.D. 1650*, *op.cit.*
[Civitas ..., 2007]
48. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
49. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka sprzed 1773 r., *op.cit.*
[plan1700_1773]
50. Plan Krakowa z 1667, *op.cit.*
[plan 1667 Puck]
51. XX., *Makieta Ratusz XVIII w.*, *op.cit.*
[Gottwald, Rynek XVIII w., 2008]
52. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy.*, *op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]

53. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
54. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
55. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od Zach.*, *op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119]
56. Plan Rynku Głównego (1834), *op.cit.*
[plan 1834]
57. BOJEŚ-BIAŁASIK A., *Piwniczka północnego obiektu – inwentaryzacja. ...*, *op.cit.*
[Bojeś-Białasik, 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.4]
58. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1450 r.*, *op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.296, il.141]
59. LEPIARCZYK J., SCHÖNBORN B., *Makieta Krakowa średniowiecznego, stan z końca XV wieku*, *op.cit.*
[Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta ...*, 1949-1950]
60. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
61. OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Jatki szewskie*, *op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., *Jatki szewskie*, 2006]
62. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1550 r.*, *op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.297, il.142]
63. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
64. KNAUS A., *Wschodnia i zachodnia elewacja oraz plan Sukiennic według pomiaru z 1848 roku*, *op.cit.*
[Knaus A., 1848, Frycz J., *Restauracja ...*, il.63]
65. BEYER K., *Sukiennice od Południa*, *op.cit.*
[Beyer K., 1858, ban239]
66. HEGENBERGER M. (?), *Wieża ratuszowa od północy*, *op.cit.*
[Hegenberger M., przed 1866, ban131]
67. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku*. *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
68. CHRIST F., *Ratusz Krakowski w XV wieku, hipoteza rekonstrukcyjna*, *op.cit.*
[Christ F., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1950]
69. ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski w drugiej połowie XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1866]
70. BALICKI K., *Południowa elewacja Ratusza*, *op.cit.*
[Balicki K., 1802, ban185]
71. XX., *Makieta Ratusz XVIII w.*, *op.cit.*
[Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008]
72. RADİ C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, ...*, *op.cit.*
[Radi C., *Christ*, 2000]
73. BRODOWSKI J., *Kabaty po południowego-zachodu*, *op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban186]
74. GŁOWA W., NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Jedna z propozycji rekonstrukcji kramów z fazy I.*, *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, faza I, pocz. XIII w.]
75. GŁOWA W., NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Jedna z propozycji rekonstrukcji kramów Bogatych z fazy II.*, *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, faza II, przed 1350]
76. Stan zachowania reliktyw średniowiecznej architektury Rynku Krakowskiego, *op.cit.*
[plan 1975]
77. Projekt : *Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa ...*, *op.cit.*
[plan 2009]
78. Plan reliktyw średniowiecznych i nowożytnych budowli odsłoniętych na Rynku Głównym ..., *op.cit.*
[plan 2003-2007]

79. XX., *Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa - ...*, *op.cit.*
[XX., 2010, UMCS]
80. XX. *Plan Podziemi*, *op.cit.*
[MHmK., Plan Podziemi]
81. XX., *Główny kościół św. Wojciecha, rzut poziomy*, *op.cit.*
[XX., 1963, w Radwański K., *Budowle...*, ill.7]
82. ZAITZ E., GAWEL R., CZARNOWICZ M., *Kościół św. Wojciecha według stanu z XII wieku ...*, *op.cit.*
[Zaitz E., et al., 2011, p.167]
83. XX., *Pierwotny wygląd kościoła św. Wojciecha*, *op.cit.*
[XX., *Pierwotny ...*, w Łuszczkiewicz W., 1900, il.15]
84. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
85. OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz około 1650 roku*, *op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.93]
86. XX., *Makieta Ratusz XVIII w.*, *op.cit.*
[Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008]
87. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka sprzed 1773 r., *op.cit.*
[plan1700_1773]
88. STACHOWICZ M., *Sprowadzenie jeńców i armat spod Racławic*, *op.cit.*
[Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103]
89. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
90. WALTER H., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od południowego-wschodu*, *op.cit.*
[Walter H., 1858-1859, ban62]
91. Plan sytuacyjny i niwelacyjny miasta Krakowa z 1878 r., *op.cit.*
[plan niwelacyjny 1878]
92. XX., *Południowo-wschodnia część Rynku Głównego*, *op.cit.*
[XX., 1890, ban9]
93. MACZYŃSKI F., *Kościół św. Wojciecha*, *op.cit.*
[Mączyński F., 1900, ban57]
94. Kadłuczka A., *Kraków, kościół św. Wojciecha – Muzeum Historii Rynku Głównego*, *op.cit.*
[Kadłuczka A., 1975_22]
95. MHmK, Opaliński P. *Sukiennice XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[MhmK, *Sukiennice*, 2011]
96. LEPIARCZYK J., SCHÖNBORN B., *Makieta Krakowa średniewiecznego, stan z końca XV wieku*, *op.cit.*
[Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta ...*, 1949-1950]
97. Kollatajowski plan Krakowa z 1785 r., *op.cit.*
[plan kollatajowski 1785]
98. Plan Krakowa z 1667, *op.cit.*
[plan 1667 Puck]
99. STACHOWICZ T.B według Stachowicza M., *Wnętrze Kramów Bogatych*, *op.cit.*
[Stachowicz T.B., pocz. XIX w., ban259]
100. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
101. OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate*, *op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., *Sukiennice ...*, 2006]
102. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
103. XX., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od północy*, *op.cit.*
[XX., po 1860, ban19]
104. RZEWUSKI W., *Sukiennice i Kramy Bogate od północnego-wschodu*, *op.cit.*
[Rzewuski W., 1868, ban222]
105. XX., *Plan Sukiennic i Kramów Bogatych, jatek szewskich i garbarskich, ...* *op.cit.*
[XX. *Plan Sukiennic i Kramów ...*, przed 1868]

106. RZEWUSKI W., *Kramy Bogate podczas rozbiórki, op.cit.*
[Rzewuski W., 1868, ban226]
107. KALARUS T., *Widok ogólny tereny badań, op.cit.*
[Kalarus T., 2005-a]
108. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w., op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
109. STACHOWICZ T.B., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego ..., op.cit.*
[Stachowicz T.B., 1800, ban18]
110. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
111. Kollatajowski plan Krakowa z 1785 r., *op.cit.*
[plan kollatajowski 1785]
112. ZALESKI M., *Północna część Rynku od zachodu, op.cit.*
[Zaleski M., 1836, ban158]
113. Plan położenia kramów na Rynku Głównym Krakowa (1832-1836), *op.cit.*
[plan 1832-1836]
114. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
115. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
116. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
117. Kollatajowski plan Krakowa z 1785 r., *op.cit.*
[plan kollatajowski 1785]
118. Plan położenia kramów na Rynku Głównym Krakowa (1832-1836), *op.cit.*
[plan 1832-1836]
119. BRODOWSKI J., *Kramy żelazne i przybudówki przy Sukiennicach, op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., 1849, ban254]
120. XX, *Rynek i kościół św. Wojciecha, op.cit.*
[XX, 1820-1822, ban51]
121. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w., op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
122. XX. Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku. *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofor nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
123. PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok zachodniej części rynku krakowskiego, op.cit.*
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban120]
124. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]
125. Kollatajowski plan Krakowa z 1785 r., *op.cit.*
[plan kollatajowski 1785]
126. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od północy, op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1827, ban127]
127. Plan położenia kramów na Rynku Głównym Krakowa (1832-1836), *op.cit.*
[plan 1832-1836]
128. Plan de situation du bâtiment dit Sukiennice ..., *op.cit.*
[Plan de situation, 1834]
129. *Civitas Nostra Cracoviensis, A.D. 1650, op.cit.*
[Civitas ..., 2007]
130. XX. Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku., *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofor nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
131. XX, *Rynek i kościół św. Wojciecha, op.cit.*
[XX, 1820-1822, ban51]
132. Plan Rynku Głównego (1803-1804), *op.cit.*
[plan 1803-1804]

133. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
134. Plan położenia kramów na Rynku Głównym Krakowa (1832-1836), *op.cit.*
[plan 1832-1836]
135. Plan Rynku Głównego (1834), *op.cit.*
[plan 1834]
136. SŁAWINSKI S., GŁOWA W., ZAITZ E., *Najstarsza murowana zabudowa kupiecka zlokalizowana ..., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.115, il.3]
137. BOJEŚ-BIAŁASIK A. *Rekonstrukcja wyglądu XIV wiecznych kramów drewnianych ..., op.cit.*
[Bojeś-Białasik, *Rekonstrukcja ..., 2008*]
138. SŁAWINSKI S., GŁOWA W., ZAITZ E., *Najstarsza murowana zabudowa kupiecka zlokalizowana ..., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.115, il.3]
139. XX. *Schemat układu przestrzennego ław chlebowych w końcu XIV wieku. ..., op.cit.*
[Tyszk P., 1390-1399, il.2]
140. XX., *Kraków, Północna część Rynku Głównego. Relikty drewnianych kramów z XIV w., op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.50]
141. XX., *Kraków, zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, relikty drewnianych ..., op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.2]
142. BLAISE J.Y., DUDEK I., *Hipoteza rekonstrukcyjna II fazy ewolucyjnej Małej Wagi ..., op.cit.*
[Blaise J.Y., VRML, 2009]
143. XX. *Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Krakowa w końcu XIV i XV w., op.cit.*
[MHmK, 1450-1478]
144. GŁOWA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Mała Waga w XV w., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.123, il.16]
145. OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Rekonstrukcja Wagi Małej po przebudowie z 1594..., op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., w *Rynek Główny*, p.68]
146. OPALIŃSKI P., SUDACKA A., *Mała Waga, Kramy Bogate i Sukiennice w 1787..., op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., w *Rynek Główny*, p.112]
147. Plan Krakowa z 1667, *op.cit.*
[plan 1667 Puck]
148. Kollatajowski plan Krakowa z 1785 r., *op.cit.*
[plan kollatajowski 1785]
149. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
150. XX., *Prace archeologiczne na Rynku -Wykop 5/04, (2004), op.cit.*
[XX, 2004, Kluj M., 2006, il.3]
151. XX., *Rozmieszczenie wykopów archeologicznych na planie Rynku Głównego w Krakowie, op.cit.*
[plan 2004, w Kluj 2006, il.2]
152. XX., *Makieta Ratusz XVIII w., op.cit.*
[Gottwald, *Rynek XVIII w.*, 2008]
153. OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz i Odwach około 1787 roku. ..., op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.120]
154. BALICKI K., *Południowa elewacja Ratusza, op.cit.*
[Balicki K., 1802, ban185]
155. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
156. RADI C., *Maya, étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, ..., op.cit.*
[Radi C., 1829-1881, 2000]
157. KRIEGER I., *Kamienica betmańska i wieża ratuszowa i Wielka waga od południowego-wschodu, op.cit.*
[Krieger I., po 1870, ban92]
158. XX., *Plan Odwachu Głównego dawnego., op.cit.*
[XX., *Plan odwachu...*, 1828]
159. XX., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od zachodu., op.cit.*
[XX, 1886-1888, ban116]

160. RZEWUSKI W., *Wieża ratuszowa z odwachem od południowego-wschodu*, *op.cit.*
[Rzewuski W., 1890, ban93]
161. Plan Katastralny Krakowa z 1907 r., *op.cit.*
[plan 1907]
162. XX., *Zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, z relikdami ...*, *op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.1]
163. KOMOROWSKI W., *Plansza Ratusz z wystawy Rynek Krakowski. Rekonstrukcje cyfrowe ...*, *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, Ratusz, p.43]
164. RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, ...*, *op.cit.*
[Radi C., *Essenwein*, 2000]
165. ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski w drugiej połowie XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[Essenwein A., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1866]
166. RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, ...*, *op.cit.*
[Radi C., *Christ*, 2000]
167. CHRIST F., *Ratusz Krakowski w XV wieku, ...*, *op.cit.*
[Christ F., *Ratusz XV w.*, 1950]
168. SCHMAUS VON LIVONEGG, *Inventaryzacja Ratusza Krakowskiego*, *op.cit.*
[Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802]
169. ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski 1780-1782*, *op.cit.*
[Essenwein A., *Ratusz 1780-1782 w.*, 1866]
170. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
171. BRODOWSKI J., *Wschodnia elewacja ratusza*, *op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., 1820, ban195]
172. KADŁUCZKA A., *Kraków, Ratusz-Kawiarnia*, *op.cit.*
[Kadłuczka A., 1975_31]
173. WŁODEK H., *Ratusz i Spichlerz po 1686 od północy*, *op.cit.*
[Włodek H., 1675-1700, ban179]
174. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
175. Plan Krakowa z 1667, *op.cit.*
[plan 1667 Puck]
176. STACHOWICZ T.B., *Ratusz od północnego-wschodu*, *op.cit.*
[Stachowicz T.B., przed 1820, ban182]
177. BRODOWSKI J., *Spichlerz od północy*, *op.cit.*
[Brodowski J., przed 1820, ban189]
178. Plan Rynku przed 1820, *op.cit.*
[plan 1820ir]
179. RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, ...*, *op.cit.*
[Radi C., *Schmaus i Włodek*, 2000]
180. SCHMAUS VON LIVONEGG, *Inventaryzacja Ratusza Krakowskiego*, *op.cit.*
[Schmaus von Livonegg, 1802]
181. XX., *Kraków, zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, relikty drewnianych ...*, *op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.2]
182. Stan zachowania reliktyw średniowiecznej architektury Rynku Krakowskiego, *op.cit.*
[plan 1975]
183. XX., *Zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, z relikdami obiektów ...*, *op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Łukacz M., *Badania...*, il.1]
184. Mhmk, Opaliński P., *Sukiennice XV w.*, *op.cit.*
[Mhmk, *Sukiennice*, 2011]
185. XX. Rekonstrukcja zabudowy Rynku Krakowskiego. Stan z około 1450 roku. *op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, 1450]
186. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice krakowskie ok. 1450 r.*, *op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., 1948, p.296, il.141]

187. LEPIARCZYK J., SCHÖNBORN B., *Makieta Krakowa średniowiecznego, stan z końca XV wieku, op.cit.*
[Lepiarczyk J., Schönborn B., *Makieta ...*, 1949-1950]
188. ŁUSZCZKIEWICZ W., *Widok Sukiennic w XV wieku, op.cit.*
[Łuszczkiewicz W., *Widok Sukiennic w XV wieku, 1400-1499*]
189. ŚWISZCZOWSKI S., *Sukiennice przed przebudową, widok od Szeńskiej, op.cit.*
[Świszczowski S., przed 1975, *od Szeńskiej*]
190. PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok południowej części rynku krakowskiego, op.cit.*
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106]
191. KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od północnego-zachodu, (przed 1875), PIK neg. 6926, ban250*
[Krieger I., 1875, ban250]
192. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
193. KRIEGER I., *Sukiennice od północnego wschodu, op.cit.*
[Krieger I., 1879-1880, ban271]
194. XX., Rzut Sukiennic, 2006, *op.cit.*
[XX., Sukiennice-rzut, 2006]
195. XX. *Waga Ołowna wraz z zabudową magazynowo-gospodarczą. Stan z początku XIV w., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.116, il.4]
196. SCHEJBAL-DEREN K., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Wielka Waga oraz targ ołowny w XV w., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.124, il.18]
197. NIEWALDA W., *Rekonstrukcja Wielkiej Wagi – stan z XV wieku, op.cit.*
[Niewalda W., w *Rynek Główny*, il.17, p.38]
198. NIEWALDA W., SŁAWIŃSKI S., *Wielka Waga w fazie III i IV, widok od południowego wschodu. ..., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, p.271]
199. OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz około 1650 roku., op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.93]
200. Plan Krakowa z 1667, *op.cit.*
[plan 1667 Puck]
201. KWAŚNIEWICZ A., KOMOROWSKI W., *Wielka Waga po przebudowie w latach 1786-1787..., op.cit.*
[Kwaśniewicz A., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.121]
202. STACHOWICZ M., *Sprowadzenie jeńców i armat spod Racławic, op.cit.*
[Stachowicz M., 1794, ban103]
203. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
204. PIĄTKOWSKI T., *Widok południowej części rynku krakowskiego, op.cit.*
[Piątkowski T., 1837, ban106]
205. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od zachodu., op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824-1827, ban5]
206. Plan Rynku Głównego (1834), *op.cit.*
[plan 1834]
207. KRIEGER I., *Wschodnia połowa Rynku Głównego od północy, op.cit.*
[Krieger I., 1869-1871, ban21]
208. Plan sytuacyjny i niwelacyjny miasta Krakowa z 1878 r., *op.cit.*
[plan niwelacyjny 1878]
209. KALARUS T., *Relikty Wielkiej Wagi po odstąpieniu, op.cit.*
[Kalarus T., 2005, w *Rynek Główny*, p.37]
210. Projekt : *Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa..., op.cit.*
[plan 2009]
211. KOMOROWSKI W., *Plansza Ratusz z nystany Rynek Krakowski..., op.cit.*
[Krzysztofory nr 28, cz.1, Ratusz, p.43]
212. CHRIST F., *Ratusz Krakowski w XV wieku, ..., op.cit.*
[Christ F., *Ratusz XV w., 1950*]
213. OPALIŃSKI P., KOMOROWSKI W., *Ratusz i Spichlerz około 1650 roku., op.cit.*
[Opaliński P., 2007, w *Rynek Główny*, p.91]

214. XX, *Widok Krakowa od południowego wschodu, op.cit.*
[Firllet E.M., *Najstarsza ...*, 1536-1537]
215. RADI C., *L'étude de l'évolution de l'ancien l'hôtel de Ville, Cracovie, ..., op.cit.*
[Radi C., *Schmaus i Włodek*, 2000]
216. WŁODEK H., *Ratusz i Spichlerz po 1686 od północy, op.cit.*
[Włodek H., 1675-1700, ban179]
217. ESSENWEIN A., *Ratusz Krakowski 1780-1782, op.cit.*
[Essenwein A., *Ratusz 1780-1782 w*, 1866]
218. RICHTER W., *Wieża ratuszowa od zachodu, op.cit.*
[Richter W., 1830, ban110]
219. Plan Krakowa Dominika Pucka 1787 r., *op.cit.*
[plan Pucka 1787]
220. KOZAKIEWICZ Ł., *Zachodnia połowa Rynku od Zach., op.cit.*
[Kozakiewicz Ł., 1824, ban119]
221. Plan Rynku Głównego (1834), *op.cit.*
[plan 1834]
222. XX, *Wieża Ratuszowa w Krakowie. Rzut poziomy parteru, op.cit.*
[XX, przed 1932, w Tomkowicz S., *Wieża...*, il.12]
223. XX, *Inwentaryzacja po pracach adaptacyjnych prowadzonych przez W. Zina, op.cit.*
[XX., po 1967]
224. Kadluczka A., *Kraków, Ratusz-Kawiarnia, op.cit.*
[Kadluczka A., 1975_31]
225. XX, *Kraków, zachodnia część płyty Rynku Głównego, relikty drewnianych ..., op.cit.*
[XX., 2004, w Zaitz E., *Sprawozdanie z badań...*, il.2]

Websites:

- [1.] Cech Rzemiosł Skórzanych i Innych Zawodów – Historia, [on-line] Cech Rzemiosł Skórzanych i Innych Zawodów, <<http://www.cechrs.pl/historia>>, accessed 18 V 2011
- [2.] Dzieje najstarszego cechu w Polsce. (2006), [on-line] Forum piekarzy, piekarnictwa i branż piekarniczych, <<http://www.forum.opp.pl/viewtopic.php?p=437>>, accessed 10 IX 2010
- [3.] Dzieje Żydów w Polsce – Średniowiecze, (2002-2008), [on-line] Izrael – serwis poświęcony Izraelowi i narodowi żydowskiemu, <http://www.izrael.badacz.org/zydzi_w_polsce/dzieje.html>, accessed 10 IX 2010
- [4.] Historia kopca Kościuszki, [on-line] Oficjalna strona Kopca Kościuszki w Krakowie, Komitet Kopca Kościuszki, <http://www.kopieckosciuszki.pl/?x=historia_kopca&lang=pl>, accessed 10 IX 2010
- [5.] Kalendarium historii Krakowa, [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalendarium_historii_Krakowa>, accessed 13 IX 2010
- [6.] Kraków 1000 lat temu, [on-line] Kraków moje miasto, <http://www.grajamo2.pl/tl/Krak%F3w_-1000-lat-temu.htm>, accessed 27 IX 2010
- [7.] Kraków, Remont Rynku Głównego, wylewanie betonowej płyty, (zdjęcia 08 III 2006) [on-line] SkyscraperCity.com, <<http://www.skyscrapercity.com/archive/index.php/t-127280-p-2.html>>, accessed 27 III 2013
- [8.] Od średniowiecza do 1850 roku., (2010) [on-line] Strona Komendy Miejskiej Państwowej Straży Pożarnej w Krakowie, Historia, <<http://www.psp.krakow.pl/historia.php>>, accessed 02 VIII 2010
- [9.] Podziemia Rynku w Krakowie, (2010) Fotoreportaż, Strona Historycy.org, Instytut Historii UMCS, <<http://www.historycy.org/index.php?showtopic=29597>>, accessed 29 IX 2010
- [10.] Potop szwedzki, [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Potop_szwedzki>, accessed 04 II 2011
- [11.] A List of Occupations, [on-line] Ancestry.com, <<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~usgwkidz/oldjobs.htm>>, accessed 04 II 2013
- [12.] Projekt Nowe Sukiennice, (2010), [on-line] strona Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie <http://www.muzeum.krakow.pl/uploads/media/Projekt_Nowe_Sukiennice_pol.pdf>, accessed 24 IX 2010
- [13.] Rozwój gospodarczy Polski za Kazimierza Wielkiego (12 I 2010) [on-line] Strona zadanie.pl, <http://zadane.pl/wypracowanie/Rozwoj_gospodarczy_Polski_za_Kazimierza_Wielkiego-16440>, accessed 18 V 2011
- [14.] Sąd wyższy prawa niemieckiego, (2011) [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C4%85d_wy%C5%BCszy_prawa_niemieckiego>, accessed 26 I 2011

- [15.] Smatrutz, (2010) [on-line] Encyklopedia Staropolska, <http://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Encyklopedia_staropolska/Smatruz>, accessed 13 IX 2010, [za] Gloger Z., Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana, Warszawa (1900-1903) KRZAN P (?), *Zabytki Krakowa*, (19.VII.2009) [on-line] Strona krakow4u.pl, <http://krakow4u.pl/Rynek_Glowny_w_Krakowie.html>, accessed 23 V 2011
- [16.] Smatrutz, [on-line] Wikipedia, <<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smatruz>>, accessed 13 IX 2010
- [17.] Smatrutz, (2010) [on-line] Słownik etymologiczny, etymologia.org, <<http://www.etymologia.org/wiki/S%C5%82ownik+etymologiczny/smatruz?viewer=code>>, accessed 13 IX 2010
- [18.] Smatrutz we Wrocławiu, (2009) [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smatruz_we_Wroc%C5%82awiu82awiu>, accessed 13 IX 2010
- [19.] Średniowieczne studnie na Rynku Głównym w Krakowie, (17 III 2011) [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%9Aredniowieczne_studnie_na_Rynku_G%C5%82%C3%B3wnym_w_Krakowie>, accessed 12 V 2011
- [20.] Wieliczka. Kopalnia soli, [on-line] Portal e-przewodniki.pl, <<http://e-przewodniki.pl/przewodnik-nowy-82-rozdzial-878.html>>, accessed 21 X 2010
- [21.] Z przywileju Władysława Łokietka dla miasta Krakowa z 12 IX 1306 r. [on-line] Polska Piastów, <<http://www.piastowie.kei.pl/piast2/przydki.html>> , accessed 18 V 2011
- [22.] Szkoci, [on-line] Onet.pl, <<http://konkurskoichulubieniec.blog.onet.pl/>>, accessed 27 V 2011
- [23.] Nieistniejące obiekty krakowskiego Rynku Głównego, [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nieistniej%C4%85ce_obiekty_krakowskiego_Rynku_G%C5%82%C3%B3wnego>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [24.] Słownik etymologiczny [on-line] Etymologia.org, <<http://www.etymologia.org/wiki/S%C5%82ownik+etymologiczny/zoba%C4%87>>, accessed 16 IX 2011
- [25.] I najazd mongolski na Polskę, [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalendarium_historii_Krakowa>, accessed 13 II 2010
- [26.] II najazd mongolski na Polskę, [on-line] Wikipedia, <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/II_najazd_mongolski_na_Polsk%C4%99>, accessed 13 II 2010
- [27.] Śladem europejskiej tożsamości Krakowa - szlak turystyczny po podziemiach Rynku Głównego (11 VIII 2011), [on-line] Biuletyn informacji publicznej Krakowa, <http://www.bip.krakow.pl/?dok_id=27324>, accessed 14 IX 2011
- [28.] *Katalog archiwum aktów dawnych miasta Krakowa: Dyplomy pergaminowe*, T. I, Wydawnictwa Archiwum Aktów Dawnych Miasta Krakowa, Archiwum Aktów Dawnych Miasta Krakowa, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, (1907) [on-line] Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/stream/katalog01archuoft/katalog01archuoft_djvu.txt>, accessed 06 X 2011
- [29.] BIŃCZAK P., *Miary długości w średniowieczu*, (2005) [on-line] Historycy.org, <<http://www.historycy.org/index.php?showtopic=9049>>, accessed 23 X 2010
- [30.] BRZOSKWINIA W., *Port Solny, elektryczne słońce i III Most*, (19 VI 2008) [on-line] Gazeta Kraków <<http://krakow.gazeta.pl>>, accessed 12 XI 2010
- [31.] JAKUBOWSKI K., *Ratuszowy odwach*, (21 I 2006), [in] Dziennik Polski, [on-line] <http://www.fortyck.pl/art_51.htm>, accessed 13 IX 2010
- [32.] KARCZMARCZYK S., BEREZA W., *Sukiennice – problemy ochrony, badań i modernizacji*, [in] XII Konferencja naukowo - techniczna Problemy Remontowe w Budownictwie Ogólnym i Obiektach Zabytkowych (REMO 2006), Wrocław - Kliczków, Polska 2006 [on-line] Strona KB-Projekty Konstrukcyjne <<http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/kraj/1,34309,963855.html>>, accessed 13 IX 2011
- [33.] MACIUK M., *Karty i gry karciane w Rzeczypospolitej doby nowożytnej*, (2009) [on-line] Historiaswiata.com.pl , <<http://historiaswiata.com.pl/wpis/6/>>, accessed 16 IX 2011
- [34.] MARCINIAK A., *Prace w Sukiennicach*, (2010) [on-line] Klub podróżników Śródziemie, *Podziemne tajemnice Krakowa – Rynek Główny*, <<http://www.klubpodroznikow.com/relacje/podziemna/608-podziemny-krakow->>, accessed 11 IX 2011
- [35.] NIEDAŁTOWSKI M., *Kary - przegierz i szubienica*, [on-line] <http://www.olesnica.nienaltowski.net/Przegierz_i_szubienica.htm>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [36.] NIEMIEC D., *Średniowieczny Rynek Krakowski*, Alma Mater, nr 109, XII 2008, pp.84-90, [on-line] <<http://www3.uj.edu.pl/alma/alma/109/21.pdf>>, accessed 14 IX 2010
- [37.] NIEZABITOWSKI M., *Kijacy*, [on-line] Magiczny Kraków, Kultura, <<http://krakow.pl/kultura/1342,artykul,kijacy.html>> , accessed 16 IX 2011
- [38.] POTOCZNY R., *Burza w Krakowie*, 31 lipca 2002, [on-line] PolskaLokalna.pl <<http://polskalokalna.pl/wiadomosc-dnia/news/burza-w-krakowie-6-rannych,287534>>, accessed 13 IX 2011
- [39.] SKALSKA J., CIECZKIEWICZ J., *Słownik Genealogiczny Łacińsko - Polsko - Angielski*, 2003, [on-line] Genealogia Polska, <<http://www.genpol.com/Poradnik-GenPol-art36.html>>, accessed 21 X 2010
- [40.] SOKÓŁ A., *Dawne oprawy w Krakowie*, Kraków 2002, [on-line] Wirtualna Historia książki i bibliotek, <<http://www.wsp.krakow.pl/whk/>>, accessed 12 XI 2010

- [41.] SUDACKA A., Wyniki *kwerendy archiwalnej dotyczącej zabudowy handlowej Rynku w Krakowie* [on-line] strona MHmK, <http://mhk.pl/wydawnictwa/krzysztofory-spis-tresci-26_6>, accessed 14 IX 2010
- [42.] SZUSTER M., *Poczet władców Polski i Rzeczypospolitej. Kazimierz III Wielki*, [on-line] <<http://www.poczet.com/wielki.htm>>, accessed 10 X 2010
- [43.] TOKARCZYK R., BRODZIŃSKA M., *Fotogrametryczna rekonstrukcja odwachu na Rynku w Krakowie na podstawie zdjęć Archiwalnych*, 2003, [on-line] <<http://home.agh.edu.pl/~tokarcz/public/publikacja-Odwach.pdf>>, accessed 13 IX 2010
- [44.] TURYN A., Bank Fotografii Krakowa, *Kraków z XIX wieku*. (18 V 2011) [on-line] Kraków wczoraj i dziś – serwis internetowy www.wawel.net, <http://www.wawel.net/krakow_19_wiek.htm> , accessed 18 V 2011
- [45.] WIDACKA H., *Garkuchnia pod studnią w Warszawie*, [on-line] Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, <http://www.wilanow-palac.pl/garkuchnia_pod_studnia_w_warszawie.html>, accessed 01 X 2011
- [46.] WOJTASZEK T., *Źródło wody mineralnej w Rynku Głównym w Krakowie*, 2004, [on-line] <http://www.wodadlaczdrowia.pl/pl/9295/0/Zrodlo_w_rynku_w_Krakowie.html>, accessed 14 IX 2010
- [47.] ZAITZ E., *Badania archeologiczne na Rynku Głównym w Krakowie 2004 roku*, *Muzeum Archeologiczne*, 2007 [on-line] <http://www.ma.krakow.pl/wystawy/rynek_glowny>, accessed 14 IX 2010
- [48.] ŻURKOWA R., *Historia krakowskiej księgarni 1610-2000*, Księgarnie krakowskie w kamienicy kromerowskiej, Katedra książki 2000-2010, (2010) [on-line] Księgarnia Matras, <http://firma.matras.pl/krakow/historia_1.php>, accessed 17 IX 2011
- [49.] XX., *Folwark szlachecki i chłopi w Polsce XVI wieku*, [on-line] Galeria drzeworytów <<http://cpx.republika.pl/ksiazka.htm>>, accessed 16 IX 2011
- [50.] XX., *Karty*, (2010) [on-line] *Encyklopedia staropolska*, <http://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Encyklopedia_staropolska/Karty> , accessed 16 IX 2011
- [51.] XX., *Kto odpowie za zniszczenie Sukiennic ?*, 06 VIII 2002, [on-line] *Gazeta.pl*, <<http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/kraj/1,34309,963855.html>>, accessed 13 IX 2011
- [52.] XX., *Ostatnie dni białej plamy na Sukiennicach*, 31 V 2005, [on-line] *Gazeta.pl*, <<http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/kraj/1,34309,2739714.html>>, accessed 13 IX 2011
- [53.] XX., *Plac targowy „Unitarg” na Grzegórkach*, *Place targowe wpisane w krakowską tradycję i folklor.*, [on-line] *Strona Unitarg*, <www.unitarg.krakow.pl/o/unitarg.doc>, accessed 15 IX 2011
- [54.] XX., *Sukiennice muszą poczekać na remont*, (03 XII 2003) [on-line] *Gazeta.pl*, <<http://info.wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/szukaj/wiadomosci/wichur%C4%99+sukiennice>>, accessed 12 X 2010
- [55.] XX., *Uroczyste otwarcie Podziemi Rynku*, [on-line] *Magiczny Kraków*, <http://www.krakow.pl/podziemna_rynku/1979,artykul,wielkie_otwarcie.html>, accessed 29 IX 2010
- [56.] XX., *Zakończenie projektu "Nowe Sukiennice"*, [on-line] *Strona Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, <http://www.muzeum.krakow.pl/NewsItem.107.0.html?&cHash=7998308997&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=147&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=3347>, accessed 29 IX 2010
- [57.] XX., *Zakończył się remont Sukiennic*, 12 VII 2010 (2010), [on-line] *Strona TVP Kraków*, <<http://www.tvp.pl/krakow/aktualnosci/rozmaitosci/zakonczyl-sie-remont-sukiennic/2083504>>, accessed 29 IX 2010