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The Economic System of the Volhynian Voivodeship before the Industrial Revolution: General View


<https://doi.org/10.34739/his.2025.14.11>


Abstract: *The article deals with the issue of the Volhynian Voivodeship economic structure's development from the middle of 15th century till the last quarter of 18th centuries. There are analysed the general tendencies which had the impact on the formation of the urban and rural menage, determined the market vector of the filwarok (farmstead) menage and organized the participation of Volhynia in interregional and international trade affairs. There is represented the historical retrospective of the stages of economic movements on the Volhynian's territory. It is stated that the majority of the political processes (such as Lublin or Brest Unions, Cossacks' uprisings, Cossacks' revolution) are not significant for the general economic tendencies and couldn't be take into account.*

Key words: Volhynian Voivodeship, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Economic System, Industrial Revolution, Economic Crisis, Trade, Crafts

Introduction

The economy of the Volhynian Voivodeship, as well as all other Ukrainian lands within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland and the later Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita), went through periods of its development, which could be characterized as the period which preceded the General-European economic crisis of the middle of the 15th century; period between the first and second economic crises (1450-1619/1622), period of the economic depression (the 1630s -the 1730s) and the period of the capitalism's origination (the1740s-the 1780s)¹. The given historical retrospective is rather flexible and conditional, for the grounded analysis of the economic events.² Indeed, in Europe (since the 1590s till the 1620s)

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¹ Topolski, 2003: 153.

² Mackenney, 1993: 6.

particularly within the countries, which were connected with the Baltic trade-economic region, new financial revolution;³ since the middle of the 16th century till the second part of the 18th century the agricultural revolution⁴ takes place.

Furthermore, this type of the periodization is the most appropriate for the determination of the limits within the economic development of the Volhynian Voivodeship during its existing within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, because the Union of Lublin in 1569 and the events of the Cossacks' Revolution which took place in the mid-17th century did not have such a forceful influence on the structure of the Volhynian economy as it was supposed to be within the historiography. The main transformation within the economics of Volhyn was observed in the 1590s and resulted in tremendous changes in the whole structure of the region's menage during next 200 years. The mentioned phenomenon is also typical for other areas of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Eastern Europe (e.g. Bohemia and Moravia).⁵

In general, the economic development of the Volhynian Voivodeship within the period from the 1450s till the 1780s was realised due to the influence of two factors. Actually, as the first factor we mark the Volhyn's frontier status considering the economic structure of Europe and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The forceful impact was made of the economic structure of Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There was also the influence on the structure of the Ukrainian lands, particularly, there was the redistribution of the regional economic structures, formation of new economic inter-structural connections.

As the second factor we understand the raw materials' processing as the main feature of the Voivodeship's industries. As the result we have other chronological frames and paces of the economic reforms' implementation. In the end of the 16th -first part of the 17th centuries the European economic system went through the significant losses (not the least because of the taken changes in the directions of the strategic trade routes⁶). During the same time the Volhynian Voivodeship, similarly to the lands of the Right-bank Ukraine had the benefits and advantages due to the increasement of the trade-change and thanks to the involvement of new economic centres to the foreign trade. Moreover, the presence of the significant natural resources in the middle of the 17th century made Volhyn one of the main components in the economy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

A characteristic feature of the economy's development of the Volhynian Voivodeship during the researched period was its largely agrarian character, which

³ Hart, 2006: 9.

⁴ Kerridge, 1969: 463, 470.

⁵ Woitsch, 2010.

⁶ Ramsey, 1960: 456.

fully corresponds to the trends in the economic development of both the Right-Bank Ukraine and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Contrary to the regions of the Central and Western Europe, the Volhyn's agrarian character, which was caused by geographical location as well as by the effects of transformation in the process of the "industrial revolution" and the "price revolution" in Western Europe, did not decreased in 16th-beginning of the 18th century, but deepened and developed. Eventually this led to the fact that Volhyn was one of the main exporters of grains and forest goods to the industrial countries of the Western Europe.

The background. From the Land to the Voivodeship

The period from the 15th till the 18th centuries in the context of the European society's evolution is the time of the rebuilding of the whole system of the economic relations which took place simultaneously with the significant transformations within the political and social contexts. Processes of the goods' production development, crafts' specialisation, which gradually transforms into the manufactured labour sharing, enforcement of the ownership and social differentiation, formation of the great money capitals, development of the expanded reproduction, considerable transformations within the spheres of science and technology became the factors which influenced on the development of the economic, demographic, political situation on the Ukrainian lands, especially on the territory of the Volhynian's region. Though if to take into account the difference between the industry and agricultural activity until this reconstruction, we can mention that the processes of changing of the Volhynian's village economics were growing slowly and stopped in the middle of the 16th century. Contrary, in 16th- middle of the 17th centuries within the urban economy in Europe, including Volhyn, the rapid development took place, which was only interrupted by the events caused by the Ukrainian revolution of the 17th century. We should name the industrial transformation or the industrial revolution within the Central and Western Europe as the result of these processes. This industrial revolution ~~was~~ began in the beginning of the 18th century and achieved its apogee in the first decades of the 19th century.⁷ At the same time, on the territories of the Volhynian's Voivodeship such transformations were fived only in the 1780s and were connected with the entrepreneurial initiatives of local Polish magnates, in particular the Czartoryski princes. The establishment of the serfdom-filvarok system of management was very important and significant for the economic evolution of the Volhynian's territory during the 15th-18th centuries. This didn't assisted to the deconstruction of the feudal society as it was in countries of the Western Europe, but, contrary, strengthened

⁷ Yas, 2019: 170.

this type of society. As the specific feature of the development of the social economic relations on the Volhynian's territories (just as in other European countries to the East of the river Elba) we can mark the fact that on these territories the development of the commodity-money relation didn't lead to the demolishing of the serfdom management style but assisted to its enforcement.⁸

Overall, the economic system of Volhyn during the period under study was marked by a redistribution of landownership from state to private hands. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the grand ducal and royal domain in Volhyn steadily declined as a result of noble appropriation and the granting of temporary royal holdings. For instance, the state-owned lands of the Lutsk starostwo were reduced from 13 settlements to a single estate over the course of the 16th century.⁹

Tab. 1. The Structure of Noble Landownership in Volhynia in the 16th Century.

groups of nobility	1528		1570	
	The amount of land measured in voloky	%	The amount of land measured in voloky	%
princes	6390	44	7337,5	45
barons	4446	30	7018	42
nobility	3834	26	2151	13
Total	14670	100	16506,5	100

Source: Blanutsa, 2007: 51, 53.

The formation of private noble and ecclesiastical landownership in Volhynia followed multiple paths. Ecclesiastical property was established primarily through “gratuitous” means – namely, the acquisition of real property in the form of land grants from private individuals – as well as through the purchase of landholdings. Private landownership emerged through several channels: (a) former appanage estates that were transformed into hereditary holdings; (b) allodial estates; (c) large benefices granted to service princes, which were subsequently privatized; (d) former administrative districts (*namisnytsva*) that were likewise privatized; and (e) estates granted in return for service.¹⁰

As a result, during the period from the 16th century till the third quarter of the 18th century on the Volhynian's territory more than 3 90,91% of all rural lands belonged to nobility, 5,35%, of the lands belonged to the state and 3,74% of lands belonged to the church.¹¹

⁸ Shcherbakov, 1958: 120-121.

⁹ Kravchenko, 2005: 175-177.

¹⁰ Sobchuk, 2014: 19-20.

¹¹ Krykun, 2012: 234.

Also, it was characterised by the transformation of the general orientation of the rural management, in which the serfdom dominated and monetary and in-kind duties played secondary roles. on these territories. The serfdom lasted for 234 days per year within certain households.¹²

Also, during this period the certain re-orientation from the labour on the owner's demands took place (middle of the 15th-beginning of the 16th century). This orientation included the production of goods for the external and internal markets (17th-18th centuries). At the same time, we can note that sales to the foreign market began to outweigh sales to the internal market gradually.

To a certain extent, the development of the Volhynian's region economy was negatively affected by the frequent transformation within the political state of the region during the second half of the 15th century, because until 1451 the Lutsk territory, despite the efforts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of Poland, remained a separate state.

Within this year the prince Svydryhaylo (prince Lev-Boleslav Olgerdovich) organised the Council of Volhynian' princes and lords which was held in Lutsk. On this Council they accepted the decision that after the Svydryhaylo's death Volhyn has to be taken by Lithuania.¹³ Thus, Volhyn lost its independence after Svydryhaylo's death and by the middle of the 16th century was transformed into the confederation of separate princely states.¹⁴ Exactly during this time took place the formation of the greatest Volhynian's magnate latifundia – the estates of the princes of Ostroh, Chortoryia, Zaslav, Zbaraz, Korec, Sangushki, etc. Their lands after the Svydryhaylo's death was transformed into the separate states but eventually due to the internal political struggle became just the private estates and mayorates,¹⁵ which occupies 81,4% of general Volhynian's land fund.¹⁶

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Volhyn, despite the joining the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had its own certain distinctiveness. In general, the certain peculiarities of Volhyn were the result not only political development but also geographical location of the region. Moreover, even being as the part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Volhyn did not experienced the cultural-political impact from the metropolis. Actually it influenced on the development of neighbouring russian, in particular, the Kyiv region and Bratslav region (the latter was part of the Volhynian land before the reform of 1566).

The Svydryhaylo's death provided the final joining of the Volhynian's region to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruskogo and Zhematiiskogo in 1452. The territorial

¹² Chukhlib, 2011: 503.

¹³ Zajaczkowski, 1931: 12, 14-15.

¹⁴ Voitovych, 1998: 162-166, 168.

¹⁵ Voitovych, 1998:167-168.

¹⁶ Menzhynskiy, 1987: 177; Pavlova, 2019: 88.

and administrative reform which was carried out in the late 50s and early 60s of the 15th century transformed Volhyn into a province of the Lithuanian state with the official name Volhynian Land which had certain county and volost division.

Thus, on the political-administrative map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the end of the 15th-middle of the 16th century appeared new territorial-administrative unit which was divided in three counties: Volodymyrsky, Lutsk and Kremenets.¹⁷ According to new territorial-administrative reform, in 1566 the Volhynian's land (Bratslav's lands were excluded) was transformed into the Voivodship. But, later, according to the resolution of the Vilens Sejm (1565-1566)¹⁸ and resolution of the Lublin Sejm (1569),¹⁹ the Volhynian's Voivodeship was included into the Polish Kingdom.²⁰ Thus, the Volhynian's territory which occupied the territory of 39786 km² was included to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.²¹ Within this state Volhyn was until the division of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, when, as the result of the first division in 1772. After this event 1095 km² of the Volhynian's lands were obtained by Austria. As the result of the second division (1793) and third division (1795) the Volhynian's Voivodeship was included into the Russian empire.²²

Along with the administrative-territorial transformations during the middle of the 16th century we can define the increasing pace of the process of legal unification, which was the result of a long struggle of the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who sought to obtain the same rights as the crown nobility. In 1566 the creation of new judicial system, which had as the model the crown courts was the result of this struggle. At the same time there was unified rather complicated territorial structure. Also, it was implemented the povits' division not only according to the legal features but according to the Sejm's, administrative and military characteristics.²³ Actually, the implementation of the mentioned features during the 16th century provided the readiness to realisation processes of the including Volhynian's lands into the Polish Crown.

It has to be mentioned that one of the reasons of the active struggle of the Polish Crown for the ownership of the Volhynian's Voivodeship was the fact that Volhyn had the greatest level of the economic development in comparison to other lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Firstly, these Volhynian's territories was on high economical level. They had the formed trade conditions, which, although were under

¹⁷ Liubavskiy, 1892: 209-235; Krykun, 1993: 134-140.

¹⁸ Maksymeiko, 1902.

¹⁹ VL, 1859: 81-82.

²⁰ Liubavskiy, 1900: 719-726, № 79; Lappo, 1911: 58.

²¹ Krykun, 2016: 98. Indeed, A. Yablonovsky gives a little bit different data considering the size of the Volyn's voivodeship – 38323 km²; See: Jablonowski, 1889: 12.

²² Krykun, 2016: 98, 104, 107.

²³ Zakrzewski, 1999: 219-220.

the influence of the Dnieper trade and communication system, had great tendencies to the Baltic's trade and economics.

Secondly, within Volhynian's lands were formed the lands' ownership, rural and filvarok (farmstead) economy.²⁴ Thirdly, in these territories the final crystallization of the county division and the registration of local judicial and administrative institutions has already taken place, and a network of urban and rural settlements has been formed.²⁵ Also, there were formed and maintained the trade-economic connections with other regions and countries. Fourthly, the Voivodship had the greatest degree of the population's amount in comparison to other Ukrainian lands. Particularly, in the 16th century, the Volodymyr County and Lutsk County had one settlement within 23,7 km², in Kremenz County there was one settlement within 24,5 km². In the second half of the 17th century this index significantly reduced and was calculated as 16,40 km², 18,32 km² and 14,68 km² correspondently.²⁶ In average there were nearly 2375 settlements and 115 of them were urban.²⁷ Thus, indexes of the population's density of the urban settlements were equal to the polish and had nearly 1 town within 209 km².²⁸

Tab. 2. The quantitative composition of settlements of Right-Bank Ukraine in the middle of the 17th and last quarter of the 18th centuries.

Voivodeship	Area	Amount of settlements in the middle of the 17th century	Amount of settlements in the last quarter of the 18th century
Bratzlav	28378 km ²	783	1204
Volhynian	39786 km ²	2375	2223
Podillia	19152 km ²	1102	1815
Kyiv	63292 km ²	630	962

Source: Krykun, 2012: 235.

Discussion. Volhynian economic system before the Industrial revolution

The peculiar feature of the Volhynian's Voivodeship economy was the agricultural character within the researched period. It was due to the tendencies of the economic development not only within Right-Bank Ukraine, but within the territory of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was caused by the geographical position. Also, it was

²⁴ Alexandrowicz, 1996: 61.

²⁵ Zayets, 1992: 85, 88-91, 96.

²⁶ Boryak, 1985: 168-171; Krykun, 2012: 235.

²⁷ Krykun, 2012: 235. Indeed, A. Zayats (2019: 60-61) accounts within Volyn 125 towns during the middle of the 17th century. However, according to the data, which was prepared by the Treasury commission (1775) the Volhynian Voivodeship had 112 cities and towns, See: LNNB Stefanyka. Oss., 494: 231 – 252 v; Büsching, 1788: 318-329.

²⁸ Bogucka, 1981: 6.

the result of the influence of the transformations which took place due to the “industrial revolution” and “revolution of prices” which occurred in the Western Europe. The agricultural character of Eastern Europe (contrary to the Central and Western Europe) during the 16th-beginning of the 18th century increased and deepened. As the result, Volhyn was one of the main exporters of grains and forestry goods for the industrial countries of the western Europe. Particularly, in the second quarter of the 16th century, the Volhynian’s Voivodeship provided nearly 20-25% of the export of the forestry goods from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the Western Europe. During the next period these percents only increased.²⁹

Moreover, the agricultural tendencies within the territories of the Eastern Europe became the economic response to the processes in main economic regions of the Western Europe (e.g. in England, Belgium and the Netherlands the part of the population which was involved in the agricultural sector decreased to 42-45%³⁰). At the same time, on the eastern border of Europe, particularly in Volhyn we can mention the results of the agricultural depression of the middle and end of the 16th century. These results were significantly lower than in other European countries. The volume of the arable lands was much bigger than in other countries of Europe. If to compare Volhyn with Spain, which was one of the least affected countries that suffered from the agrarian crisis, we can underline that in Spain there were only 38% of lands which were suitable for the agriculture (truly fertile were only 10% from these lands), 47% of the territory were acceptable only for the livestock grazing, 10% were covered with forests and 6% were not suitable for the agriculture.³¹ In Volhyn we can deal with the radically another situation. There were 60% of the territories which were suitable for the agricultural activities. Therefore, the possibility of endogenous reproduction of Western European’s crisis phenomena were barely noticeable or insignificant for the entire region’s economic structure.

After the thoughtful analysis of the economics of the Volhynian’s Voivodeship we should mention that since the middle of the 16th century *filvarok* (farmstead) became the determining and significant element of the agricultural management. *Filvarok* (farmstead) was the multifunctional agrarian complex which was oriented on the mass production of the agricultural goods.

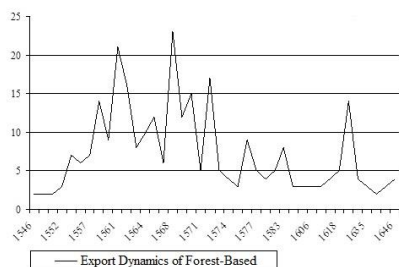
By the early 17th century, the total number of *filvarks* (farmstead) in the Volhynian region was estimated to range between 640 and 660. The operation of these estates relied on labor supplied by the peasant population of adjacent villages, with each *filvarok* (farmstead) drawing, on average, from 2.3 to 3.7 villages. The proportion of labor allocated to individual *filvarks* (farmstead) depended on the population density of specific areas. The lowest levels of labor provision were recorded in the northwestern

²⁹ Berkowski, 2007: 55.

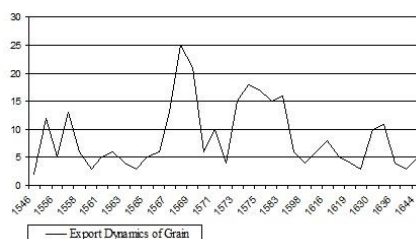
³⁰ Allen, 2000: 12-13.

³¹ Cipolla, 1993: 185.

part of Volodymyr County, whereas the highest were observed in southeastern Volhyn, particularly in the estates belonging to the Ostrogski and Zasławski magnate families.³²



Tab. 3. Trends in the Exportation of Forest Products from Volhyn to Gdańsk, ca. 1550-1650
Source: Authors³³



Tab.4. Trends in the Exportation of Grain from Volhyn to Gdańsk, ca. 1550-1650

As the characteristics of the filvarok (farmstead) we can mention the orientation on the satisfaction of the demands of the external (foreign and inter-regional) market. Such orientation was kept till the ends of the 18th century when not less than 16% of the trade grain from the filvarok (farmstead) had to be transferred to the external markets.³⁴

Along with the village and filvarok (farmstead) there was one more essential element of the Volhynian's economic structure – urban settlements. During the researched period the main type of the urban settlement we can find towns and small towns,³⁵ which didn't loose their half-agricultural features even after the successful location. The population of such settlement was not more than 1000-2000 citizens, urbanistic sizes – nearly 150-300 houses. This was typical for the urban processes within Central Europe and Eastern Europe.³⁶ A certain exception to this scheme could be found in large cities which had the essential demographic indicators – over 500 houses (e.g. Dubno (1127 houses), Zaslav (844 hoses), Ostroh (765 houses), Starokostyantyniv (762 houses), Kremenets (607)).³⁷ The processes of the urbanisation in Volhyn emerged due to the deepening of the territorial distribution of labour, creation of the fundamental centres (poles), spatial framework of new economic structures. Actually, in Volhyn, nascence of new settlements of the urban type was the long process. During this process there were multilevel and multi-aspect

³² LNNB Stefanyka. Radz. 39/I-1; Ossolineum. – Sygn.3669/II.

³³ The table presents data compiled from – ANK. AS, teki III-IX, XIII; TsDIAK, f.25, sygn. 3-28, 30-41, 43, 48, 50, 53-57, 63, 260, 458, 459-460, 527; f.28, sygn. 2, 4, 8, 10-12, 14-15, 18-21, 46, 82; Bershadskyi, 1882.

³⁴ Baranovych, 1955: 57.

³⁵ Wyrobisz, 1983.

³⁶ Bogucka, 1981: 6-7.

³⁷ Bryantseva, 1980a: 64.

changes of the social-economic, cultural and political aspects. At the same time, the Volhynian city was never an element of the antagonistic situation of confrontation between the city and the rural regions, which was typical for the Western Europe. Moreover, the Volhynian city was not foreign or separate element for the rural regions and successfully performed the functions of both the administrative centre of the region/territory and the centre of trade and craft life. There are certain examples of such cities: Dubno, Zaslav, Kovel, Korets, Ostroh and many other cities, which in the 16th-17th centuries became the centres of magnate latifundia. In Volhyn the urban settlements played the important structural part of the economic magnates' and nobility's complexes. In Volhyn, they acted as trade and craft centers of starosts and parishes. Actually, in the 16th and 17th centuries the towns were founded exactly with the aim of creating of the economic centre for the latifundia estates. Therefore, the social-economical processes in the town and village were interconnected and interdependent. Small towns and towns were the centres of influence for the so called *zaplichchya* (suburbs)³⁸ – relatively small territory of the town and its nearest radius within 2 to 20 km,³⁹ meaning the territory, villages from which the merchants could arrive in trade affairs and potential merchants and buyers could arrive and go back within one day. Actually, suburbs, as the rural region was included into the borders of the town agrarian sector, thus it was the extension of the town.⁴⁰ Therefore, despite the agricultural character of these settlements, they influenced largely on the formation of the marketing and sale of the agricultural production within the nearest villages.

At the same time, big cities which took not bigger than 10% from the amount of the urban settlements in Volhyn,⁴¹ were the legislators of economic development for all surrounding areas.

As the certain feature of the urban settlements' development we can mention the existence of two different forms of the organisation of the economic activity. One of them is the local trade.⁴² Existence of this form of the organisation of the economic activity had the result which meant that this settlement became the point of the trade contacts on the level of the more or less "backyard". Besides within the weekly trades there took place the meeting of people, who wanted to buy rural or urban goods. Thus, we can state that the local trade was forming due to the product-resource enrichment which was realised due to the which was carried out thanks to local crafts and peasantry. In a local trade a relatively small number of professional merchants and owners of large craft workshops participated.

³⁸ Janeczec, 1999: 133.

³⁹ Małeck, 1963: 61.

⁴⁰ Bryantseva, 1980b: 160, 162-163.

⁴¹ Büsching, 1788: 318-329.

⁴² Samsonowicz, 1989: 38-39.

As the characteristic feature, which determined the economic structure of the Volhynian county in the 16th-18th centuries we can name the fact that within the towns the dynamics of the economic development (weekly trade and fairs) was determined by the crafts and trade. In rural regions the leading role was given to the agricultural activity. So, from one point of view, the orientation of the small peasantry crafts only on its own demands could be the proof of the low level of the trade exchange. But from another point of view, the concentration of small-scale production of the certain field in some villages is the evidence of the work for the market. That is simultaneously the index of achievement of the certain level of development which was realised by the local market. For example, in the first half of the 17th century in the town Baranivtsi and in its suburbs were concentrated almost 91% of Volhynian Voivodeship's turners. The town Polonne with its suburbs was determined as the centre of Volhynian cooperage.⁴³ The rural suburbs provided the raw materials and semi-finished products for urban crafts and became thereby the part not only of the (intra-county or intra-voivodeship) trade, but also it became the part of the external (inter-voivodeship and international) trade.

The regional and international trade had been actively developing in Volhyn since the end of the 15th century. The settlements which were included to this trade were the points of buying (at auctions, fairs or through contractual transactions) various goods of great demand for the international trade.⁴⁴ Indeed, this activity provided by the professional merchants who act within big merchants' unions and took into account the benefits and advantages for these unions, the majority of which were from Warsaw, Gdansk, Lviv or Lublin. The characteristic feature of this form of trade's organisation in Volhyn was its non-regularity. It was caused by the market, geographical position of the settlement near the international or inter-regional trade ways. Also, it was caused by the location of the settlement in the regions with crystallized highly specialized production of goods. In this sense we should determine Starokostyantyniv which was one of the centres of the production of the alcoholic drinks (vodka, beer, honey) on the territories of the southern Volhyn, where one of the largest amounts of tax on the production and sale of alcohol (chopove) was paid in the amount of 7,192 zlotys and 24 groszy.⁴⁵

The external Volhynian's market was formed on the basis of the internal one. It was composed from two types of the market – inter-regional and international (according to the classification made by Malecki⁴⁶). It should also be mentioned that, contrary to the conditional division of the internal market, the division of the external market is not only conditional division. The reason of this is the fact that within the researched

⁴³ Kompan, 1963: 217.

⁴⁴ Samsonowicz, 1989: 38-39.

⁴⁵ Blyzniak & Smyrnov, 2024: 104.

⁴⁶ Malecki, 1963: 60.

period of time in Volhyn was the strict division of merchants. Some of them traded with other cities (voivodeships), but within the borders of one state – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Crown of Poland – the later Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Another type of merchants had trading interests beyond the borders of their state (this mainly concerns those merchants who traded with the Principality of Moscow, the Ottoman Porte and its vassals – Crimea and Moldavia). The regional and international trade was not only the next, higher stage of development of the local market (contrary to the last, the institution of resale of did not take part in it), but it also was the intermediate link of the formation fundamentals for the Volhynian Voivodeship's participation in the international market (in both cases participated nobility, clergy and large and medium-sized merchants). At the same time the main form of the trade (during the researched period) was the town fair which could be divided on the large (wholesale) and local. Such differentiation of fairs is caused by the specific features of the economic development of certain parts of the Volhynian trade, in particular the northern and southeastern parts of Volhyn. Formation of the organisational system of Volhynian trade provided further development of its main manifestation – network of fairs. The fairs were not only the periodic trades but places which located in certain time the wholesale and retail trade in various goods. The characteristic features of the fairs' development were the existence of the institution of resale and presence of byers and customers not only from the local villages but also from the nearest towns and cities (the last is typical for the fairs of the local level) or even from another countries (fairs of the international level).

The Volhynian's participation in the international trade was connected with the fact that since the last quarter of the 16th century the mentioned voivodeship practically was the end of then magnates' latifundia, because their production was oriented on the meeting the needs of the market situation. The stable growing of the demand in meat, grains and forestry goods in the Western countries, which was caused by the rough urban processes, demographic processes, significantly activated the trade activity of the Volhynian's nobility. Initially the export of the harvest to the European market from the Ukrainian lands was relatively not very big. It took place due to the agricultural activity of the Grand Duke's estates.

However, following the conclusion of the Second Peace of Thorn in 1466, the Kingdom of Poland – and subsequently the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – gained free access to the Baltic Sea and actively integrated into the system of international trade. As a result, the inclusion of the nobility and local magnates into the grain trade from the end of the 15th century led to the fact that (despite the commodity orientation of the state ownership of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), small-scale state farms weren't able to play the essential role in the international market. They were let alone to compete with the export supplies, realised by the bourgeoisie nobility, and clergy.

In 1551 the Sejm accepted the resolution according to which there was the free export of the forestry goods from the nobility's estates. Also, there was the extension of the effects of the Sejm's resolution (1550) on the Volhynian's nobility (according to the Union of Lublin). This actually legalized the nobility's monopoly on far-reaching international trade.⁴⁷ As the result, in the middle of the 17th century nearly 70% of the whole export of Volhynian's grain and forestry goods were realised by the nobility.⁴⁸

The development of this trade was caused by the rapid increasing of prices on the European market. Since the middle of the 16th and till the 18th century there was the price increase for the agricultural and forestry production. Thus, prices for the livestock in Europe have grown by 280%. For example, if in 1552 the livestock from the territories of Volhynian's Voivodeship was sold on the fairs of the Polish Kingdom in average for 3 zloty for one ox, but in 1560 this price increased to 6 zloty, and in 1641 the price reached 60 zloty. On average, the price of one ox from the place of its grazing (for example, Southeastern Volhyn) to the place of slaughter (in Denmark or Germany) increased by 146-175% of the cost price.⁴⁹

The development of the international trade in Volhyn was directly connected with the emerging of the industrial production in the Western Europe. Due to its large forest resources and favourable geographical location (in the basin of one of the most important trade arteries of Eastern Europe – the Bug River), the Volhynian Voivodeship was really one of the main exporters of agricultural and forestry goods to the Western Europe since the middle of the 15th century. Since the beginning of the 15th century, Gdansk was the main transferring centre for Volhynian's goods. This connection, with small interruptions which occurred in the middle of the 17th century, lasted until the end of the 18th century. Actually, 66.7% of the rye and 70.8% of the wheat, which were exported from Volhyn, were intended for sale in Gdansk.⁵⁰ Success of the export of the Volhynian's grain to Baltic provoked the emerging of the projects which were devoted to the improvement of the transportation. One of them was prepared in 1766 and was connected with the increasing of the volume of the transported grain from the farmsteads (filvarok) of the princes Sangushki in Zaslavsky and Bilogorodsky Klyuchy, Kremenets district. This project was aimed at increasing the volume of grain exports almost twice – from 185 tons to 384 tons per year.⁵¹

The large profits from the export of forestry products, as well as agricultural products, caused such a violent reaction in the economic structure of Volhyn that

⁴⁷ VL, 1859: 6; *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka*, 1914: 174, Art. 17.

⁴⁸ Bogucka, 1970: 80, 1981: 18.

⁴⁹ Podgradskaya, 1968: 74, 99; Baszanowski, 1977: 211-212.

⁵⁰ Guldon, 1965: 71.

⁵¹ Guldon, 1967: 321-327.

certain representatives of the nobility actually turned into large merchants. The royal nobleman Stanislav Graevsky – one of the largest exporters of not only grain, but also forestry products in 1555-1580⁵² is the example of such tendencies.

The characteristic feature of the period of the 15th-18th centuries was its heterogeneity. If in the 15th – beginning of the 16th century there was the increasing of the demand in goods which were exported from Gdansk to the Right-bank Ukraine and, correspondently, the increasing of the nobility's profit, then in the beginning of the 17th century, the lowering of the demand for goods from the Ukrainian territories which grows again at the beginning of the 18th century. As the result prices for the grain and forestry goods increased rather slowly or did not changed at all. Instead, there was the rapid rise of prices for the import goods, especially for the luxury items. In general, we can state that from year to year during the first half of the 17th century, the Ukrainian nobility was able to purchase less necessary Western European goods. This trend was reflected in the nobility journalism of this period, in the Sejm and Sejm resolutions-reports.⁵³

The important factor, which influenced on the commodity saturation of Ukrainian trades and fairs, was the specific character of the trade relations which united Central Europe and Western Europe. There was the wide import of the luxury goods, industrial goods. From the other hand there was the export of the raw materials, agricultural and forestry production (e.g. Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth gave grains and forestry goods to Western Europe, Czech Republic – vine and metal, Hungary – vine, livestock, metal). It is obvious that such structure of the trade exchange inhibited the development of internal craft production, cut off from the needs of not only the magnates and nobility, but even the wealthier merchants, who primarily bought imported products.⁵⁴

Conclusions

During 15th-18th centuries Volhynian Voivodeship had the role of the main structural elements of the economic system of Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The favourable geographical position and presence of resources provided not only the development of the commodity types but also made contribution into the deployment of wide trade infrastructure (internal and external). The emergence and development of a market-oriented farmstead (filvarok) economy contributed to the fact that Volhyn (as well as the entire Right-Bank Ukraine as a whole) century played the role of a raw material centre for the entire European economy since the 15th century. Actually, Volhyn was oriented and economically

⁵² AGAD. 6/601.

⁵³ Bogucka, 1976: 90.

⁵⁴ Bogucka, 1981: 12.

dependent on the Baltic trade and economic region and experienced an agrarian revolution during the late 16th-17th centuries. Despite the rather severe system of serfdom there was formed a fairly productive urban and rural economy.

We can state that in the 16th-first half of the 17th centuries (despite the destruction and devastation which were caused by the military events of the mid- to late 17th century,) there was rather effective combination of the productive agricultural activity with the energetic urban economics. Thus, during the beginning of the 18th century, especially during the middle of the 18th century these territories could be characterised by the significant development of the productive forces. The processes of separation of the agricultural activity from the crafts was essentially deepened. Certainly, the preservation of the serfdom-farmstead (filvarok) system, social, political, and confessional problems slowed down the economic development, but they did not stop it, and by the 1770s the first manufactories were emerging on these territories.

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ANK. AS. – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie. Archiwum Sanguszków [The National Archives in Kraków. Sanguszeko Archive]. teki III-IX, XIII

TsDIAK – Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny v Kyievi [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv]

LNNB Stefanyka – L'vivs'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka Ukrayiny im. V. Stefanyka [Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv]. Viddil rukopysiv [Manuscript Department]

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Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

To cite this article: Berkovski, V., Blyzniak, M. (2025). The Economic System of the Volhynian Voivodeship before the Industrial Revolution: General View). *Historia i Świat*, 14, 175–192. <https://doi.org/10.34739/his.2025.14.11>



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