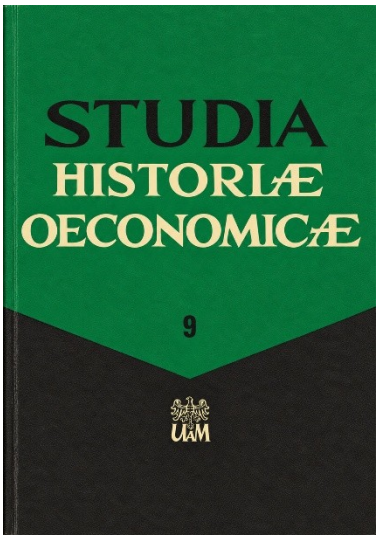


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CHANGES IN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CULTIVATION OF BUCKWHEAT AND MILLET IN POLAND IN MODERN TIMES

In modern agriculture in Poland the role of the cultivation of the so-called extensive or relic plants, that is, buckwheat and millet is very small. In 1971 only 0.5 per cent of all land under crop in the area of People's Republic of Poland was used for the cultivation of the two plants[1]. However, their role during the past centuries was considerably greater.

Millet is considered to have been the oldest cultivated plant in Central Europe. Yet the question of the economic role of the cultivation of millet in the ancient times and the Middle Ages has not been, so far, sufficiently explained. There have been tendencies to exaggerate the role of this crop taking it as a basic form of ancient agriculture[2]. Present-day scholars tend to accept more and more often another view, maintaining that the role of millet in peasant farming in the period of the Early Middle Ages was considerable yet not dominant[3]. As late as the 10th through 12th century the role of millet on the consumers' market was very great[4]. Later on its role declined gradually in favour of rye which did not require high quality of soil nor good climate[5]. Nevertheless, up to the turn of the Middle Ages millet represented one of the most popular basic foods among the lower classes[6], and its cultivation was wide-spread, especially among peasant farms[7].

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[1] *Rocznik Statystyczny 1972* (Year-book 1972), Warszawa 1972, p. 259.

[2] A. Maurizio, *Pożywienie roślinne i rolnictwo w rozwoju dziejowym* (Vegetable food and agriculture in historical process), Warszawa 1926, p. 161 - 164.

[3] K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian* (Slavic folk culture), vol. I, Kraków 1929, p. 210 - 211; H. Łowmiański, *Podstawy gospodarcze formowania się państw słowiańskich* (Economic basis for the emergence of the Slavic countries), Warszawa 1953, p. 168; H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski* (The Beginnings of Poland), vol. I, Warszawa 1963, p. 301.

[4] R. Kiersnowski, *Rośliny uprawne i pożywienie roślinne w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej* (Cultivated plants and vegetable food in the early-feudal period in Poland), „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", II, 1954, No. 3, p. 358 - 362.

[5] M. Dembińska, *Konsumpcja żywnościowa w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Food consumption in Medieval Poland), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1963, p. 60.

[6] M. Dembińska, *W sprawie stosowania metody statystycznej w badaniach archeologicznych* (On the use of statistical methods in archaeological researches), „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" V, 1957, No. 1, p. 102.

[7] S. Chmielewski, *Gospodarka rolna i hodowlana w Polsce w XIV i XV w.* (Agri-

The question which has not been solved so far is the range of cultivation of millet in the Middle Ages. Today, the climatic conditions in the area of Northern Poland do not allow for effective cultivation of millet. It is possible, however, that a considerably milder climate which might have existed in Poland in the Middle Ages, allowed for a more extensive cultivation of millet, even in northern parts of Poland (Pomerania). Millet seeds found during the excavations indicate that it was cultivated there, yet the evidence is too slight to determine the range of its cultivation.

In the 16th century the role of the cultivation of millet considerably decreased in comparison to other crops. May be this was connected with the popularization of another plant — buckwheat — whose seeds also served to produce groats. It is extremely difficult to represent the process in figures because up to the second part of the 16th century there exist no accurate and reliable sources on which we could base our survey. Hence we cannot know whether the decline of the significance of millet in the total structure of crops occurred uninterruptedly or in the form of violent fluctuations.

If we want to represent the range of millet cultivation in figures, we have to consider the problem of sowing quota that were accepted in Poland from the 15th to the 19th century. Almost up to the second half of the 19th century all data concerning the cultivation of particular plants were given in form of amount of seed sown instead of square measures of acreage under crop. The question of the density of sowing is highly complex[8], especially in the case of millet. The quota given in all kinds of manuals of agriculture of the 16th through the 19th century[9] as well as those given in various economical instructions for administering large estates[10], are highly inconsistent. Ethnographical researches may prove helpful in this respect. Owing to them, it is pos-

culture and animal husbandry in Poland in the 14th and 15th centuries) „Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego" Vol. 5, 1962, No. 2, p. 85 - 86.

[8] B. Baranowski, *Sprawa badań historycznych nad strukturami zasiewów* (The question of historical researches on the structure of crops), „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" XIV, 1966, No. 3, p. 539 - 544.

[9] Cf., e. g., M. Grosser, *Krótkie i bardzo proste wprowadzenie do gospodarstwa wiejskiego* (A short and simple introduction to husbandry), Wrocław 1954, pp. 34, 46, 59, 242, 244, 253; M. Oczapowski, *Gospodarstwo wiejskie* (A farm), vol. 5, Warszawa 1848, p. 126; Z. Gawarecki and A. Kohn, *Rolnik polski* (Polish Farmer), Vol. 1, Warszawa 1861, p. 469; *Encyklopedia rolnictwa i wiadomości związek zniem mających* (Encyclopaedia of agriculture and all the related subjects), vol. V, Warszawa 1879, p. 137; *Encyklopedia rolnicza* (Encyclopaedia of agriculture), vol. 9, Warszawa 1900, pp. 259 ff.

[10] J. Wegner, *Instruktarz ekonomiczny dóbr nieborowskich z roku 1777* (Economical instructions concerning the Nieborów estates in 1777), „Teki Archiwalne", No. 1, 1953, p. 18; B. Baranowski, J. Bartyś, T. Sobczak, *Instrukcje gospodarcze dla dóbr magnackich i szlacheckich z XVII - XIX wieku* (Economical instructions in the estates of magnates and noblemen in the 17th to 19th centuries), vol. 2, Wrocław — Warszawa — Kraków 1963, pp. 351, 373, 426 and others.

sible to assume that the sowing quota were much higher in Southern than in Central or Northern Poland. The ascertaining of sowing quota in particular regions allow for an approximate estimate of acreage under crop of millet. However, all the obtainable figures concerning the amount of seed sown through the period of the 16th - 19th century refer only to grange farms in the area of present-day Poland[11]. They indicate that millet was sown on about 0.3 to 10 per cent of all acreage under crop. We may further assume that in the second half of the 16th century an average area sown with millet constituted 3.1 to 3.4 per cent of soil under crop belonging to grange farms. In the second half of the 18th century that figure was lowered to 2.0 to 2.5 per cent. If we take into consideration that usually only ca. 60 per cent of arable land was under crop, we may finally assume that in the 16th century — 1.8 to 2.1, and in the 18th century — 1.2 to 1.5 per cent of arable soil in grange farms was under the crop of millet. We do not possess, however, any data concerning the cultivation of millet in peasant farms (and there, its role was much greater) and so we can only suggest an approximate estimate.

At the end of the Middle Ages as well as in the period between the 16th and the 18th century, the consumption of millet still played an important role in the maintenance of common people, though its significance was obviously lesser than in the 10th through 14th century. Almost the entire crop of millet used to be turned into groats.

The decrease of acreage under millet in the 17th and 18th centuries was most probably the effect of various causes. In spite of a distinct economical regress,

[11] R. Rybarski, *Gospodarstwo księstwa oświęcimskiego w XVI wieku* (Husbandry in the Duchy of Oświęcim in the 16th century), Kraków 1931, p. 15; J. Majewski, *Gospodarstwo folwarczne we wsiach miasta Poznania w latach 1582 - 1644* (Grange farms in the villages round Poznań in the years 1582 - 1644), Poznań 1957, p. 73; J. Topolski, *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI to XVIII wieku* (Husbandry in the estates of Gniezno archbishopric from the 16th to 18th century), Poznań 1959, p. 167; A. Wawrzyńczykowa, *Próba obliczenia wysokości plonów w królewszczyznach województwa sandomierskiego w drugiej połowie XVI i początkach XVII wieku* (An attempt at estimating the quantity of crops in the crown lands of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century), „Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego", vol. 1, 1957, p. 112; Id., *Problem wysokości plonów w królewszczyznach mazowieckich w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej ćwierci XVII wieku* (The question of the quantity of crops in crown lands of Mazovia in the second half of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century), „Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego", vol. 4, 1961, No. 1, p. 114; A. Wyczański, *Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w latach 1560 - 1580* (A study of noblemen's farms in the years 1560 - 1580), Warszawa 1960, p. 148; A. Wyczański, *Plony zbóż w folwarkach królewskich województwa lubelskiego w 1564 roku* (Crops of cereals in the Royal farms of Lublin Voivodeship in 1564), „Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego", vol. 4, 1961, No. 1, p. 26 - 27; W. Szczygielski, *Produkcja rolnicza gospodarstwa folwarcznego w Wieluńskiem od XVI do XVIII wieku* (Agricultural production in grange farms of Wieluń county in the 16th to 18th century), Łódź 1963, pp. 77 and others.

grange farms as well as peasant farms were becoming closer and closer connected with the market. The choice of production was determined not only by the consumption, but also, perhaps even more, by the possibilities of profitable sales. Obviously, neither a contemporary landlord nor a peasant could work out the complex economical reckoning. They could realize, however, that wheat or barley sown on the same field would yield greater profit than millet. And that is why the cultivation of millet started to decline.

Quite possibly, another reason for the decline of the cultivation of millet was an excessive impoverishment of soil. The unvarying husbandry based on the three-field system within which only cereals were sown, with inadequate manuring, could cause, after some time, a considerable decline of crops. It is not known to what extent the decline of crops could have been connected with such an impoverishment of soil. Nevertheless it seems obvious, it became more and more difficult to sow millet, which required high quality soil and intensive fertilizing.

Finally, one may suggest one more factor which could have had some influence upon the decrease of millet cultivation. A hypothesis that in the second half of the 16th century there occurred a gradual cooling of climate[12] and that the comparative inclemency lasted until the beginning of the 19th century, gains greater and greater support nowadays. Inasmuch as the very occurrence of the period of climatic inclemency may be taken for granted, we may not be equally sure about its extent in particular seasons. What could have affected the cultivation of millet most, were the ground frosts in springtime. Millet requires a comparatively warm climate but it is especially susceptible to ground frosts. That is why, in Poland, due to the geographical position, millet used to be sown fairly late in the year[13]. If the inclemency of climate manifested itself in spring ground frosts this might have very well caused the freezing of crops at one time or another, or even a general decline of crops. It is quite possible, then, that this factor influenced the decline of the cultivation of millet, too.

Meanwhile, at the end of the Middle Ages, there appeared in Poland a new kind of plant — buckwheat. It came to Poland from the East — from Asia — and that is why it used to be called "Tartar cereal" ("tatarka"). In the 16th century buckwheat was cultivated on a still insignificant percentage of arable land. A very considerable increase of its cultivation followed the country's devastation due to the wars in the middle of the 17th century. The requirements of buckwheat as regards the manuring, quality of soil and time of sowing

[12] E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Climat et récoltes aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, „Annales — Economies — Sociétés — Civilisations", vol. 15, 1960, No. 3, pp. 434 - 465.

[13] Z. Golonka and B. Świętochowska, *Uprawa roślin* (Cultivation of plants), Warszawa 1954, p. 302; M. Nowiński, *Dzieje upraw i roślin uprawnych* (History of cultivation and cultivable plants), Poznań 1957, p. 69 and others.

were not very high. The plant was fit to be sown under the conditions of extensive economy that prevailed in contemporary Poland. A further increase in the cultivation of buckwheat took place in the 18th century.

It is fairly significant that the cultivation of buckwheat became popular in some regions of Poland, only. Its cultivation in other regions was very small. Most obviously it was not connected with the quality of soil. Buckwheat was cultivated extensively in heavy humus soil in Lublin district as well as in the light soils in the southern part of present-day Łódź Voivodeship. To a great extent this was connected with the habits of the consumers. In some regions buckwheat groats became one of the basic foods of the common people; in others, its popularity was very small.

The figures concerning sowing quota in grange farms in the 16th to 18th century (in the area of the contemporary Poland) indicate that buckwheat was sown on 0.1 to 12 per cent of soil under crop. We may assume that in the second half of the 16th century 2.5 to 5.0 per cent of land under crop in grange farms was sown with buckwheat which means 1.5 - 1.8 per cent of arable land was used for the cultivation of buckwheat. The respective percentage for the second half of the 18th century was approximately — 5.0 to 6.0 of soil under crop, and 3.0 to 3.6 of arable land.

Buckwheat was consumed for the most part in the form of porridge. At the same time, one is bound to admit that in the second part of the 18th century there developed the export of buckwheat groats from the southern region of present-day Łódź Voivodeship (part of Silesia). Działoszyn, a town situated on the Upper Warta river, became the main centre of trading buckwheat groats[14].

We have got fuller statistical data as regards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. For example, on the basis of data referring to the area of Southern Poland, the so-called Galicia (occupied by Austria since 1772), we may assume that buckwheat was sown on about 11.0 to 12.0 per cent of all land under crop[15]. The percentage was slightly different in eastern part of Galicia from that in its western part. The former was inhabited by Ukrainians who sowed much more buckwheat than Poles inhabiting the wes-

[14] At the end of the 18th century sixty merchants of groats and flour lived in Działoszyn, J. Wąsicki, *Opisy miast polskich z lat 1793 - 1794* (Surveys of Polish towns in the years 1793 - 1794), vol. 2, Poznań 1962, p. 364. As regards the later period, cf., J. P. Dekowski, *Kaszarze stobieccy, brzeźniccy i działoszyńscy* (Groats merchants in Stobiecko, Brzeźnica and Działoszyn), „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi", ethnographical series, No. 7, 1963, pp. 129 - 147.

[15] J. Brawer, *Galizien, wie es an Österreich kam. Eine historisch-statistische Studie über die inneren Verhältnisse des Landes im Jahre 1772*. Leipzig — Wien 1910, p. 60; H. Madurowicz and A. Podraza, *Regiony gospodarcze Małopolski zachodniej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku* (Economic regions in western part of Little Poland in the second half of the 18th century), Wrocław-Kraków 1958, p. 76.

tern part of Galicia. Thus, the estimate of acreage sown with buckwheat in that part constituted 5.0 - 6.0 per cent of land under crop, that is, 3.0 - 3.6 per cent of arable grounds[16]. The statistical data referring to the area of Central Poland (the so-called Duchy of Warsaw from 1810[17] imply that 9.0 per cent of soil under crop was sown with buckwheat; its percentage in arable grounds was 5.4. In general the percentage was much higher in peasant farms than in grange farms. The distribution of buckwheat fields was very significant, too. In a large number of counties in Lublin and Kalisz districts buckwheat was sown on more than 20 per cent of soil under crop (in Tarnogród county — nearly 40.0 per cent). At the same time in some northern counties of the Kingdom of Poland the acreage sown with buckwheat constituted less than 1.0 per cent of soil under crop (for instance, in Międzyrzecz county — 0.4 per cent).

The role of the cultivation of buckwheat began to decline with the development of agriculture in Poland. In the 20s of the 19th century, in the area of Central Poland (the so-called Kingdom of Poland), 7.0 per cent of soil under crop was sown with buckwheat. Twenty years later, however, buckwheat constituted only 5.0 per cent of all crops, and in 1863 it was sown on 3'8 per cent of soil under crop (2.7 per cent of all arable grounds). There still existed, however, huge disproportions as regards its distribution among particular regions. For example in 1864, in Zamość county, buckwheat was sown on 15.9 per cent of arable grounds, whereas in Włocławek county — only 0.3 per cent[18]. The decline of cultivation of buckwheat in Central Poland (Kingdom of Poland) continued in the second half of the 19th century as well as in the beginning of the 20th century. In 1913 buckwheat was cultivated on only 1.4 per cent of all arable grounds[19].

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[16] The estimate on the basis of data compiled in: J. Fierich, *Kultury rolnicze, zmianowanie i zbiory w katastrze jozefińskim 1785/7* (Agriculture, system of rotation and crops in Josephine cadastre in 1785/7), „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", vol. 12, 1950, p. 38.

[17] H. Grossman, *Struktura społeczna i gospodarcza Księstwa Warszawskiego na podstawie spisów ludności 1808 i 1810 r.* (Social and economic structure of the Duchy of Warsaw on the basis of censuses in 1808 and 1810), Kwartalnik Statystyczny, vol. 2, 1925, No. 1, pp. 29 - 30; B. Baranowski, *Struktura produkcji roślinnej w Księstwie Warszawskim* (Structure of agricultural production in the Duchy of Warsaw), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1966, diagrams 5, 16 and 27. The estimates on the basis of materials from Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Main Archive of Old Documents), BOZ III-28.

[18] Figures from: J. Kostrowicka, *Produkcja roślinna w Królestwie Polskim (1815 - 1860)* (Agricultural production in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1815 - 1860), „Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego", vol. 4, 1961, No. 2, diagrams XV, XVII, XX; by the same author, *Produkcja roślinna w Królestwie Polskim (1816 - 1864). Próba analizy ekonomicznej* (Agricultural production in the Kingdom of Poland 1816 - 1864. An economical analysis). Warszawa 1961, diagrams XV, XX, XXI, XXIV.

[19] *Trudy Warszawskago Statisticzeskago Komitieta* (Studies of the Warsaw Statisti-

In Southern Poland, that is, in Galicia the decrease of buckwheat cultivation was even more abrupt. At the beginning of the 20th century only 0.5 per cent of arable grounds were sown with buckwheat[20].

The cultivation of buckwheat in western and northern regions of Poland decreased considerably, too. Whereas at the beginning of the 19th century its role was still fairly prominent, buckwheat fields in 1913 constituted only 0.1 to 0.2 per cent of arable grounds[21].

Throughout the 19th century there was also a noticeable decline in the cultivation of millet. In 1810, in the area of Central Poland (Duchy of Warsaw), millet fields constituted 2.3 per cent of soil under crop: 2.8 per cent in peasant farms, and 1.5 per cent in grange farms. As a matter of fact there were some regions in which millet was very popular, as for instance, Staszów county (8.0 per cent), Warta county (7.3 per cent) or Stopnica county (6.9 per cent). On the other hand, there were counties in which millet fields constituted not more than 0.1 per cent of arable grounds (like for example, Bydgoszcz, Brodnica, Oborniki, Wągrowiec, Olkusz or Tykocin).

In the 20s of the 19th century the acreage sown with millet decreased to 1.3 per cent of soil under crop and in the 40s and 60s, to 1.0 per cent (that is to 0.7 per cent of arable grounds). Millet was most popular at that time in the counties of Hrubieszów and Stopnica (2.4 and 2.3 per cent of arable grounds), yet there were also some counties in which millet fields constituted less than 0.1 per cent of arable grounds. In the years 1890 - 1913 the total percentage of millet fields in Central Poland (Kingdom of Poland) dropped to 0.5.

In the southern part of Poland, that is in Galicia, millet was sown on 1.5 per cent of soil under crop (near the year 1772)[22]. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century that percentage dropped to 0.8. In western and northern part of Poland the cultivation of millet was very limited. For

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cal Committee), vol. 37, Warszawa 1908, p. 31; S. Janicki, *Stosunki rolnicze Królestwa Kongresowego* (Agricultural conditions in the Congress Kingdom of Poland). Warszawa 1918, pp. 303 - 328 and others.

[20] Figures from: T. Pilat, *Zbiory roku 1876 w Galicji* (The crops in Galicia in 1876), „Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych", 1877, No. 2, p. 122; *Podręcznik Statystyki Galicji* (A Manual of Galician Statistics), ed. T. Pilat, vol. 7, Lwów 1903, part 1, pp. 146 - 150; vol. 8, Lwów 1908, part 1, pp. 161 - 168.

[21] *Preußische Statistik*, vol. 240, Berlin 1914; Z. Pietruszczyński, *Produkcja roślinna w Wielkopolsce, jej przeszłość i teraźniejszość* (The past and present agricultural production in Great Poland), Poznań 1937, p. 217; J. Jańczak, *Okręgi rolnicze Polski zachodniej i północnej w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku* (Agricultural districts of Western and Northern Poland in the first half of the 19th century), Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków 1969, pp. 31 - 60.

[22] In the statistical materials of 1772 referring to Galicia (J. Brawer, op. cit., p. 60; H. Madurowicz and A. Podraza, op. cit., p. 76), the data concerning the cultivation of lentil were mistaken for millet.

instance, in 1913 only several hundred hectares were sown with it there. Its economic significance was negligible as well.

In the period between the two world wars the cultivation of buckwheat and millet became less and less popular. The total acreage sown with buckwheat in 1938 in the area of contemporary Poland constituted not more than 1.5 per cent of arable grounds. The respective figure concerning the cultivation of millet was 0.45 per cent. In Northern and Western Poland, which in 1937 was governed by the Germans, buckwheat was sown on about 25 hundred hectares and millet — on about one hundred hectares. As regards the area of today's People's Republic of Poland, buckwheat was sown on 0.7, and millet — on 0.2 per cent of arable grounds. The highest percentage of these crops could be found in Lublin Voivodeship.

The years following the end of the World War II were characterized by a certain increase in the cultivation of buckwheat and millet[23]. This was connected, on the one hand, with a general state of soil — these plants used to yield fairly good crops on the soil that had lain fallow for several years. On the other hand, neither buckwheat nor millet required as much seed as other cereals. However, a subsequent considerable intensification of agriculture has caused a further decrease of their cultivation. In 1946 the total acreage sown with buckwheat and millet constituted 1.3 per cent of arable grounds in the area of People's Republic of Poland. The respective figures for the year 1955 and 1963 were 1.1 and 0.5 per cent. At the present time buckwheat and millet fields concentrate in the southern part of Lublin Voivodeship. Since millet and buckwheat groats is nowadays in demand because of its dietetic value and it fetches high prices, most probably the acreage sown with these plants will not shrink any more; on the contrary, it is quite possible that there will be an expansion of their cultivation in the nearest future.

On the basis of the above survey we may observe that in the period to which reliable data may be provided, the role of millet and buckwheat in Polish agriculture (excluding a few regions in Southern Poland) was rather slight.

If we take into consideration that buckwheat and millet crops were nearly always lower than the crops of rye, wheat, oat or barley, we may assume that the production of buckwheat and millet grains was of small economic value. For example, in the 20s of the 19th century in Central Poland (Kingdom of Poland) the total yield of buckwheat and millet grains reached not more than

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[23] *Statystyka rolnicza 1947* (Agricultural statistics 1947), Warszawa 1949, p. 16 ff. *Statystyka rolnicza 1946 - 1957* (Agricultural statistics 1946 - 1957), Warszawa 1961, p. 46 ff.; *Użytkowanie gruntów i powierzchnia zasiewów 1959* (Tillage of lands and acreage under crop in 1959), Warszawa 1960, p. 10 ff.; *Rolniczy rocznik statystyczny 1945 - 1965* (Agricultural year-book 1945 - 1965), Warszawa 1966, p. 50 ff. — Recently, the figures concerning the cultivation of millet and buckwheat and their crops are given jointly.

4.7 per cent of all other crops[24]; in the 1860s that percentage dropped to 4.6, and at the beginning of the 20th century — to 2.7. In terms of direct consumption, however, the proportion was different and the role of millet and buckwheat was much greater. This was so because, in contrast to other crops which are partly consumed directly and partly used for the production of vodka and beer, or used to feed the farm's live-stock, the seeds of millet and buckwheat are turned almost entirely into groats, apart from a certain amount reserved for sowing. Thus in terms of direct consumption, the proportion between millet and buckwheat and other cereals in the area of Central Poland (i. e. the Kingdom of Poland) looked the following: in the 1820s — 7.2 per cent, in the 1860s — 6.4 per cent and at the beginning of the 20th century — 5.9 per cent[25].

Naturally, the consumption was not uniform in all the regions of Central Poland. The consumption of buckwheat and millet groats was very high in southern parts of present-day Lublin and Łódź Voivodeshipswhere it constituted one of the basic foods among the common people. The consumption of these groats was almost equally high in large cities. The townspeople used to buy it there because it was considered superior to pearl barley. The statistical data referring to the consumption of the population of Warsaw imply that in the years 1826 - 1827 buckwheat and millet constituted 10.1 per cent of all cereals, and in the years 1842 - 1851 still 7.9 per cent[26]. Ethnographical researches dealing with the standard of living of the working classes in Łódź and other cities in Łódź Industrial District, indicate that the first stage of the rising standard of consumption was characterized by two features: one, that the workers used to substitute soups with bread (they usually came from the countryside where soups constituted basic meals), and two, they substituted pearl barley with buckwheat and millet groats. The consumption of larger quantities of meat and sausages took place on the second stage of the rising standard of living.

Direct consumption of buckwheat and millet in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was much lower in northern parts of Central Poland (Kingdom of Poland) and in Southern Poland (Galicia). The consumption of

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[24] B. Baranowski, *Próba obliczenia rozmiarów produkcji rolniczej i jej konsumpcji w czasach Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807 - 1830)* (An attempt at estimating agricultural production and its consumption in the period of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland — 1807 - 1830), „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" VIII, 1960, No. 2, p. 212.

[25] Calculations from: T. Sobczak, *Przełom w konsumpcji spożywczej w Królestwie Polskim w XIX wieku* (The change in the consumption of food in the Kingdom of Poland in the 19th century), Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków 1968, p. 33. The estimate is based on the quantity of grain used in direct consumption.

[26] Calculations from: T. Sobczak, op. cit., p. 58.

Table No. 1

Acreage sown with millet and buckwheat in the area of the People's Republic of Poland

	Percentage of acreage under crop			Percentage of arable soil		
	Buck-wheat	Millet	Total	Buck-wheat	Millet	Total
2nd half of 16th century	2,5	3,5	6,0	1,5	2,1	3,6
2nd half of 18th century	5,0	1,5	6,5	3,0	0,9	3,9
ca. 1810	5,4	1,2	6,6	3,3	0,7	4,0
ca. 1864	1,8	0,6	2,4	1,4	0,5	1,9
1905 - 1913	0,8	0,3	1,1	0,8	0,3	1,1
1934 - 1938	0,7	0,2	0,9	0,7	0,2	0,9
1966 - 1971	.	.	0,5	.	.	0,5

Table No. 2

Crops of buckwheat and millet in the area of the People's Republic of Poland

	In proportion to global crops — per cent			Counted in kilograms for one inhabitant of Poland		
	Buck-wheat	Millet	Total	Buck-wheat	Millet	Total
2nd half of 16th century	2,0	2,8	4,8	7,0	9,8	16,8
2nd half of 18th century	4,0	1,2	5,2	8,8	2,6	11,4
ca. 1810	4,3	1,0	5,3	10,7	2,5	13,2
ca. 1864	1,4	0,4	1,8	5,6	1,6	7,2
1909 - 1913	0,7	0,24	0,94	2,8	1,0	3,8
1934 - 1938	0,6	0,15	0,75	2,4	0,6	3,0
1966 - 1971	.	.	0,4	.	.	2,3

millet and buckwheat groats among the population of Western and Northern Poland which was governed by Prussia was very limited.

As it was already mentioned above, production as well as consumption of buckwheat and millet in the period between the wars declined considerably. A further decrease occurred after the end of World War II. Nowadays the total production of buckwheat and millet in Poland dropped to 0.4 per cent of the global production of cereals and their consumption constitutes 1.2 per cent of the consumption of cereals. Porridge made of buckwheat and millet groats, once one of the basic foods in Poland, appears nowadays very rarely (with the exception of the southern part of Lublin Voivodeship) in the menu of an average Pole.

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