

## Grzegorz Jawor






(Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3962-5388>  
 E-mail: grzegjaw@poczta.umcs.lublin.pl

## Małgorzata Kołacz-Chmiel

(Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4410-2389>  
 E-mail: kolacz-chmiel@poczta.umcs.lublin.pl

# Between Stagnation and Modernisation. Economic and Social Transformations of Countryside in the Polish-Ruthenian Border in the Late Middle Ages (Example of Hrubieszów County)

*Między stagnacją a modernizacją. Przemiany gospodarczo-społeczne wsi na pograniczu polsko-ruskim w późnym średniowieczu. (Przykład powiatu hrubieszowskiego)*

PUBLICATION INFO			
			e-ISSN: 2449-8467 ISSN: 2082-6060
			
THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS: Grzegorz Jawor, the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, 4A Maria Curie-Skłodowska Square, Lublin 20-031, Poland; Małgorzata Kołacz-Chmiel, the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, 4A Maria Curie-Skłodowska Square, Lublin 20-031, Poland			
SOURCE OF FUNDING: Project of the National Science Centre (Poland), decision no. 2018/29/B/HS3/01742, titled <i>Source edition XV-century court records powiat Hrubieszów in Chelm land</i>			
SUBMITTED: 2020.10.12	ACCEPTED: 2021.01.22	PUBLISHED ONLINE: 2021.06.30	
WEBSITE OF THE JOURNAL: <a href="https://journals.umcs.pl/rh">https://journals.umcs.pl/rh</a>		EDITORIAL COMMITTEE E-mail: reshistorica@umcs.pl	

## ABSTRACT

The presented article aims at showing legal, structural, economic, and social changes taking place in villages situated in the areas on the Polish-Ruthenian border, with the example of Hrubieszów County in Chełm Land. On the basis of the analysis of the surviving sources (in particular the land registry with records of yearly courts in Hrubieszów, which so far has been used very rarely), the authors present means of permeation of the new model of village functioning on the basis of the German law into the socio-economic structures preserved in the areas of the Ruthenian lands. In the light of the conducted studies, emerges an area that was under the influence of new solutions coming from the west; it was partially adapted, but simultaneously, the former method of organising a village was to a large extent preserved. The problem is all the more complex since confronting these two economic solutions was overlapped with the religious and ethnic divisions. Therefore, it was necessary to shed some light on the connections between these transformations and the influx of foreign, migrating population. The article also presents factors that determined either the intensification or weakening of the ongoing changes.

**Key words:** Hrubieszów, Polish-Ruthenian frontier, medieval village, occidentalisation, German law, Ruthenian law

## STRESZCZENIE

Prezentowany artykuł ma na celu ukazanie przemian prawno-ustrojowych, gospodarczych i społecznych następujących we wsiach położonych na obszarach pogranicza polsko-ruskiego na przykładzie powiatu hrubieszowskiego w ziemi chełmskiej. W oparciu o analizę zachowanego materiału źródłowego (zwłaszcza w niewielkim stopniu dotychczas wykorzystywanej księgi ziemskiej zawierającej zapisy roków sądowych odbywanych w Hrubieszowie) autorzy prezentują drogi przenikania nowego modelu funkcjonowania wsi opartego na prawie niemieckim do struktur społeczno-gospodarczych utrwalonych na obszarach ziem ruskich. W świetle prowadzonych badań wyłania się obszar znajdujący się pod wpływem oddziaływania nowych rozwiązań płynących z Zachodu, częściowo je adaptujący ale jednocześnie zachowujący w dużym stopniu dawny sposób organizacji wsi. Problem jest tym bardziej złożony, że konfrontacja tych dwóch rozwiązań gospodarczych nakłada się na podziały religijno-etniczne. Konieczne więc było naświetlenie związków tych przemian z napływem ludności obcej. W artykule przedstawiono także czynniki determinujące intensyfikację lub osłabienie zachodzących przemian.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Hrubieszów, pogranicze polsko-ruskie, wieś średniowieczna, okcydentalizacja, prawo niemieckie, prawo ruskie.

The analysed area with the local centre in Hrubieszów was a small fragment of the territory in the Crown Ruthenia (knowns as the Red Ruthenia in Polish historiography), which was created as a result of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia's dissolution and its division that emerged as a consequence of a long-lasting conflict between Poland and Lithuania. It ended with the union entered by these countries in 1385–1386. Political location of Hrubieszów's surroundings was complicated by Władysław Jagiełło who granted the lands with the centre in Belz as a fiefdom to the Mazovian Piasts in 1388. As a result, until 1462 – when

incorporation of Belz Land took place – the analysed area was a territorial enclave surrounded by domains of the Polish kings' vassals. It was most likely due to this situation that in the 1420s Hrubieszów became a centre of an ephemeral judicial district closed around 1465<sup>1</sup>.

The end of the Middle Ages in the Crown Ruthenia's history is a period of initiating serious transformations that included all areas of life, whose common denominator was a pursuit of implementing legal, institutional, economic, and social devices to this area that had been already widespread earlier in other parts of the state. In historical literature this phenomenon is referred to as occidentalisation<sup>2</sup>. In terms of rural population, the process was primarily concerned with the economic and institutional reconstruction that ensued by dissemination of the elements of (German) rental law. Apart from dividing peasants' lands into fields and implementing regular triple cropping system, the most visible result of these changes was a reform of peasant duties for the benefit of village owners, which meant that rent was imposed on them. The rural land was also introduced with the self-governing peasant judiciary in a form of rural bench led by village administrator (*sołtys*)<sup>3</sup>. The spread of this law, foreign for the Ruthenian countryside, meant a gradual liquidation of a local custom with its characteristic peasant homesteads (*area, curia*) – farms with diversified, closely unidentified areas, which were dependant on soil conditions, amount of land in a village, and grange's

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Szczygieł, *Hrubieszów w okresie staropolskim. Charakterystyka rozwoju miasta*, w: *Hrubieszów przez dzieje*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 1990, s. 24; G. Jawor, *Zaplecze osadnicze miasta w późnym średniowieczu*, w: *Dzieje Hrubieszowa*, t. 1, *Od pradziejów do 1918 roku*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 2006, s. 112.

<sup>2</sup> W. Iwańczak, *Rola i znaczenie dwóch kręgów cywilizacyjnych. Slavia occidentalis i Slavia orientalia w dziejach Europy Środkowowschodniej (okcydentalizacja i bizantynizacja regionu)*, w: *Europa Środkowowschodnia od X do XVIII wieku – jedność czy różnorodność?*, red. K. Baczkowski, J. Smołucha, Kraków 2005, s. 96–101; A. Janeczek, *Między sobą. Polacy i Rusini na wspólnym pograniczu w XIV–XV w.*, w: *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, red. T. Chynczewska-Hennel, N. Jakowenko, Lublin 2000, s. 37–55; G. Jawor, R. Szczygieł, *Pogranicze Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej i wschodniej w późnym średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, w: *Geograficzne problemy pogranicza Europy zachodniej i wschodniej*, red. H. Maruszczak, Z. Michalczyk, Lublin 2004, s. 61–72; J. Orzechowski, *Okcydentalizacja Rusi Koronnej w XIV, XV i XVI w.*, w: *Państwo, naród, stany w świadomości wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Zientary 1929–1983*, red. A. Gieysztor, S. Gawlas, Warszawa 1990, s. 215. The mutual permeation of influences from two civilisation circles, social and cultural, in this area is also noticed by the post-war Ukrainian historiography, see: О. Ясь, *Лев Окіншевич „Між Заходом і Сходом”*, „Розбудова Держави” 1997, 7–8, s. 105–106.

<sup>3</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Szerzenie się tzw. prawa niemieckiego na wsi śląskiej. Uwagi dyskusyjne*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 1962, 28, s. 75–77.

demands<sup>4</sup>. The most widespread form of duties were tributes made in honey or other natural products<sup>5</sup>, while the payments in money initially served a minor role, although over time and under the influence of the rental law, they were increasingly becoming more important<sup>6</sup>. The old-Ruthenian countryside was known for various forms of burdensome labours (serfdom) carried out for the village owner<sup>7</sup>. These settlement units were led by chiefs known as *watman* or *tywun*, with competences that are poorly recognized in scholarship on the subject. Royal estates were often inhabited by a group of servants (*servitores castris*), whose origins date

<sup>4</sup> One can notice a tendency to their measuring, evening out, and finally to identifying them with fields in some areas from the mid-15th century onwards, while in other areas – economically underdeveloped – only throughout the 16th century. However, in practice, even then their areas were rarely compliant with the norms. В.Ф. Інкін, *Дворище и лан в королевских имениях Галичины в XVI–XVIII вв.*, „Материалы по истории сельського хозяйства и крестьянства СССР” 1974, 8, s. 27–41; F. Persowski, *Osady na prawie ruskim, polskim, niemieckim i wołoskim w ziemi lwowskiej. Studium z dziejów osadnictwa*, Lwów 1927, s. 12–16.

<sup>5</sup> These tributes derive from a former old-Ruthenian law and are mentioned already in the 13th century – *Економічна історія України: Історико-економічне дослідження*, t. 1, red. В.М. Литвин et al., Київ 2011, s. 309–310. Apart from serfdom and small rents, their presence can be noted already in the 16th century. They were usually paid in honey, wax, grain, furs, and beaver, squirrel, and fox skins, but also in the form of: farm cattle and poultry, linen, hemp, cheeses, butter, eggs, and fish – М.К. Любавский, *Областное деление и местное управление Литовско-русского государства ко времени издания первого Литовского статута*, Москва 1892, s. 13, 15, 56; М.В. Довнар-Запольский, *Государственное хозяйство Великого княжества Литовского при Ягеллонах*, t. 1, Киев 1901, s. 113–114, *Економічна*, s. 341, 344–345. On the presence of these types of tributes in the areas of Chełm Land, see: M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Spółeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2009, s. 50–52.

<sup>6</sup> From the mid-15th century it is possible to observe a gradual replacement of tributes paid in natural products by payments in money (see: *Економічна*, s. 345).

<sup>7</sup> Applying this form of feudal duties, carried out by the so-called „tiahli” people, took place in the Ruthenian territories before introducing the German law and it has a very long tradition – В.Ф. Інкін, *Сільське суспільство Галицького Прикарпаття у XVI–XVIII століттях: історичні нариси*, Львів 2004, s. 151. In the later period it was adopted by the new system, which is confirmed by the presence of „kmethones laborantes” and „kmethones laborativi” already in the 16th century – Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [dalej: APL], *Księgi ziemskie chełmskie* [dalej: ZCh], sygn. 2–dekrety, k. 253–v–254; *Księgi ziemskie krasnostawskie* [dalej: ZK], sygn. 2–zapisy [dalej: 2–z], k. 324; *Lustracja województw ruskiego, podolskiego i bełskiego 1564–1565*, cz. 1, red. K. Chłapowski, L. Żytkowicz, Warszawa 1992, s. 43–64; A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340–1650*, Wrocław 1962, s. 234–235; Д.Л. Похилевич, *Крестьяне Белоруссии и Литвы в XVI–XVIII вв.*, Львов 1957, s. 28–40. As a result, in many areas of the Ruthenian lands, the dominating form of the feudal rent was still the socage in various forms – А. Гурбик, *Аграрна реформа в Україні XVI ст.*, Київ 1997, s. 34; *Економічна*, s. 341.

back to the Early Middle Ages, and who did various specialized works or objects for the rulers<sup>8</sup>.

The subject of our analysis is the micro-region settlement where towards the end of the 15th century 42 settlements could exist, of which 32 villages were recorded in the sources from the first half this century, although the actual date of establishing many of them is probably going back to old-Ruthenian times<sup>9</sup>. Focusing research efforts on this small area allows for an in-depth analysis of modernising processes that took place there. However, the aim of this research is not only to define quantitative relations between the settlements governed by the Ruthenian law and those organised in accordance with the principles of the German law. A lot of detailed issues need to be resolved, particularly the following: defining a group of people who initiated these transformations together with defining their ethnic and institutional identity, and territorial background; presenting various means of transplanting the rental law devices to the local area; and also, pointing out the factors which made certain groups and communities hold on to old solutions and resisted the reforms arriving from the west. Thesis on ethnical contexts of the German law, which appears in historical literature, also requires a new assessment. This will refer to an attempt to emphasise the issue of relations between the dissemination of a new custom and the influx of foreign people to the local, Ruthenian community<sup>10</sup>.

---

<sup>8</sup> W. Hejnosz, *Fragmety „Iuris Ruthenici” na Rusi Czerwonej pod koniec średniowiecza*, Lwów 1930, s. 3–5; idem, *Ius Rutheniale. Przeżytki dawnego ustroju społecznego na Rusi Halickiej w XV w.*, „*Studia nad Historią Prawa Polskiego*” 1928, 12, 1, s. 40–50; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *op. cit.*, s. 90–93; S. Rundstein, *Ludność wieśniacza ziemi halickiej w XV w.*, „*Studia nad Historią Prawa Polskiego*” 1903, 2, 2, s. 55–102; G. Vernadsky, *The Royal Serfs (Servi Regales) of the „Ruthenian Law” and their origin*, „*Speculum*” 1951, 26, 2, s. 255–264.

<sup>9</sup> G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, s. 115.

<sup>10</sup> Connections between the location of the basis of the German law and the influx of population from the west were present in earlier historical literature (see: A. Gąsiorowski, *Ze studiów nad szerzeniem się tzw. prawa niemieckiego we wsiach ziemi krakowskiej i sandomierskiej*, „*Roczniki Historyczne*” 1960, 26, s. 166; B. Zientara, *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce X–XV wieku: ich rola w zwierciadle polskiej opinii średniowiecznej*, w: *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, red. Z. Stefanowska, Warszawa 1973, s. 17, idem, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1975, s. 180). In the areas of the Ruthenian land, these views were associated in the earlier historiography with the presence of anti-schismatic provisions in the documents of foundation issued by Władysław Jagiełło (discussion on scholarship, see: A. Janeczek, „*Exceptis schismaticis*”. *Upośledzenie Rusinów w przywilejach prawa niemieckiego Władysława Jagiełły*, „*Przegląd Historyczny*” 1984, 75, 3, s. 527–528). However, we can find a verification of this view in this historian’s works. Although he notices in the town centres a close relationship with the conferral of the German right, but he nevertheless has serious doubts whether this model was also applied in the cases of the rural settlements.

The analysis of notes included in the judicial sources will be the foundation for this examination. The most prominent is a relatively small – in terms of its content – handwritten book recording court years of Hrubieszów from 1429–1465, kept at the State Archives in Lublin<sup>11</sup>. In its nature, the book is a secondary unit which was created later as a result of sewing together separate cards or fragments of contributions constituting record of cases under consideration at this court's sessions. Apart from paleographic problems, the access to its contents is hindered by chronological mix-up of cards and – first and foremost – their poor condition (numerous faded fragments, awash and chipped text). Some new information was also obtained by research into handwritten court registers of Chełm and Krasnystaw, on cards of which people from the area of Hrubieszów sometimes appear. Sources of diplomatic nature also turned out to be important for the discussed topic. Material until 1450 was published in print by Stanisław Kuraś and Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś<sup>12</sup>, while those from the second half of the century were collected during the research into the resources of *The Crown Metrics (Metryka Koronna)*. Unfortunately, there are no late medieval sources concerning taxes, goods inventories, inspections, etc., of the discussed area, owing to which it could

---

According to him, there was no possibility to exclude the schismatics (in fact, it was the local Ruthenian population) from the scope of the new legal solutions due to a small influx of settlers-Catholics, and also the existence of villages which were mixed in terms of religion and ethnicity, where the abovementioned divisions did not always mean that various legal models were applied. The exclusion of the Orthodox population from the possibility to transfer to the German law was also disappearing very quickly there (idem, *Polska ekspansja osadnicza w ziemi lwowskiej w XV–XVI wieku*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1978, 69, 1978, 4, s. 599–600; idem, „*Exceptis*”, s. 541; idem, *Ethnicity, Religious Disparity and the Formation of the Multicultural Society or Red Ruthenia in the Late Middle Ages*, w: *On the Frontier of Latin Europe. Integration and Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350–1600*, red. T. Wünsch, A. Janeczek, Warszawa 2004, s. 31, 42).

<sup>11</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–zapisy [dalej: 1–z], s. 80.

<sup>12</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 1, *Dokumenty z lat 1257–1420*, wyd. S. Kuraś, Wrocław–Warszawa 1962; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 2, *Dokumenty z lat 1421–1441*, wyd. S. Kuraś, Wrocław–Warszawa 1963; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 3, *Dokumenty z lat 1442–1450*, wyd. S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1969; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 4, *Dokumenty z lat 1211–1400*, wyd. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, red. K. Buczek, Wrocław 1969; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 5, *Dokumenty z lat 1401–1440*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1970; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 6, *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1386–1417*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1974; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 7, *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1418–1434*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1975; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich* [dalej: ZDM], cz. 8, *Dokumenty z lat 1435–1450, uzupełnienia: dokumenty z lat 1286–1442*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1975.



be possible to try to describe some phenomena in the form of statistics. The oldest records of this kind date back to the first decades of the 16th century, but the attempt to use them in order to approximate the earlier realities – on the basis of anticipation – brings forward fundamental methodological doubts. At the turn of the 15th and 16th century, the areas of the Crown Ruthenia were invaded by exceptionally damaging Tatar attacks<sup>13</sup>, and they were probably not missed by a plague reported in the neighbouring territories of Volhynia and Lublin Land<sup>14</sup>. In some regions they led to a deep destruction of the settlement fabric inherited from the Middle Ages. Against this background, the register of the ferto tax (*wiardunek*) of Chełm Land from 1510, offers a lot to consider. Among 16 villages which used to belong to the County of Hrubieszów, as many as 9 were thought of as having damages which prevented payments. Even Hrubieszów was exempted from taxes – due to damages – since the times of Alexander Jagiellon<sup>15</sup>. In the remaining settlements only individual tax payers survived and only in one of them – Stefankowice – a tax on mill and pope, apart from the arable land, was recorded<sup>16</sup>.

At the present state of knowledge, it is uncertain what rules were followed while recovering from these damages and, in particular, whether this process accelerated the dissemination of the German law. We are unable to determine whether it took place due to the energy of local people who survived the raids, or whether immigrants from other areas were involved. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that accepting the turn of the 15th and 16th century as the final date of our analysis is justified as it marks a certain phase in the history of settlement in this area.

#### TOWARDS MODERNISATION. SPREADING THE GERMAN LAW

According to separate research, the German law was spreading in the areas of Chełm Land (which included the County of Hrubieszów) by both the formal founding of new settlements and the relocation of those already existing; however, in the majority of cases it was done as a result of a spontaneous reception of its elements in individual villages.

---

<sup>13</sup> H. Gmiterek, *W czasach staropolskich (XVI–XVIII wieku)*, w: *Dzieje*, s. 127.

<sup>14</sup> A. Walawender, *Kronika kłesk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450–1586*, t. 1, *Zjawiska meteorologiczne i pomory*, Lwów 1932, s. 192–193.

<sup>15</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [dalej: AGAD], Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego [dalej: ASK], I, sygn. 37, k. 245v, 251v: „Ville destructe et deserte que dominis suis nichil cansuant”.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, k. 245.

In the latter case, it was done without any formal document<sup>17</sup>. This also happened in other regions of Poland. As a consequence, a small number of the preserved founding privileges is accompanied by an observation that the influence of this law was in fact much greater, reaching even 100% of rural settlements in individual areas in the Late Middle Ages<sup>18</sup>.

Formal founding of a place on the basis of the German law was carried out in 1425 in the villages of an Orthodox ruler of Chełm: Ślipcze and Kosmów, creating for them a joint administrative unit (*sołectwo*). Document of foundation was not preserved, we only know about it from a short summary presented in the work by V.M. Ploshchanski. In 1428 it included as many as 6 fiefs of arable land, mills, and a right to fishing in the Bug, Wołynka, and Konotopa Rivers<sup>19</sup>. They were also listed on the occasion of a few alienations and arguments over administrative unit, which took place in the 1460s. At the time, a watchtower<sup>20</sup> and a mill<sup>21</sup> were mentioned in this area. The founder and the first village administrator (*sołtys*) was Wawrzyniec Strączek, who six years earlier – as the owner of Bzowiec – had been a benefactor, together with other noblemen, of the parish church in Chłanów (Chełm Land)<sup>22</sup>. Writing about this foundation, Tadeusz M. Trajdos noticed its nature, which deviated from the then standards. Władysław Jagiełło usually did not grant new privileges to the Orthodox Church, only sometimes he confirmed the existing ones. There is no doubt that even though Strączek was a Pole and a Catholic, „the eagerness of the Polish nobility’s patronage did not obscure a practical calculation of

<sup>17</sup> M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *op. cit.*, s. 26.

<sup>18</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Szerzenie*, s. 80–81; S. Inglot, *Stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze ludności w dobrach biskupstwa włocławskiego w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Lwów 1927, s. 43–46; S. Kuraś, *Przywileje prawa niemieckiego miast i wsi małopolskich w XIV–XV wieku*, Wrocław 1971, s. 78–82; S. Płaza, *Sołectwa w powiecie sądecko-czchowskim w. XIII–XVIII*, „Rocznik Sądecki” 1968, 9, s. 108; L. Łysiak, *Małopolskie dokumenty lokacyjne w praktyce sądowej XIV–XVI wieku*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne” 1964, 16, 1, s. 53; K. Tymieniecki, *Prawo czy gospodarstwo?*, „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 1946, 8, 2, s. 278–279; idem, *Historia chłopów polskich*, t. 2, *Schyłek średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1966, s. 261; S.M. Zajączkowski, *O lokacjach wsi na prawie niemieckim w Łęczyckiem i Sieradzkim od końca XIV do początków XVI wieku*, Łódź 1974, s. 10–11.

<sup>19</sup> В.М. Площанский, *Прошлое холмской Руси по архивным документам и др. источникам*, t. 1, Вильна 1899, s. 40–54; *Акты Виленской археографической комиссии* [dalej: AVAK], t. 19, *Акты, относящиеся к истории бывшей Холмской епархии*, Вильна 1892, s. 51–54; A. Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska do 1596 roku*, Lublin–Chełm 1999, s. 77.

<sup>20</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 82–83, from 1460: „In quibus pecunias privilegium cum Maiestate Regia, quem habet super advocaciam in Slepycz, obligat’; s. 130, 132 from 1464: „advocacia in Slepcze et in Coszmow [...] Et cum fortalicio alias s czverdzą”.

<sup>21</sup> AVAK, t. 19, nr 10.

<sup>22</sup> ZDM, cz. 5, nr 1312: „Item nobilis Laurentius Straczek haeres de Bzowiec”.



business, even when it came to entering into a feudal relationship of dependence to an Orthodox dignitary"<sup>23</sup>. The consequence of the document from 1425 was a legal relocation of the already existing settlements, since Ślipcze and Kosmów had already existed at least from the turn of the 14th and 15th century. At the time, a counterfeit dated to 1376 was made in order to secure the holdings of Chełm's ruler where both villages were mentioned<sup>24</sup>. Strączek enjoyed a considerable authority among the local community, which is confirmed by his presence in the group of assessors at the court sessions in Hrubieszów<sup>25</sup>. Interesting conclusions can be drawn from observing the later alienation of this administrative unit. Strączek had gotten rid of it before February 1434, passing it on to boyar Michał, known as Bracha, in exchange for the village of Sitno in Chełm Land<sup>26</sup>. Anthroponymy of the following village administrators indicates that they belonged to both the Polish and Ruthenian ethnos<sup>27</sup>: Fiodor in 1438, Barbara Piątkowska, the daughter of Aleksander Piątkowski, Chełm ensign, Miłosz of Buśno, noblemen Iwaszko and his brother Bohdan Szumleński<sup>28</sup>.

The analysis conducted above allows to present a few hypotheses. In the case of villages of Ślipcze and Kosmów, the process of legal reorganisation of settlements previously ruled by the Ruthenian law began in 1425. The ruler of Chełm as well as the local noblemen (regardless of their ethnos), who in various times held there the position of village administrators, were keenly interested in the successful implementation of this process. There is no evidence for an influx of new Polish settlers to these villages. Wawrzyniec Strączek appears to be a person who had at his

---

<sup>23</sup> „gorliwość kolatorska polskiej szlachty nie przesłaniała trzeźwej kalkulacji interesu, nawet wtedy, gdy w grę wchodziło wejście w lenny stosunek zależności wobec prawosławnego dostojnika”. T.M. Trajdos, *Biskupi prawosławni w monarchii Jagiellii*, „Nasza Przyszłość” 1986, 66, s. 149.

<sup>24</sup> В. Розов, *Українські грамоти*, т. 1, XIV в. і перша половина XV в., Київ 1928, s. 21–22; H. Grała, *Chrzestne imię Szwarna Daniłowicza. Ze studiów nad dyplomatyką południoworuską XIII i XIV wieku*, w: *Słowiańszczyzna i dzieje powszechne. Studia ofiarowane prof. L. Bazylowowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę Jego urodzin*, red. L. Jaśkiewicz et al., Warszawa 1985, s. 216–220.

<sup>25</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 2: „Stranczko de Slepzcze advocatus”.

<sup>26</sup> ZDM, cz. 7, nr 2158.

<sup>27</sup> Although Andrzej Janeczek brought forward numerous reservations about the credibility of the anthroponymic analysis, he assumed that even if one should not expect from it an illustration of ethnic structure in a given area, it nevertheless offers positive information on the very presence of the representatives of various national groups – A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.*, Wrocław 1991, s. 601.

<sup>28</sup> В.М. Площанский, *op. cit.*, s. 43; APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 126–127, from 1464 and ZCh, sygn. 2–z, k. 473v–474 from 1467; AVAK, t. 19, nr 10.

disposal a suitable knowledge and experience, which were necessary in carrying out this enterprise. Perhaps he should be referred to as a foundation entrepreneur, for whom it was a reward to favourably exchange the life of the administrative unit, which had emerged, for the instruments of the ownership of the village of Sitno.

The location of Putnowice, situated at the northern outskirts of Hrubieszów County, took a different route. The receivers of the king's privilege from 1427 were the owners of the village, Anna, the widow of Walkosz, and her son, Stanisław. Both the terminology as well as the subsequent content of the document prove that they were Catholics. As in the case discussed above, the village had already existed so the issue concerned its actual relocation<sup>29</sup>. Particular attention should be given to the exclusion of Orthodox Christians from benefitting from these transformations and the order to continue their older customs<sup>30</sup>. In the light of Andrzej Janeczek's research, the *exceptis schismaticis* formula proves the planning of the colonising action with the use of immigrants arriving from the west. This exclusion applied to the Ruthenian population even when this group converted to Catholicism<sup>31</sup>. However, one should not prejudge the scale of this ethnic segregation, which was limited in time to Władysław Jagiełło's reign. This notion – similarly to the ban on the Ruthenians' moving to the Wallachian villages in the first half of the 15th century in the areas of the Crown Ruthenia – was probably abandoned due to the demand for settlers in the era of an increased colonising efforts<sup>32</sup>. In the case of Putnowice, it would have been illogical to apply the *exceptis schismaticis* principle, if there were no Polish serfs in this village at the time of the foundation. Therefore, it should be assumed that the legal transformation taking place there was based on the migrations of „foreign” people.

In the case of Oburków – a settlement which does not exist at the moment, but was mentioned in the sources from 1444 onwards and most

---

<sup>29</sup> ZDM, cz. 7, nr 2007: „prout in suis metis et graniiciis longe, late et circumferencialiter est distincta ab antiqui et limitata, de iure Polonico, Ruthenico et qiovis alio in ius Theutonicum, quid Maidemburgense dicitur, transferimus perpetuo”.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*: „schismaticis tamen s. Romanae Ecclesiae obedentiam non profitentibus penitus exclusis et exceptis, quos in suis iuribus et consuetudinibus perpetuo volumus permanere”.

<sup>31</sup> A. Janeczek, „*Exceptis*”, s. 536.

<sup>32</sup> Need for new settlers was so bit that their owners were notoriously breaking the law already in the 15th century, bringing Ruthenians to the Wallachian villages, risking prosecution for taking fugitives in. Therefore, the effort to separate villages' privileged communities from the local origins of newcomers – G. Jawor, *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2004, s. 173–175.

likely existed in the vicinity of the town of Gozdawa<sup>33</sup> founded in the mid-16th century – no information on the time and circumstances of the founding were preserved. Important information, perhaps having elements of the lost document of foundation are in a note from 1463 on the sale of an administrative unit in this village, finalised for 30 *grzywny* by Mikołaj, the owner of Oburków on behalf of his sister Beata, the wife of Jan of Nowosiedlce. The local village administrator had at his disposal the so-called Kuźmiński field, half of the field known as Tomkowskie, and Dąbrowa field; moreover, he had 1/6 of rents collected from peasants, 1/3 of claimed penalties. He was exempted from participating in war campaigns, he could fish in the pond, but he could also grain all cereals in the local mill for free<sup>34</sup>. It is worth noting that the above-mentioned Mikołaj, is referred to as „Bzowski” and in one case his nickname, „Strączek”, was also given<sup>35</sup>. This brings forward the obvious associations with the already known figure of Wawrzyniec Strączek of Bzowiec – who carried out the foundation of the villages of Ślipcze and Kosmów in 1425. Perhaps he was his son. This statement captures the suggestion that the founding of Oburków, most likely *in cruda radice*, is also the doing of this family. Very few preserved names of the residents of this settlement can suggest their Ruthenian origins. Apart from the abovementioned Kuźmiński field (from „Kuźma”), one should also mention one serf, Borys, who was accused of digging up 80 *grzywny* that belonged to the miller, Paweł, before his death<sup>36</sup>. This hypothesis is already supported by the already discussed event of selling the administrative unit in Oburków in 1463. For one of the entitlements of its buyer was a share in a payment – typical of the Ruthenian lands – known as *kunica*, paid in the event of a woman marrying outside of the estates’ borders<sup>37</sup>. All the discussed evidence suggests that the Ruthenians were also subjected to the German law in Oburków, while the attribution of payments known as *kunica* to the village administrator may prove his belonging to the Ruthenian custom.

The remaining information on modernising scale of the village settlements in the vicinity of Hrubieszów does not allow for any closer analysis

---

<sup>33</sup> ZDM, cz. 3, nr 666; W. Czarnecki, *Sieć osadnicza ziemi chełmskiej od połowy XIV do połowy XV wieku*, „Rocznik Chełmski” 1997, 3, (tabela); H. Stamiński, *Hrubieszów i okolice u schyłku średniowiecza*, Hrubieszów 1976, (mapa).

<sup>34</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 120–121.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 83–85 from 1460, s. 110 from 1462, s. 112, 116–117, 124 from 1463.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 138–139 from 1465.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 121: „Item eciam dum aliqua ancilla nupcialiter fuerit post virum recepta, ipsa Beata cum suis legitimis et posteris proventus videlicet terciam partem marduris alias cunicze recipere ac participare debet”.

of circumstances due to its concise nature. In Brodzica (Bohurodica)<sup>38</sup>, which existed at least from the turn of the 14th and 15th century – the village administrator in 1429 was Janusz who at the time served in a group of assessors at the court sessions<sup>39</sup>. Village administrator Maciej Puszkowicz, and then three years later Steczko<sup>40</sup>, is present in Szpikołosy (listed at the same time as Brodzica) in 1447. In Dobromierzyce (mentioned in the records for the first time in 1453) – founded probably already in the 15th century – this function was held in 1454–1462 by a nobleman, Jan<sup>41</sup>. Interesting legal situation was in the royal Czerniczyn. Part of this settlement was inhabited by servants who remained in the Ruthenian areas to the modern times. This was a privileged group, people who were obliged to serve for a local prefect (*starosta*), but were exempted from serf burdens. Performing duty of military nature in particular was becoming a chance to obtain and maintain a status of nobility<sup>42</sup>. Already in 1429

<sup>38</sup> G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, s. 104.

<sup>39</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 2, 3, 4 from 1429.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 15–16 from 1447, s. 47–48 from 1451.

<sup>41</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 70 from 1454 and s. 110 from 1462: „nobilis Johannes advocatus de Dobromirzycze”.

<sup>42</sup> The legal status of borough's servants in Ruthenia is referred to in the sources as *servitores curienses* and is identified with a group of people – present in early medieval Poland – known as *milites castrenses* or rulers from the pre-immunity period, which is indicated by the fact that some of them had a hereditary rights to land – K. Buczek, *Prawo rycerskie i powstanie stanu szlacheckiego w Polsce*, w: K. Buczek, *Studia z dziejów ustroju społeczno-gospodarczego Polski piastowskiej*, t. 3, wyd. W. Bukowski, Kraków 2010, s. 157–169; J. Matuszewski, *Rzekome rycerstwo niższe w najstarszym zwodzie prawa polskiego*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 1957, 23, s. 151–152; A. Bogucki, *Grody a osadnictwo drobnorycerskie w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1972, 63, 2, s. 234; T. Jurek, *Geneza szlachty polskiej*, w: „Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia”, *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve středoveku*, t. 9, red. M. Wihoda, M. Nodl, Praha 2007, s. 85–99; K. Modzelewski, *Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego X–XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, s. 180–194. Numerous examples of this group's permeation into the ranks of gentry were mentioned in the following works: A. Prochaska, *Lenna i maństwa na Rusi i na Podolu*, „Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, serya II, 1902, 17, s. 14, 23–24; A. Fastnacht, *op. cit.*, s. 232. Similar practice of social advancement in this category of population was noticed by A. Sochacka in the village of Słotwiny. See: A. Sochacka, *Drobna szlachta w województwie lubelskim w średniowieczu*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 1983–1984, 25–26, s. 15–16. Status of this group of people – which was not completely defined – could have helped with this kind of advancement. On the other hand, crossing state borders by the representatives of this category of population can mean that at present it is difficult to unambiguously place it in specific frames of social divisions established in historiography. An example of doubts in researching this issue is the opinion by A. Wyrobisz who believes that the legal status of this population was not entirely clear in the areas of Ruthenian land. According to him, it is difficult to decide

a note was made regarding Piotr, a falconer from this village. His high rank in the local hierarchy of prestige is evidenced by him holding the office of a court assessor<sup>43</sup>. This group survived all the way into the 16th century, the servants of Czerniczyn are mentioned in the tax register of 1510<sup>44</sup>, which was made after the destructive Tartar raid. Another part of this village went through a reform based on the German law. Starting from 1445, village administrators were mentioned in this settlement. In 1445–1454 Dobiesław and his brother Maciej were village administrators. Their noble background is beyond doubt. Dobiesław not only took part in the Hrubieszów court cases as an assessor, but was also referred to as a bailiff, juror of Chełm, and in one instance even as a chamberlain of Chełm<sup>45</sup>. At least some of the residents of the abovementioned settlement most certainly came from immigrants of Catholic background if already in 1424 the existence of a Catholic parish in this town was confirmed, and its functioning is confirmed throughout the entire 15th century<sup>46</sup>. Analogous situation of legal duality could also have taken place in the neighbouring Czernicznynek. Also in this case, the population of servants who lived there was the heritage of the old-Ruthenian period<sup>47</sup>. Simultaneously, starting from 1467, information about fields and half-fields typical of the German law appear there<sup>48</sup>, while in 1470–1483 a nobleman, Piotr Kuczała, is mentioned as a village administrator in this settlement<sup>49</sup>. The list of settlements

---

whether they belong to the peasant population obliged to special labours – often of military nature – or if they are the representatives of the lower boyars – A. Wyrobisz, *Podlasie w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, w: *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, red. A. Wyrobisz, Warszawa 1981, s. 185–186. Performing many military tasks in the royal castles by this category of population was discussed by K. Nabiałek, *Obsada zamków monarchicznych w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 2008, 74, s. 142–143.

<sup>43</sup> *Petrus falconista de Czirnyczin*. APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 1, 2, 7 from 1429: „Petrus falconista domini Regis de Czirnyczin”, s. 3, 4 from 1429.

<sup>44</sup> AGAD, ASK, I, sygn. 37, k. 245: „Czerniczin et Mieniani servi curienses nichil contribuent”.

<sup>45</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 17 from 1447: „generosi Dobeslaus et Mathias advocati de Czarnyczin”, s. 33 from 1450: „presentibus nobilibus ac generosis Czolcone gladifero Chelmensi, Dobeslao et Mathia germanis de Czirnyczin”, s. 52 from 1451: „Dobeslaus advocatus de Czirnyczin succamerarius Chelmensis”, s. 12–14 from 1446: „Dobeslaus camerarius domini iudicis Chelmensis necnon advocatus de Czernyczin”.

<sup>46</sup> ZDM, cz. 5, nr 1351; W. Czarnecki, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej kościoła łacińskiego w ziemi chełmskiej do początków XVII w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 2000, 48, 2, s. 39, 63.

<sup>47</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 3 from 1429: „Ywassch falconista de Parvo Czernoczin”.

<sup>48</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 2–z, k. 493 from 1467, k. 495v from 1468: „medium alterum laneum ibidem in Czyrzniaczynecz”.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, k. 539 from 1470 and 49v from 1474; APL, ZK, sygn. 2, k. 212v from 1483.

included in the reforms of the German law should also be supplemented with the ephemeral Wola Terebińska<sup>50</sup>, and – first and foremost – with the royal Bogucice (Bohutycze), which were mentioned for the first time in 1453. Waśko Skoruta, a master of the pantry from Chełm, was granted a legacy of 100 florins there in 1472<sup>51</sup>. Administrative unit was established there most certainly before 1492 if in 1515 King Sigismund the Old confirmed the legacy of 400 *grzywny* granted by Casimir IV Jagiellon in favour of Olechny Skoruta, a chamberlain of Chełm<sup>52</sup>.

### COUNTRYSIDE SETTLEMENTS WITH THE ELEMENTS OF RUTHENIAN CUSTOM

The review of very fragmentarily preserved information dating back to the 15th century, which recorded the existence of the Ruthenian custom's elements in the Hrubieszów villages, should be commenced with the settlements inhabited by population of servants, which were situated in the areas of the Crown's lands (in Hrubieszów district). Its relative privileges stemming from the performed duties suggest that, in relation to peasants, it took an unwelcoming attitude towards the German law, treating it as a threat to its position. Also from the prefects' point of view, the services of servants were valuable. Only the demand for grain increasing in the 16th century engendered a change in their attitude, which meant a gradual liquidation of this category of population. The example of the village of Mieniany, which appeared in the source at the beginning of 1429, is characteristic of this process<sup>53</sup>. Similarly to Czerniczyn, one part of the settlement was inhabited by serfs who had been settled on the

<sup>50</sup> This village was mentioned in a counterfeit made in the second half of the 15th century on remuneration of the parish in Hrubieszów – G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, s. 104. There is no connection between names such as *Wola* with the dissemination of the German law – R. Grodecki, *Wole i lgoty. Przyczynek do dziejów osadnictwa w średniowiecznej Polsce*, w: *Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone F. Bujakowi*, Lwów 1931, s. 47–56; B. Czopek, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnej ziemi chełmskiej i bełskiej (w granicach dzisiejszego państwa polskiego)*, Wrocław 1988, s. 53, 56; J. Szczerbowicz-Kopacz, *Klasyfikacja, znaczenie oraz pochodzenie nazw geograficznych w Polsce*, „*Językoznawstwo*” 2011, 1 (5), s. 179.

<sup>51</sup> AGAD, Metryka Koronna, [dalej: MK], sygn. 12, k. 61v; G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, s. 106.

<sup>52</sup> AGAD, MK, sygn. 29, s. 227: „Eiusmodi littere generoso Olechnoni Skorutha succamerario Chelmensi super villam nostram Bohuticze, in ua quadringentas marcas per Casimirum Polonie regem habuit inscriptas, et super advocaciam hereditariam in eadem villa nostra similiter datur”.

<sup>53</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 1.



old-Ruthenian homesteads<sup>54</sup>, and the other by servants, who are concealed in the sources under a misleading term of „heirs” (*heredes*)<sup>55</sup>. They survived the Tartar invasions from the turn of the 15th and 16th century<sup>56</sup>. In the light of a survey carried out in 1564–1565 and the prefectural inventory from 1569, the village was inhabited at that time by serfs and cottagers, and 5 servants. It was their duty to deliver mail at prefect’s order: *when they order*, and to provide three horses for a war campaign<sup>57</sup>. The then prefect of Hrubieszów, Andrzej Dembowski, aimed at eliminating the servants. He bought up two homesteads that belonged to them, he confiscated the third one that was abandoned, and he settled the above-mentioned serfs on this land, on 14 quarters of the field, imposing a high rent of 24 *grosze* on each of them<sup>58</sup>. At the same time, we get a valuable information on the acreage of homesteads. On average, each one of them in Mieniany had as many as 3.66 *lanei* (in Polish *łan*). There are no traces of the German law in this town in the 15th century, even though there were individual Catholics living there. German man, Szymon, a servant of Klisz of Mieniany, was certainly one of them<sup>59</sup>. The list of towns inhabited by servant population should also be supplemented with the royal site of Uników, recorded in 1429, which ceased to exist probably at the turn of the 15th and 16th century. It was inhabited by yet one more falconer, Zan<sup>60</sup>. The lack of later references to servant population can be explained with the change in the nature of this village’s ownership. Around 1470 Uników most certainly became an element of Tęczyńscy

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 25–26 from 1448: „obligavit sibi medietatem ville Menany, quam habet iure procurato [s], et debet idem Fedor possidere et tenere prout prius nobilis Michael Bracha tenuit et cum wgasd cum quatuor kmethones”, and s. 134 from 1464: „Quomodo nobilis Msczisko de Meynany coram nobis publice recognovit, quia nobili Clementi de Modrin aream alias dworzyszcze in Menyany nuncupatum Chomynske”.

<sup>55</sup> As subjects to prefect’s jurisdiction, they often dealt with transactions and arguments over low-valued estates and other properties at the sessions of the Hrubieszów court’s sessions. This subordination probably resulted in the presence of their representatives in the group of assessors – *ibidem*, s. 2 from 1429, s. 45 from 1450, s. 52 from 1451.

<sup>56</sup> AGAD, ASK, I, sygn. 37, k. 245: „Czerniczin et Mieniani servi curienses nichil contribuent”.

<sup>57</sup> AGAD, ASK, LVI, sygn. H-2, k. 707: „Ci żadnych robót nie robią, jedno z listy jeżdżą kędy każą”; *Lustracja*, s. 96.

<sup>58</sup> *Жерела до історії України-Руси*, т. 3, *Описи королівщин в руських землях XVI віку, Люстрації земель холмської, белзької і львівської*, red. М. Грушевський, Львів 1900, s. 100.

<sup>59</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 2, 4 from 1429: „Symon Theutunicus servus Clyssch de Myeniany”.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 7 from 1429: „Zan falconista de Unykowo”; G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, s. 105.

estates, which were extensive in this region<sup>61</sup>. In the magnates' point of view, the maintenance of this group of people was not justified. Perhaps their lands were sold out and serfs were settled there, just as it happened one hundred years later in Mieniany.

The Ruthenian law was in force throughout the 15th century in Masłomęcz<sup>62</sup>, mentioned for the first time in 1429, which was in the hands of numerous representatives of the Ruthenian nobility<sup>63</sup>. It is uncertain whether the lack of evidence for this settlement's modernization was only due to its divisions in ownership, which hugely hindered the foundation process on the basis of the German law. It is worth emphasising that the poorer nobility of Ruthenian or Wallachian background in Podkarpacie was – according to the studies by Ludwik Wyrostek and Przemysław Dąbkowski – characterised by a deep conservatism, ambition to maintain the previous lifestyle, continuation of group ties, and aversion towards foreigners and their lifestyle<sup>64</sup>. Numerous serfs living in Masłomęcz<sup>65</sup>, were also Ruthenians who were farming the old-Ruthenian homesteads. This is proven by the names of farms, formed from the names of their users: Michałkowskie, Chodorowskie, Nazarowskie<sup>66</sup>, Wańczowskie, homesteads used by Paszko, Chodorek and Czarek<sup>67</sup>, homesteads of Iwankowski<sup>68</sup>, Aleksin, Hryńczyński, and Slatko<sup>69</sup>, and finally – Ihnat,

---

<sup>61</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997, s. 449.

<sup>62</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 3. Mikoła of Masłomęcz was at the time recorded among the assessors.

<sup>63</sup> Only in 1451–1453 the records of the Hrubieszów court includes both women and men as the owners of subdivisions: Machna, Waško, Uliana, Olena, Seńko, Paweł, Maria, Ihnatko, Matrona, Ryczko, Ustian, Paszko – *ibidem*, s. 53–66.

<sup>64</sup> L. Wyrostek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej*, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego” 1931, 11, s. 126, 136–139; P. Dąbkowski, *Szlachta zaściankowa w Korczyniu i Kruszelnicy nad Stryjem*, Lwów 1936, *passim*.

<sup>65</sup> In 1444, 12 serfs from Masłomęcz paid half a *grzywna* of judicial penalty because they did not make an appearance in court to testify against Jan, the owner of Siennica – APL, ZCh, sygn. 2–z, k. 42v.

<sup>66</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 107–108 from 1462: „dimidium trium aream wlgaliter poltrzcza dworzysza videlicet Michalcowske, et Chodorowske et Nazorowskego medium tenute sue in Maslomecze”.

<sup>67</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 2–z, k. 385 from 1462: „dworzysze in qui sedet Passko et aliud in quo sedet Chodorek et etiam medietas in qui sedet Czarko et medietatem dworzysza”.

<sup>68</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 121 from 1463: „Et cum hoc medietatem dworzysza alias Hyvancowske *ibidem* in Maslomecze invadiavit”.

<sup>69</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 2–z, k. 514v–515z from 1470 and ZCh, sygn. 25–dekrety, s. 15 from 1476: „Prima area Allexino dworysko, secunda area Hlathkyego dworzysko, medietas aree tercie vulgaliter polowycza dworzyską Hrynczinskyego”.

Toma, Masz, and Piotr<sup>70</sup>, who held them. Despite a relatively good amount of sources on this town, no traces of the German law influences have been discovered.

According to the anthroponimic criterion, the owners of Ubrodowice<sup>71</sup>, a settlement inhabited by the Ruthenians, were Catholic nobility. In 1453, brothers Paweł and Chrystian divided the properties among themselves. Paweł received homesteads held by Nikon, Cyryl, Isaczko, Chyłko, and an owner of inn, Iwaniec. Chrystian took over homesteads of the following names: Chojnczowo, Chaniewskie, Pilipowskie, Ruczewskie, and one of an innkeeper Jakub<sup>72</sup>. There are no elements of the German law recorded in this settlement. The same economic complexes existed also in old-Ruthenian Modryń<sup>73</sup>, listed in 1460 when Katarzyna, the daughter of Andrzej, the heir of this village, passed on homesteads occupied by Długi and Chon to her brother-in-law<sup>74</sup>. In the case of this village, the attention should be drawn to information from 1489 regarding the high rents (24 *grosze*) paid by peasants settled in the homesteads. It can be interpreted as a permeation of the German law elements into the Ruthenian settlements without the necessity of a formal foundation<sup>75</sup>. The list of homesteads is also supplemented with information from Wołkowyja (at present – Wilków)<sup>76</sup>. Perhaps this settlement developed from a single homestead of the same name<sup>77</sup>. It was also

<sup>70</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 148–149 from 1465: „dworzyszczca etiam ibidem in Maslomyacza, in quibus areis sedent homines videlicet Hyhnath, Thoma, Masz, Petrus”.

<sup>71</sup> The place is mentioned in the above-cited counterfeit dated to 1400.

<sup>72</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 69: „Paulus antiquus frater debet tenere ad suam partem hos kmethones: Niconem, Cirilonem, Isaczkonem, Chylkonem, Iwanyecz Czczmarsz cum suis bonis, cum domibus, omnibus attinenciis alias dwarzyska. Item Christianus ad suam partem debet tenere hos kmethones: primo Chojnczowo dworzysko, Chaniewskyeko dworzysko, Pilipowycze dworzysko, Ruczewskyeko dworzysko, Jacobus thabernator”.

<sup>73</sup> G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, p. 105.

<sup>74</sup> APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 81–82: „condescendit alias spuszcila aream vulgaliter dworzyszczca medietatem, in qua sedebat Longus alias Długi, ceterum etiam sibi condescendit medietatem aree, in qua sedebat Chon”.

<sup>75</sup> *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, t. 19, Lwów 1906, nr 2119: Skarbek of Modryń sued Stanisław of Mircz to give him preliminary means: „in aream possessionatam ubi esset census media marca”.

<sup>76</sup> W. Czarnecki, *Rozwój sieci osadniczej ziemi chełmskiej w latach 1451–1510*, „Rocznik Chełmski” 1999, 5, s. 50.

<sup>77</sup> In 1454, Jurga of Wołkowyja pawned: „suum dworzysko Wolkowynya et debet ita dudum tenere, donec sibi solvet duas marcis”. – APL, ZCh, sygn. 1–z, s. 73 from 1454. Three years later, the village of Wołkowyja is already mentioned together with homesteads present in the village: „extunc in curiam aut aream ibidem in Volcowa kmethonis ipsi debet dare intromissionem” – *ibidem*, s. 78.

recorded in Siedliszcze<sup>78</sup> – currently non-existent, but previously a part of Tęczyńscy estates – and in the act of erecting the Catholic shrine in Gródek from 1420 or 1428, where homesteads were included in the remuneration of the local parish priest<sup>79</sup>.

## SUMMARY

Our discussion comes to an end, and thus it is time for a few more general remarks. Collective results of a detailed analysis of the legal situation in individual settlements were presented in the figure added to this article. In the areas of Hrubieszów County that was liquidated around 1465, 42 rural settlements could have been of medieval date, even though some of them appeared in the sources only in the first decades of the 16th century<sup>80</sup>. Only in the case of 19 of them, the condition of the preserved sources allowed to indicate elements that were typical of various legal and economic solutions. In the case of 9 villages, it was possible to indicate tools typical of the German law, while in other 8 their Ruthenian legal character was confirmed. Social groups of different legal orders existed side by side in two towns. This allows to state that there were two models of legal organisation of villages existing simultaneously in the examined areas in the 15th century. In the period in question, the areas of Hrubieszów County were significantly transformed not only in the legal sphere, but also in the social and economic one. These processes took place in decades and they influenced individual settlement units to different extent. Gradually, changes started to occur in the structure of previous settlement system based on the Ruthenian law, which were introduced in line with the model of organising the countryside on the basis of the German law that functioned in the areas of Poland. Its first influences can already be noticed during Władysław Jagiełło's reign, and most frequently they assume a formalised form of conducting the foundation activity. Such a fast evolution of some settlements towards the adaptation of the German law could stem from a few reasons. However, it was most certainly not a consequence of geographical location of

---

<sup>78</sup> „Duas areas in duabus marcis, unam aream in qua Czarny Chodor et alia ubi Iwanyecz pastuch” were pawned in 1457 – APL, ZCh, sygn. 2–z, k. 370v from 1457.

<sup>79</sup> ZDM, cz. 2, nr 399: „aream et locum pro mansione plebani et dotem pro edificanda taberna, otem dat aliam aream dictam dworzysko in toto cum omnibus utilitatibus”.

<sup>80</sup> The basis for determining hypothetical borders of Hrubieszów County in Figure 1 is research by G. Jawor, *Zaplecze*, s. 115. The village of Michały is recorded on the right bank of the Bug River only in 1523.

Hrubieszów County, which did not border directly with areas of the later Lublin Voivodeship, from where new influences of the socio-economic solutions were permeating. Reasons for this condition should rather be searched in the emergence of a factor interested in reforms. It should be assumed that the land owners were this factor, i.e. the local noblemen and boyars. Introduction of the German law allowed them to abandon the old model based on tributes and labour, and to turn to the rental system. The changes were so attractive that also the Orthodox Christian clergy stated implementing them in their villages. Implementation of these new solutions was to a large extent possible also because of fertile soil allowing for the agriculture to develop<sup>81</sup>. The foundation of the city of Hrubieszów also had some significance in disseminating this new law<sup>82</sup>. It became not only a model for the future foundation activities, but also a centre of the local trade, allowing the settlers to obtain cash necessary for regulating the rents. However, on the basis of the analysed material it is not possible to draw the conclusion that these changes were associated with a mass influx of population that was ethnically and religiously different. We only have at our disposal the indirect traces of bringing the settlers in. In the case of Putnowice's relocation, the usage of the *exceptis schismaticis* formula in the document of foundation can be indicated and in the case of Czerniczyn, the foundation of the Catholic church. In the majority of cases, the introduction of the new legal solutions was most likely including the local Ruthenian population, which is indicated by the preserved anthroponyms and toponyms. In order to reorganise the entire settlement, a founder was approached, who was usually the representative of gentry and came from the neighbouring areas that were under the influence of the German law.

Nevertheless, the changes mentioned above did not include all the settlement centres. Some of them continued following the formed economic model. This could have been influenced by the property structure. For a longer period of time the royal estates maintained the Ruthenian

---

<sup>81</sup> The areas of the former Hrubieszów County were dominated by fertile chernozems and brown soils, and in the valleys of Huczwa and Bug Rivers – muck bog soils – J. Pawłowski, *Środowisko przyrodnicze okolic Hrubieszowa*, w: *Dzieje*, s. 14–15; R. Bednarek, Z. Prusinkiewicz, *Geografia gleb*, Warszawa 1999, s. 229; J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warszawa 1981, s. 197–198, idem, *Mezoregiony fizyczno-geograficzne*, Warszawa 1994, s. 226. The spreading of a new economic model in the areas of the Ruthenian lands was closely linked with natural conditions that were conducive to the development of agriculture – E. Dybek, *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim w ziemi przemyskiej w latach 1345–1434*, Lublin 2004, s. 58–59; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *op. cit.*, s. 35–36.

<sup>82</sup> R. Szczygieł, *Lokacja miasta na prawie niemieckim i jego dzieje do końca XV wieku*, w: *Dzieje*, s. 90–91.

law. This probably stemmed from the organisation and management of properties which forced to preserve some archaic tools and duties<sup>83</sup>. This explains that the settlements inhabited by the servant population often followed the old model. A significant role of this population group is confirmed by the fact that even in the case when the transformation of the village's system was decided, it still kept its old rights and duties. In this situation, the reforms concerned only ordinary serfs living in the homesteads or a population of migrant origins who was brought over, as was the case in Czerniczyn and Czernicznynek. Therefore, a village was established where two different economic models were in force. The fragmentation of land ownership could also be a factor that could strengthen the former organisation of a village. The division of a village into a few parts significantly hindered the reorganisation process of this settlement and transferring it to the German law. Modest land holders were also probably not interested in implementing new solutions, which – in the initial period – could have been linked with some costs and a necessity to acquire an experienced founder.

It should also be emphasised that the adaptation of the new model for the functioning of a village by no means had to be associated with the thorough abandonment of previously effective Ruthenian law. The complete transformation of a settlement pursuant to the document of foundation, with the introduction of all the German law elements (measuring the fields, duties based on rent, establishment of rural self-government led by village administrator) was probably rare. More frequent were the cases of maintaining a part of the former village model and adapting to it only some elements of the new law, which were perceived by the owners and residents as beneficial<sup>84</sup> (i.e. introduction of rent in the village of Modryń). All the more so, because this procedure was often practiced in the areas of Chełm Land.

(translated by Anna Miączewska)

#### REFERENCES (BIBLIOGRAFIA)

##### Archival sources (Źródła archiwalne)

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie:

Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, I, sygn. 37.

Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, LVI, sygn. H-2.

Metryka Koronna, sygn. 12, 29.

<sup>83</sup> A. Fastnacht, *op. cit.*, s. 236.

<sup>84</sup> A. Janeczek, *Ethnicity*, s. 42; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *op. cit.*, s. 30–31.



Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie:

Księgi ziemskie chełmskie, sygn. 1–zapisy, 2–zapisy, 2–dekrety, 25–dekrety.

Księgi ziemskie krasnostawskie, sygn. 2–zapisy.

### Printed sources (Źródła drukowane)

*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, t. 19, Lwów 1906.

*Akty Vilenskoj arkeograficheskoj komissii*, t. 19, *Akty, odnosyashchiesya k istorii byvshey Kholm-skoy uerarkhii*, Vil'na 1892. [*Акты Виленской археографической комиссии*, t. 19, *Акты, относящиеся к истории бывшей Холмской епархии*, Вильна 1892.]

*Lustracja województw ruskiego, podolskiego i bełskiego 1564–1565*, cz. 1, red. K. Chłapowski, L. Żytkowicz, Warszawa 1992.

Rozov V., *Ukrayins'ki hramoty*, t. 1, *XIV v. i persha polovyna XV v.*, Kyyiv 1928. [Розов В., *Українські грамоти*, t. 1, *XIV в. і перша половина XV в.*, Київ 1928.]

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 1, *Dokumenty z lat 1257–1420*, wyd. S. Kuraś, Wrocław–Warszawa 1962.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 2, *Dokumenty z lat 1421–1441*, wyd. S. Kuraś, Wrocław–Warszawa 1963.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 3, *Dokumenty z lat 1442–1450*, wyd. S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1969.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 4, *Dokumenty z lat 1211–1400*, wyd. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, red. K. Buczek, Wrocław 1969.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 5, *Dokumenty z lat 1401–1440*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1970.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 6, *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1386–1417*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1974.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 7, *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1418–1434*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1975.

*Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, cz. 8, *Dokumenty z lat 1435–1450, uzupełnienia: dokumenty z lat 1286–1442*, wyd. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1975.

*Zherela do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy*, t. 3, *Opysy korolivshchyn v rus'kykh zemlyakh XVI viku, Lyustratsyi zemel' kholms'koj, belz'koj i l'vivs'koj*, red. M. Hrushevs'kyu, L'viv 1900. [*Жерела до історії України-Руси*, t. 3, *Описи королівщин в руських землях XVI віку, Люстрації земель холмської, белзької і львівської*, red. М. Грушевський, Львів 1900.]

### Studies (Opracowania)

Bednarek R., Prusinkiewicz Z., *Geografia gleb*, Warszawa 1999.

Bogucki A., *Grody a osadnictwo drobnorycerskie w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1972, 63, 2.

Buczek K., *Prawo rycerskie i powstanie stanu szlacheckiego w Polsce*, w: K. Buczek, *Studia z dziejów ustroju społeczno-gospodarczego Polski piastowskiej*, t. 3, wyb. W. Bukowski, Kraków 2010.

Czarnecki W., *Rozwój sieci osadniczej ziemi chełmskiej w latach 1451–1510*, „Rocznik Chełmski” 1999, 5.

Czarnecki W., *Rozwój sieci parafialnej kościoła łacińskiego w ziemi chełmskiej do początków XVII w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 2000, 48, 2.

Czarnecki W., *Sieć osadnicza ziemi chełmskiej od połowy XIV do połowy XV wieku*, „Rocznik Chełmski” 1997, 3.

- Czopek B., *Nazwy miejscowe dawnej ziemi chełmskiej i belskiej (w granicach dzisiejszego państwa polskiego)*, Wrocław 1988.
- Dąbkowski P., *Szlachta zaściankowa w Korczyni i Kruszelnicy nad Stryjem*, Lwów 1936.
- Dovnar-Zapol'skiy M.V., *Gosudarstvennoye khozyaystvo Velikogo knyazhestva Litovskogo pri Yagellonakh*, t. 1, Kijew 1901. [Довнар-Запольский М.В., Государственное хозяйство Великого княжества Литовского при Ягеллонах, t. 1, Киев 1901.]
- Dybek E., *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim w ziemi przemyskiej w latach 1345–1434*, Lublin 2004.
- Ekonomichna istoriya Ukrainy: Istoryko-ekonomichne doslidzhennya*, t. 1, red. V.M. Lytvyn et al., Kyuyiv 2011. [Економічна історія України: Історико-економічне дослідження, t. 1, red. В.М. Литвин et al., Київ 2011.]
- Fastnacht A., *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340–1650*, Wrocław 1962.
- Gąsiorowski A., *Szerzenie się łąw. prawa niemieckiego na wsi śląskiej. Uwagi dyskusyjne*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 1962, 28.
- Gąsiorowski A., *Ze studiów nad szerzeniem się łąw. prawa niemieckiego we wsiach ziemi krakowskiej i sandomierskiej*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 1960, 26.
- Gil A., *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska do 1596 roku*, Lublin–Chełm 1999.
- Gmiterek H., *W czasach staropolskich (XVI–XVIII wieku)*, w: *Dzieje Hrubieszowa*, t. 1, *Od pradziejów do 1918 roku*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 2006.
- Grala H., *Chrzestne imię Szwarna Daniłowicza. Ze studiów nad dyplomatyką południoworuską XIII i XIV wieku*, w: *Słowiańszczyzna i dzieje powszechne. Studia ofiarowane prof. L. Bazyłowowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę Jego urodzin*, red. L. Jaśkiewicz et al., Warszawa 1985.
- Grodecki R., *Wole i lgoty. Przyczynek do dziejów osadnictwa w średniowiecznej Polsce*, w: *Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone F. Bujakowi*, Lwów 1931.
- Hejnosz W., *Fragmenty „Iuris Ruthenici” na Rusi Czerwonej pod koniec średniowiecza*, Lwów 1930.
- Hejnosz W., *Ius Ruthenicae. Przeżytki dawnego ustroju społecznego na Rusi Halickiej w XV w.*, „Studia nad Historią Prawa Polskiego” 1928, 12, 1.
- Hurbyk A., *Ahrarna reforma v Ukraini XVI st.*, Kyuyiv 1997. [Гурбик А., Аграрна реформа в Україні XVI ст., Київ 1997.]
- Inglot S., *Stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze ludności w dobrach biskupstwa wrocławskiego w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Lwów 1927.
- Inkin V.F., *Dvorishche i lan v korolevskikh imeniyakh Galichiny v XVI–XVIII vv.*, „Materialy po istorii sels'kogo khozyaystva i krest'yanstva SSSR” 1974, 8. [Інкін В.Ф., Дворище и лан в королевских имениях Галичины в XVI–XVIII вв., „Материалы по истории сельского хозяйства и крестьянства СССР” 1974, 8.]
- Inkin V.F., *Sil's'ke suspil'stvo Halyts'koho Prykarpattya u XVI–XVIII stolittiyakh: istorychni narysy*, L'viv 2004. [Інкін В.Ф., Сільське суспільство Галицького Прикарпаття у XVI–XVIII століттях: історичні нариси, Львів 2004.]
- Iwańczak W., *Rola i znaczenie dwóch kręgów cywilizacyjnych. Slavia occidentalis i Slavia orientalis w dziejach Europy Środkowowschodniej (okcydentalizacja i bizantyzacja regionu)*, w: *Europa Środkowowschodnia od X do XVIII wieku – jedność czy różnorodność?*, red. K. Baczkowski, J. Smolucha, Kraków 2005.
- Janeczek A., *Ethnicity, Religious Disparity and the Formation of the Multicultural Society or Red Ruthenia in the Late Middle Ages*, w: *On the Frontier of Latin Europe. Integration and Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350–1600*, red. T. Wünsch, A. Janeczek, Warszawa 2004.
- Janeczek A., *„Exceptis schismaticis”. Upośledzenie Rusinów w przywilejach prawa niemieckiego Władysława Jagiełły*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1984, 75, 3.
- Janeczek A., *Między sobą. Polacy i Rusini na wspólnym pograniczu w XIV–XV w.*, w: *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, red. T. Chynczewska-Hennel, N. Jakowenko, Lublin 2000.

- Janeczek A., *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo belskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.*, Wrocław 1991.
- Janeczek A., *Polska ekspansja osadnicza w ziemi lwowskiej w XV–XVI wieku*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1978, 69, 1978, 4.
- Jawor G., *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2004.
- Jawor G., *Zaplecze osadnicze miasta w późnym średniowieczu*, w: *Dzieje Hrubieszowa*, t. 1, *Od pradziejów do 1918 roku*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 2006.
- Jawor G., Szczygieł R., *Pogranicze Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej i wschodniej w późnym średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, w: *Geograficzne problemy pogranicza Europy zachodniej i wschodniej*, red. H. Maruszczak, Z. Michalczyk, Lublin 2004.
- Jurek T., *Geneza szlachty polskiej*, w: „Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia”, *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve středoveku*, t. 9, red. M. Wihoda, M. Nodl, Praha 2007.
- Kołącz-Chmiel M., *Spółeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2009.
- Kondracki J., *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warszawa 1981.
- Kondracki J., *Mezoregiony fizyczno-geograficzne*, Warszawa 1994.
- Kuraś S., *Przywileje prawa niemieckiego miast i wsi małopolskich w XIV–XV wieku*, Wrocław 1971.
- Kurtyka J., *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997.
- Lyubavskiy M.K., *Oblastnoye deleniye i mestnoye upravleniye Litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva ko vremeni izdaniya pervogo Litovskogo statuta*, Moskva 1892. [Любавский М.К., *Областное деление и местное управление Литовско-русского государства ко времени издания первого Литовского статута*, Москва 1892.]
- Łysiak L., *Małopolskie dokumenty lokacyjne w praktyce sądowej XIV–XVI wieku*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne” 1964, 16, 1.
- Matuszewski J., *Rzekome rycerstwo niższe w najstarszym zwodzie prawa polskiego*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 1957, 23.
- Modzelewski K., *Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego X–XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002.
- Nabiałek K., *Obsada zamków monarszych w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 2008, 74.
- Orzechowski J., *Okcydentalizacja Rusi Koronnej w XIV, XV i XVI w.*, w: *Państwo, naród, stany w świadomości wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Zientary 1929–1983*, red. A. Gieysztor, S. Gawlas, Warszawa 1990.
- Pawłowski J., *Środowisko przyrodnicze okolic Hrubieszowa*, w: *Dzieje Hrubieszowa*, t. 1, *Od pradziejów do 1918 roku*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 2006.
- Persowski F., *Osady na prawie ruskim, polskim, niemieckim i wołoskim w ziemi lwowskiej. Studium z dziejów osadnictwa*, Lwów 1927.
- Ploshchanskiy B.M., *Proshloye kholmnskoj Rusi po arkhivnym dokumentam i dr. istochnikam*, t. 1, Vil’na 1899. [Площанский В.М., *Прошлое холмской Руси по архивным документам и др. источникам*, t. 1, Вильна 1899.]
- Płaza S., *Sołectwa w powiecie sądecko-czchowskim w. XIII–XVIII*, „Rocznik Sądecki” 1968, 9.
- Pokhilevich D.L., *Krest’yanе Belorussii i Litvy v XVI–XVIII vv.*, L’vov 1957. [Похилевич Д.Л., *Крестьяне Белоруссии и Литвы в XVI–XVIII вв.*, Львов 1957.]
- Prochaska A., *Lenne i maństwa na Rusi i na Podolu*, „Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, serya II, 1902, 17.
- Rundstein S., *Ludność wieśniacza ziemi halickiej w XV w.*, „Studia nad Historią Prawa Polskiego” 1903, 2, 2.

- Sochacka A., *Drobna szlachta w województwie lubelskim w średniowieczu*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 1983–1984, 25–26.
- Stamirski H., *Hrubieszów i okolice u schyłku średniowiecza*, Hrubieszów 1976.
- Szczerbowski-Kopacz J., *Klasyfikacja, znaczenie oraz pochodzenie nazw geograficznych w Polsce*, „Językoznawstwo” 2011, 1 (5).
- Szczygieł R., *Hrubieszów w okresie staropolskim. Charakterystyka rozwoju miasta*, w: *Hrubieszów przez dzieje*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 1990.
- Szczygieł R., *Lokacja miasta na prawie niemieckim i jego dzieje do końca XV wieku*, w: *Dzieje Hrubieszowa*, t. 1, *Od pradziejów do 1918 roku*, red. R. Szczygieł, Hrubieszów 2006.
- Trajdos T.M., *Biskupi prawosławni w monarchii Jagielloń*, „Nasza Przyszłość” 1986, 66.
- Tymieniecki K., *Historia chłopów polskich*, t. 2, *Schyłek średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1966.
- Tymieniecki K., *Prawo czy gospodarstwo?*, „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 1946, 8, 2.
- Vernadsky G., *The Royal Serfs (Servi Regales) of the „Ruthenian Law” and their origin*, „Speculum” 1951, 26, 2.
- Walawender A., *Kronika kłesk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450–1586*, t. 1, *Zjawiska meteorologiczne i pomory*, Lwów 1932.
- Wyrobisz A., *Podlasie w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, w: *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, red. A. Wyrobisz, Warszawa 1981.
- Wyrostek L., *Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej*, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego” 1931, 11.
- Yac’ O., *Lev Okinshevych „Mizh Zakhodom i Skhodom”*, „Pozbudova Derzhavy” 1997, 7–8. [Яць О., *Лев Окіншевич „Між Заходом і Сходом”*, „Розбудова Держави” 1997, 7–8.]
- Zajączkowski S.M., *O lokacjach wsi na prawie niemieckim w Łęczyckiem i Sieradzkim od końca XIV do początków XVI wieku*, Łódź 1974.
- Zientara B., *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce X–XV wieku: ich rola w zwierciadle polskiej opinii średniowiecznej*, w: *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, red. Z. Stefanowska, Warszawa 1973.
- Zientara B., *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1975.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Grzegorz Jawor (born 1960) – graduated in History from Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. In 1984 he became an assistant-intern at the School of History at UMCS. In 1989 he received his PhD and in 2000 he became an Assistant Professor. The title of a Professor of the Humanities was granted to him in 2014. He specialises in the history of medieval Poland, particularly in the history of Polish countryside at the turn of the Middle Ages and modern times. He is interested in the history of the Wallachian settlement in the Polish Carpathian Mountains and the editions of historical sources.

Małgorzata Kołacz-Chmiel – PhD with “habilitation”, researcher at the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. Her scientific interest is focused on the socio-economic history of villages in the late Middle Ages and early modern times, with particular emphasis on the place of women in the family and peasant community. Her second area of research is the editing of historical sources. She has published two monographs: *Spółeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu* (Lublin 2009) and *Mulier honesta i laboriosa. Kobieta w rodzinie chłopskiej późnośredniowiecznej Małopolski* (Lublin 2018).