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# Wallachian Law as a Tool for Colonising Peripheral Areas: Case Study of the Sandomierz Forest in the 15th and 16th Centuries

## Abstract

The uniqueness of Wallachian settlement in the territories of Poland was that it extended beyond its natural mountain and submontane zone. This resulted in the emergence of settlements founded under Wallachian law, including the Sandomierz Forest area. The aim of the article is to examine the economic activity of the residents of these settlements, which was conditioned by the environmental situation. One important problem addressed in this work is the question of reasons for the colonisation backwardness in this region, manifested in the slow pace of the progress of urbanisation, the limited scope of the money economy, and the late development of manorial demesnes, among other factors. These delayed and poorly discernible processes were followed by the evolution of the profile of Wallachian-law settlements, evident in the 16th century. The permeation of elements of Wallachian customs into agricultural settlements was an important adaptation element that has not been properly examined in the literature.

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## Preliminary Remarks

Although it is constantly being improved, current research on Wallachian settlement in the territories of Poland is still determined by scholars' need to conduct academic research in many directions. One of them is the problem of how this settlement extended beyond its natural mountain and submontane zone. Although this phenomenon has already been noticed by researchers, it has never been analysed in detail.<sup>1</sup>

This process resulted in the emergence of Wallachian-law settlements in areas situated further away from the mountains, which can be defined as peripheral. The settlements of Wallachian shepherds in the lowlands were preceded by seasonal penetration of the neighbouring forests to find a suitable place for sheep grazing. The Sandomierz Forest is an example of such an area, having been one of the least populated regions of Poland for centuries. Already in the 16th century, the predominant feature of the forest's natural environment was its dense tree growth and large number of marshes. Difficult natural conditions limited the option of benefiting from agriculture, which influenced the necessity to search for alternative sources of income and possibilities to domesticate this territory. These expectations were met by Wallachian law, which had great capacity for adaptation, based on a skilful merging of pasture management with farming, crafts, and activities of broadly understood forest management (Jawor, 2016, p. 178).

Existing research on the Sandomierz Forest presents significant discrepancies in how the extent of this area was viewed. Apart from the need to pay particular attention to the process of change in the natural environment that took place throughout the ages, the main bone of contention has been the problem of the forest's extent. Initially, the historiography was dominated by the view that this area was situated between the rivers Vistula and San (Dobrowolska, 1931). Many researchers of the region

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<sup>1</sup> The presence of settlements under Wallachian law outside of the mountain and submontane ranges was first indicated by A. Jabłonowski: "villages under Wallachian law sprawled not only in the strip of submontane areas and counties adjacent to Beskid, where there were indeed many of them, but they were also scattered, less unified or even quite isolated, around all the lands and counties further away from the mountains" (Jabłonowski, 1903, pp. 427–428). Reasons for applying Wallachian law to areas situated further away from the mountains were addressed by G. Jawor (2019, pp. 177–192).

accepted this direction without criticism, most often reducing the forest area to the river forks between the Vistula and the San, limited by the rivers Wisłoka and Wisłok. Along with the growing volume of research on this territory, there has been a tendency to see the forest as an area situated on both sides of the River San (Kotula, 1962, p. 6; Półciwiatek, 1972, p. 17, 1980, p. 7, 2005, p. 269, 2010, p. 189; Szczygieł, 2006, p. 35). In the light of historical sources, this direction was well justified. During the period considered, the Sandomierz Forest bordered on the densely populated valleys of the rivers Vistula and Wisłoka in the west, while the rivers Wisłok and Lubaczówka formed the southern border, and in the north-eastern section the area was limited by the Roztocze arc. The forests of the former Lubaczów County (*starostwo lubaczowskie*), situated on the western side of Roztocze, were the easternmost parts of the forest (Kubrak, 2018, p. 13).

The 16th century created many challenges for Wallachian colonisation. The developing money economy forced village residents to partially abandon the traditional Wallachian tributes, offered in kind, in favour of fees payable in coin. There was an intensive effort to found towns in the forest area in the second half of the century (Szczygieł, 1989, pp. 53–71).<sup>2</sup> It was also at that time that the model of the rural economy, determined by the development of the farm-serfdom system, was changed to a large extent.

The sources for this work comprise printed inspections of individual lands included in the forest area from 1564/1565 (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001; Hrushevs'kyi, 1897, 1900)<sup>3</sup> and 1570 (Hrushevs'kyi, 1903), and taxation registries from 1515, 1531, 1578 and 1589, published by A. Jabłonowski (1902). In addition, the research includes extensive information found in manuscripts, e.g. the results of a query in the Crown Register (*Metryka Koronna*, hereafter: MK) and fiscal sources from the Archives of the Crown Treasury (*Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego*, hereafter: ASK). A lot of valuable information was found as a result of a query into *Opisanie statystyczno-historyczne dóbr Ordynacji Zamojskiej przez Mikołaja Stworzyńskiego archiwistę 1834 roku* [Statistical

<sup>2</sup> Rudnik/Rudnik on the River San (founded twice, in 1552 and 1557), Tarnogród (1567), Sokołów/Sokołów Małopolski (1569), Głowów/Głogów Małopolski (1570), Biłgoraj (1578), Hieronimów/Oleszyce (founded twice, in 1578 and 1581), Cieszanów (1590).

<sup>3</sup> It is worth mentioning that the two inspection reports were produced by different authors. The author of the inspection published by M. Hruszewski was Krzysztof Sokołowski, and of the other one – Stanisław Dembiński (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 1992, pp. XVI–XVII). Similar information on the towns situated in the Sandomierz Voivodship is included in *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1564–1565* (Ochmański, 1963).

and Historical Description of the Zamość Entail Estates by Mikołaj Stworzyński, an Archivist 1834], which is in the collection of the Zamość Entail Library (*Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej*).

## Settlements Under Wallachian Law in the Sandomierz Forest

Difficult natural conditions in the Sandomierz Forest, i.e. mainly dense tree growth and a large number of swamps, as well as the poor quality of soil, impeded the founding of new rural villages settled under German law. The settlement voids which existed due to these inconveniences had to be managed by searching for alternative solutions. In these circumstances, the Wallachian element was probably used in the Sandomierz Forest area, since it was characterised by high adaptability and, consequently, the application of Wallachian law made it possible to develop the terrain.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, it is also possible that the colonisation of these areas by the Vlachs was taking place due to their own, bottom-up initiative.

In Red Ruthenia, Wallachian settlement was strongly developed in the submontane and mountain parts of the Sanok Land (Fastnacht, 1962, pp. 253–268) and the Przemyśl Land (Jawor, 2004, p. 225). It was probably from these regions that the Vlachs would go with their sheep herds to graze in the Sandomierz Forest, which gave an impulse to pursue settlement colonisation in this area. The process covered terrain far from the mountains, which resulted in the emergence of Wallachian-law settlements in the Roztocze region, near Goraj, the Belz Land, Polesie, and Volhynia (Jawor, 2018, pp. 15–24).

Confirmation of the above-mentioned hypothesis can already be found in the oldest information in the sources on Wallachian colonisation in the indicated area, which was also the only information dating back to the 15th century (1465). At the time, Mikołaj of Niedospalin, a curate in Lubaczów, entrusted Paweł Wołoch<sup>5</sup> with the settlement of the village of Łukawiec on the wastelands of Szczutków (*Capitularia*, vol. 48, p. 231; Janeczek, 1993, pp. 170–171; Kowal & Majus, 2016, pp. 20–21). The fact of using the Wallachian element in order to reactivate settlement in this

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<sup>4</sup> This kind of situation also took place in the Sanok Land. Wallachian-law settlements took over areas with poorer soil that were not organised by colonisation under Ruthenian and German law (Fastnacht, 1962, p. 268).

<sup>5</sup> The surname “Wołoch” means “a Wallachian man”, which is a clear suggestion that the man’s background was in fact Wallachian (Jawor, 2004, pp. 82–83).

place may be proof that the Polish administration recognised the great adaptation skills of this ethnos and that the living conditions in the forests of Lubaczów County (*starostwo*) were difficult.

There is no doubt that the modest amount of 15th-century information regarding Wallachian settlement can be extended with references related to the emergence of the Wallachian element dating back to the 16th century. This was the case of the village of Żuków, where, in 1507, the Vlachs paid tax for having 200 sheep (ASK I, 36, card 12). Therefore, the settlement must have already been included in the Wallachian colonisation in the 15th century, while for a significant part of the following century it existed as a settlement under Wallachian law.<sup>6</sup> Similar circumstances should be considered as regards the founding of Kobylnica Wołoska, a Wallachian-law settlement situated near the edge of the forest and separate from the previously existing Kobylnica.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, Wallachian law solutions in the forest environment were already well-known and applied in the 15th century. These solutions were universally used in villages founded in areas where agriculture was limited. Analogies can be found in the neighbouring territories. One of the settlements which was founded under Wallachian law was Kulno, situated in Krzeszów County, in the Przemyśl Land. Information on the village settlement “*in iure Moldavico*” comes from around 1530 (Lubomirski, 1895, p. 13). It was most probably a relocation, because Kulno had already existed much earlier.<sup>8</sup> The time when the Vlachs arrived in this settlement is unknown, but it could have been before the relocation, since the village already had an Orthodox church in 1510 (Budzyński, 1990, p. 145). The reason for the relocation remains equally enigmatic. There is some probability that the settlement was destroyed by the Tartar incursion which resulted in the burning of the nearby Leżajsk in 1525 (Półciwiatek,

<sup>6</sup> Organisation under Wallachian law is recorded in the sources from 1536 (ASK, LVII L-2, card 245; Janeczek, 1993, p. 153) and 1565 (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, p. 214).

<sup>7</sup> Kobylnica has been known in the documents since 1425 (MK, 99, card 404; Janeczek, 1993, p. 152), while in 1507 it was recorded as “Kobylnica dwoja” (ASK, I, 36, card 12). This was the result of the already existing division into Kobylnica Ruska (Ruthenian Kobylnica) and Kobylnica Wołoska (Wallachian Kobylnica), even though the name “Kobylnica Wałaska” only appeared in 1520 (Janeczek, 1993, p. 152).

<sup>8</sup> The settlement was mentioned for the first time in 1464, when the mayor (*wójt*) of Leżajsk was granted the right to colonise it (MK, 25, card 12). The settlement’s presence in the documents from the following year proves that the process of settling was successful (Liske, 1888, pp. 462, 486, 518).

1972, p. 37). One should also take into consideration the difficulties faced by the farmers living in the area, which prompted the village owners to reach out to the foreign ethnic substrate of Wallachian shepherds, whose presence resulted in a change of the village economic model.

Equally unclear are the circumstances of the arrival of the Vlachs in Ożanna, a village situated within Leżajsk County, where the presence of Wallachian law is confirmed in the 16th century (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, p. 234; Hrushevs'kyi, 1897, p. 200). The village was probably established in the first half of the 15th century,<sup>9</sup> but it is doubtful whether it existed under Wallachian law from the very beginning.<sup>10</sup> The arrival of the Vlachs in Ożanna might have already taken place in the 15th century, which would be related to the Orthodox church existing there in 1507 (Budzyński, 1990, p. 147). Using Wallachian law in Ożanna as well as in Kulno may have been connected with the threat posed by the Tartar incursions or may have stemmed from the natural conditions (Półciwiatek, 1972, pp. 36–37).

The long traditions of the functioning of Wallachian law appear in the sources on the settlement of Basznia, situated not far from Lubaczów. The village, about which the first information comes from 1444 (Kuraś, 1969, pp. 103–104; Proksa, 1994, pp. 11,15), presented a lot of evidence of being attached to Wallachian law in the first half of the 16th century, and still being governed by it in 1565. The village of Babice in Zamch County also functioned under Wallachian law. The sources only confirm this fact in 1565, but it can be stated with a high degree of certainty that *ius Valachicum* was already applied there in the first half of the 16th century.<sup>11</sup>

The founding of successive settlements under Wallachian law in the second half of the 16th century was limited to the colonisation of new villages with the help of residents from already existing ones, who knew the terrain. Różaniec was most probably founded with the help of settlers from Babice. The settlement was most likely established in difficult field conditions because it was granted 25 years of tax exemption.<sup>12</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>9</sup> The village is mentioned in the sources as already existing in 1453 (Liske, 1888, p. 325).

<sup>10</sup> The founding of the settlement under Wallachian law in the first stage of the village's development is suggested by J. Półciwiatek (1972, p. 35).

<sup>11</sup> Babice appears in the sources in 1471 (Wierzbowski, 1905, p. 36). S. Syty, who dates the founding of the village a few years earlier, points to shepherds' activity in the areas surrounding Babice (Syty, 2004, pp. 98–99).

<sup>12</sup> The settlement was supposedly founded in 1550 pursuant to the royal privilege granted to Jan Kuźma (M. Stworzyński, p. 52). However, according to the inspection from 1565, it was

also in this case efforts were made to offset the inconveniences of the natural environment, known from neighbouring Babice, by using Wallachian law.<sup>13</sup>

A similar process of applying Wallachian law took place in Gorajec, which was recorded in 1565 as a recently established village and its residents as having two more years of tax exemption (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, p. 111).<sup>14</sup> Assuming that the settlers received 25 years of tax exemption, the origins of the settlement should be dated back to 1542. It was probably a subsidiary village in relation to the neighbouring Żuków with which it was linked by territories (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, p. 111). Thus, while at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century Wallachian colonisation advanced due to immigrants coming from outside, the emergence of new villages under Wallachian law throughout the 16th century was the result of transplanting already existing solutions. This confirms the hypothesis about the demographic growth of the local population of the Wallachian settlements.

### Direction of Economic Activities

The economic activities and directions of change that were undertaken by the residents of the above-mentioned settlements can be determined by the analysis of the payments and tributes they made. In the light of the inspections from 1564/1565, which are of high value in terms of their content as well as their credibility, it is possible to see the scale of the economic activities pursued by the residents of the villages being examined.

Shepherding and livestock farming were predominant in the settlements under Wallachian law in the territories of Poland (Jawor, 1997, p. 179). This is proven by the universality of tributes paid in sheep, lambs and hogs (Stadnicki, 1848, p. 14). In Poland they were most frequently paid in the form of the twentieth part of all sheep owned (*owcza dwudziestoczynna*) and the tenth part (*dziesięcina*; tithe) of all hogs owned (Jawor, 2004, p. 83). These tributes were also offered by the residents of the settlements under Wallachian law in the Sandomierz Forest. Although the first information about them comes from the beginning of the 16th

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a newly established village and peasants from Różaniec had 11 more years of tax exemption (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, p. 227).

<sup>13</sup> This can be explained by the information included in the manuscript by Sokołowski: "it recently started to use this law, as Babiczanie" (Hrushevs'kyi, 1897, p. 219).

<sup>14</sup> It was most likely established in the 1540s.



century, only the inspection from 1564/1565 provides the full picture. The twentieth part of sheep was required in almost all the Wallachian-law settlements in the area of the forest. Each sheep breeder, occasionally referred to as a lamber, gave away one ram out of every twenty rams that he owned each year.<sup>15</sup>

Pig farming was equally popular. The importance of this activity is proven by the presence of tributes paid for part of the livestock farm. Although this functioned in the form of tithing in the former Polish state, there was no uniform model of this payment in the Sandomierz Forest. In the settlements under Wallachian law situated in the areas of Zamch County, Babice and Różaniec, each peasant was bound to give up one hog per half-field used as a farm (Hrushevs'kyĭ, 1897, pp. 217, 219). This does not allow us to estimate the size of livestock breeding in these settlements, but the universality of this payment indicates that this activity was carried out on every farm. In contrast, everyone who carried out this task in Ożanna had to give away each twentieth hog, which gave a tribute of 21 heads (Hrushevs'kyĭ, 1897, p. 201). Thus, the number of hogs bred in this settlement must have reached more than 420. Most likely due to the pressures of the development of the money economy, in some places the tribute evolved into payments made in money. In Żuków, all the residents who did not breed sheep were obliged to pay in coin for the number of animals they owned (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, p. 214).

The hypothesis of the predominant role of sheep and hogs in the shepherding and farming economy of the settlements under Wallachian law is negated by examples of villages of this model from the Sandomierz Forest area, where cattle breeding was an equally popular and important activity. Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski believed that bringing in Vlachs to improve cattle breeding was one of the four factors that guided the owners of the forest areas towards an increase in their income (Lubomirski, 1895, p. 8). Admittedly, this activity was universal for the entire rural economy in the 16th century. Cattle were a major source of draught animals for rural activities, and milk and meat played an important role in feeding the entire population (Baranowski & Topolski, 1964, pp. 196–197). However, in the case of Wallachian-law settlements, we are dealing with highly specialised breeding, aimed at profit made on the production surplus, such

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<sup>15</sup> For more on the differences in the tributes paid depending on the number of sheep owned, see G. Jawor (2018, pp. 465–479).



as commodities for export. Little involvement in agricultural activities and a lack of work on the farm meant that peasants from settlements under Wallachian law did not have such a high demand for draught animals as the residents of neighbouring villages. The payment made on the cattle owned, referred to as *rogowe*, was the only due amount paid in the form of coin in the village model considered here.<sup>16</sup> In addition, every farmer was obliged to hand over cow's milk cheese once a year. In the light of the available information, it is clear that in individual settlements this activity was carried out by the greatest number of residents.<sup>17</sup>

The 16th-century price revolution was a challenge for Wallachian colonisation. Although the increase in prices had already started in the 15th century, and continued until the middle of the next century (Hoszowski, 1961, p. 301), the second half of the 16th century was a time of the greatest increase in grain prices.<sup>18</sup> This resulted in a decrease in the profitability of livestock breeding in relation to crop farming (Lubomirski, 1895, p. 22). This problem mainly affected sheep farming, the profitability of which was limited by low income from wool and frequent diseases (Lubomirski, 1895, p. 22). These circumstances resulted in the transition of the Wallachian settlements from their typical shepherding and breeding activities to crop farming. This phenomenon can be noticed when analysing the inspections of individual settlements. Despite a long tradition of functioning under Wallachian law, the process of moving away from the classic model in favour of crop farming can be seen in Basznia. According to the taxation registry from 1531, the then settlement under Wallachian law did not differ much in terms of its size from the neighbouring villages, which were paying tax on six fields (Jabłonowski, 1902, p. 248). Over a period of a little more than 30 years, Basznia became one of the largest settlements in the forest area.

<sup>16</sup> Tributes in this form cannot be found in the literature of the subject. The inspectors who used this term were probably referring to the previously offered money payment for the grazing of cattle in pastures belonging to manors (Zajda, 1979, p. 174).

<sup>17</sup> Peasants and farmers in Ożanna paid the *rogowe*, which corresponded to 400 head of cattle they owned. Twenty-four cow's milk cheeses were also handed over, which corresponds to the number of farms carrying out this activity (Hrushevs'kyi, 1897, p. 201).

<sup>18</sup> The increase in grain prices in the 16th century is presented in a chart by S. Hoszowski, 1961, p. 312. In Cracow, this trend continued throughout the century, and the highest increase in prices took place in the 1560s and 1570s (Pelc, 1935, p. 61). In Lviv, prices increased suddenly in the second half of the century, and the upward trend continued until the end of the century (Hoszowski, 1928, pp. 73–75). In Lublin, the greatest increase in prices took place in the 1570s, but a thorough evaluation of the economic situation is impossible due to the lack of data (Adamczyk, 1935, pp. 27–28).

In 1564 there were as many as 107 peasants who lived there and farmed 33 and 3/4 fields, seven crofters, nine farm workers, one Orthodox priest, and an innkeeper (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, pp. 209–210). A relatively high number of residents and the obligation to pay rent unambiguously indicate that crop farming became a predominant activity there, while the traditional sheep farming, typical for Wallachian settlements, was only a diversification of the agricultural profile of the village's economy.<sup>19</sup> The presence of socage, which amounted to 12 days per year, was specific to the process of change taking place in the settlement.<sup>20</sup> The intensified settlement activity, probably inspired by the village's owner, was not met with full success, because in 1578 Basznia paid tax on 22.5 fields (Jabłonowski, 1902, p. 209). Taking into account the limited credibility of the sources, the reason for this situation was probably the maladjustment of plans due to the difficult natural conditions in this terrain,<sup>21</sup> which made some of the area unusable because of the excessive exploitation of land.

The process of supplanting the traditional model had already taken place in Kobylnica Wołoska. In 1565 the peasants living there farmed measured plots of land, and the village had no features typical of a Wallachian settlement. The process of switching to rents paid in money was most likely still underway, because a financial obligation was only paid for part of the land used (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, pp. 285–286).

The tendency to replace shepherding with crop farming had various reasons. On the one hand, it was due to the demographic growth of the population in the Wallachian-law settlements, for whom making a living from livestock farming was becoming insufficient (it was associated with the need to increase the areas of pastures) (Dobrowolski, 1939, p. 192). The policies of the village owners, forcing their residents into a process of agrarianisation, was the deciding factor. The complete or partial closing of the shepherding economic model in the Wallachian settlements was caused by the policies of the villages' owners, who were no longer satisfied with the small dues delivered by peasants in comparison with other models

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<sup>19</sup> The peasants from this village were obliged to pay rent, which proves that they had benefits from the land being cultivated.

<sup>20</sup> The inspections defined the number of days in the obligation as 12 from each field. Given that, in the majority, Basznia had farms with an area of half of a quarter of a field, the number of days that the peasants had to serve out was smaller and was directly proportional to the size of the cultivated land (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, p. 256).

<sup>21</sup> The village was described as being situated in "a flat, low, sandy, marshy and wooded area" (Sulimierski et al., 1880, p. 116).

(Jawor, 1997–1998, p. 59). The change in the settlement profile made profitability increase, and it was easier for the owner to impose socage, which corresponded to the needs of the developing farm economy system. Finally, the last factor which determined the direction of changes was the bottom-up initiative of the residents of the Wallachian-law settlements, who decided to take on crop farming in response to the increased prices of grain.

Table 1. Payments and tributes of the residents of Wallachian-law settlements in the Sandomierz Forest (based on the information included in the inspections of the royal villages in 1564/1565) (Hrushevs'kyi, 1897, pp. 200–201, 217–220, 1900, pp. 254–257, 263–266).

Settlement	Rent	Hearth tax	1/20 of sheep	<i>rogowe</i>	1/10 of hogs
Babice	-	-	+	+	+
Basznia	+	-	+	-	-
Gorajec	+	+	-	+	-
Ożanna	-	-	+	+	+
Różaniec	-	-	+	+	-
Żuków	-	+	+	+	+

A peculiar phenomenon due to which the researched area should be defined as peripheral is the smaller extent of socage, considerably different from the standards that prevailed in Polish territories at the time.<sup>22</sup> Important information on the role of farms in the forest economy is included in the inspection of Lubaczów County, the author of which, supposedly explaining the poorly developed network of farms, mentions that “people love farms very little, because they love woods and forests more there” (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, p. 280). Despite the delayed processes of the manorial

<sup>22</sup> In the 16th century, socage defined on a weekly basis was predominant. In 1500–1550, on average the socage was 1.71 (number of days) on noble estates, 1.75 on church estates, and 1.2 on royal estates, while in 1551–1580 it increased respectively to 3.03 on noble estates, 2.8 on church estates, and 2.7 on royal estates (Wyczański, 1960, pp. 96–105).

serf economy in the Sandomierz Forest area, this phenomenon was one of the greatest challenges to the traditional model of a Wallachian-law settlement.

This is connected with the unique functioning of settlements under Wallachian law, because their residents were free from socage (Jawor, 1997–1998, p. 56; Lubomirski, 1895, p. 14). The situation only changed in the second half of the 16th century, when a tendency to agrarianise Wallachian settlements emerged because of the change in the legal status, enforcing socage and establishing manorial demesnes.<sup>23</sup> One important example of these tendencies was the situation in the village of Królówstaw (Lubaczów County), where the arable land and fields were turned into a manorial demesne farm and peasants were forced into socage (Hrushevs'kyi, 1903, p. 191). As a result of the same administration, in 1569 the king allowed Żuków to transfer from Wallachian to Ruthenian law, which enabled the duty of a weekly socage of two days from every field to be imposed on the residents (Janeczek, 1993, p. 157). Towards the end of the 16th century, the sources recorded that there was a demesne farm in Różaniec (M. Stworzyński, p. 319). The establishment of manorial demesne farms was most likely the result of increased activities of this kind in the noble estates, which included the Zamość Entail (Tarnawski, 1935, p. 129).<sup>24</sup>

## Forest Utilisation

Among the economic activities undertaken by the residents of the Wallachian settlements in the Sandomierz Forest, activities related to utilising the forest held an important place. The greatest role in this area was probably played by beekeeping, which was gaining importance at the time, particularly in the forest environment (Baranowski & Topolski, 1964, p. 263; Dembińska, 1958, pp. 346–347). In the lower course of the River San

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<sup>23</sup> This tendency can be seen in the inspections from 1564–1570. In the Wallachian village of Turyńka (Lviv County), the owner “settled more people, gave them fields, and established a farm, and peasants were settled with rent and labour. In the past, people did not have to do socage at a new farm under Wallachian law, but now they have to” (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, pp. 395–397). In turn, in Werechanie (Belz County), “at present, the lands are divided into feoffs, and peasants pay just like the Ruthenians, they work two days a week for half of the feoff” (Hrushevs'kyi, 1900, p. 195).

<sup>24</sup> Zamch County, to which Różaniec belonged, was incorporated into the Zamość Entail in 1589.

(the centre of the Sandomierz Forest), beekeeping was strongly developed on both sides of the river (Wolski, 1952, p. 94).<sup>25</sup> Beekeeping was also enthusiastically undertaken by the residents of Wallachian-law settlements, but stating that it was significant for the economy of the Wallachian settlements is problematic.<sup>26</sup> Beekeepers belonged to the multi-occupational model cultivated among rural residents, which was widespread in the period under consideration (Wolski, 1952, p. 122).

The settlers were also involved in wood harvesting. The development of shipping and commerce increased the need for wood and wooden materials, which influenced the increase in their transport to Gdańsk (Baranowski & Topolski, 1964, p. 230). Apart from the residents' own needs, forest logging was determined by the obligations that the residents had towards the castle or manor situated nearby. These were most frequently related to the necessity to provide wood for building, repairing, and heating up the castle, and for other objects.<sup>27</sup> Wood-derived products, e.g. wood tar, pine tar, or potash, were also in high demand (Broda, 2000, p. 11). Among the above-mentioned products, potash was in the highest demand by shepherds from the Wallachian settlements because it was used for cleaning wool (Broda, 2000, p. 11).

The residents of the Wallachian-law settlements in the Sandomierz Forest also had duties that included various additional jobs, often dictated by the activity of the nearby castle or manor. These activities fell firmly into servant duties, which were already disappearing in the period in question (Rutkowski, 1923, p. 136). The residents of the Wallachian settlements also established an auxiliary base for keeping order in the area, which is associated with the defensive features of this settlement model. Peasants from Ożanna guarded the nearby fishing grounds, repaired dykes and weirs, carried out postal services, and helped with harvests (Hrushevs'kyĭ, 1897,

<sup>25</sup> That beekeeping was well developed is proven by the functioning of an apiarian court in Leżajsk County. The records of this court are housed at the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, fasc. 6128/II: *Księga sądów bartniczych w starostwie leżajskim z lat 1478–1637*. So-called “honey rent” (*czynsz miodowy*) was paid by the residents of Grębów, Nisko, and Wola Ranizowska on the left bank of the River San, in the Sandomierz Forest area (Ochmański, 1963, pp. 127, 138, 140).

<sup>26</sup> The small share of beekeeping in the total income of the Wallachian-law settlements could have been caused by the fact that the beehives were passed into the ownership of the knyazes, and thus peasants did not pay money rents (Wolski, 1958, pp. 361–364).

<sup>27</sup> Settlers from Żuków were obliged to bring wood from every farmstead for building the castle, wooden dishes, and hoops (Hrushevs'kyĭ, 1900, p. 265).



p. 202); according to the inventory from 1568, peasants from Babice were required to carry out similar tasks (Stworzyński, p. 102).

## Elements of Wallachian Customs in the Rural Settlements

Apart from the problem of the agrarianisation of the Wallachian-law settlements addressed above, it is also necessary to draw attention to an analogous process that took the opposite direction, namely the diffusion of elements of Wallachian customs into the rural settlements. On the basis of the source analysis, it is possible to indicate numerous examples of shepherding topics being present in villages where crop farming was a major domain of activity. This was most noticeable in Zamch County, where the residents of Zamch, Łukowa, and Obsza paid the twentieth part of what they owned in sheep.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the county forests were a place of frequent seasonal grazing (Hrushevs'kyi, 1897, p. 221).

One of the settlements which offers characteristics typical of Wallachian-law settlements is Lubliniec (today: Stary Lubliniec). Apart from the high payment of the twentieth part of sheep owned,<sup>29</sup> the village recorded the presence of a knyaz (*kniaź*) and payments to seasonal shepherds (*koszarnicy*) who built barracks (*koszary*) for animals to stay safe during the night or a storm (Janeczek, 1993, p. 156). Therefore, the Wallachian element was present in Lubliniec, but it is difficult to classify this locality unambiguously as a Wallachian-law settlement.

Sheep were also bred in the rural villages in the vicinity of Leżajsk. Payment of the twentieth part of these animals was made by peasants in Jelna and Kuryłówka (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, pp. 232–233). At the same time, an inspector states that among 22 peasants living in Bratkowice, situated on the edge of the forest, there was a shepherd to whom he referred as “free” (Ochmański, 1963, p. 79). His presence was most likely the result of grazing that the Vlachs carried out in the local forests.<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, it is possible to state that apart from permanent settlements where Wallachian law was applied, the Sandomierz Forest area knew

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<sup>28</sup> The tribute was paid in 1565 to Zamch and Łukowa (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, p. 226). In 1570, it was paid only in Zamch; sheep were also bred in Obsza, but they died (Hrushevs'kyi, 1903, p. 286).

<sup>29</sup> The tribute in 1565 included 45 rams, which was equal to 900 head of sheep bred (Chłapowski & Żytkowicz, 2001, p. 211).

<sup>30</sup> “the Vlachs find fodder in these forests; sometimes there are more of them, sometimes there are less. Now there are 250 sheep...” (Ochmański, 1963, p. 79).

and applied solutions characteristic of the economic profile of this model. This phenomenon developed in various parts of the forest, it was uneven and probably adapted to the situation of a given settlement.

## Conclusions

A few key results should be indicated in the light of the research discussed here. Two predominant directions of how Wallachian-law settlements functioned can be distinguished in the Sandomierz Forest area in the 16th century. The first settlement profile is that involving shepherding and breeding. The structure, economic activities, and primarily the system of dues paid to the village owner, dominated by tributes paid in kind, is close to the classic settlement of this type. The second type of Wallachian-law settlement that existed in this forest area is a village pursuing crop farming and shepherding. Such villages were situated in the easternmost part of the Sandomierz Forest. These settlements went through a transformation which was probably enforced by growing demand for grain, the prices of which increased considerably in the 16th century. This was primarily linked to the development of the manorial serf economy. The residents of these villages paid rent for the land they cultivated, i.e. a typical fee in agricultural villages. Moreover, they were obliged to complete socage, and the shepherding element was probably only a remnant of the previously predominant task.

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## Prawo wołoskie jako narzędzie kolonizacji obszarów peryferyjnych. Studium przypadku Puszczy Sandomierskiej w XV i XVI wieku

Specyfiką osadnictwa wołoskiego na ziemiach polskich było jego wyjście poza naturalną dla siebie strefę górską i podgórską. Skutkiem tego zjawiska było pojawienie się osad na prawie wołoskim na terenach nizinnych, w tym na obszarze Puszczy Sandomierskiej. Celem artykułu jest zbadanie aktywności gospodarczej mieszkańców tychże osad, uwarunkowanej realiami środowiskowymi. Istotnym problemem podjętym w rozważaniach jest także kwestia przyczyn zapóźnienia kolonizacyjnego tego regionu, manifestującego się chociażby w słabym tempie postępów urbanizacji, ograniczonym zasięgu gospodarki towarowo-pieniężnej i spóźnionym rozwoju folwarków. W ślad za tymi opóźnionymi i słabo widocznymi procesami podążała ewolucja profilu osad prawa wołoskiego, widoczna w XVI w. Ponadto w pracy przedstawiono słabo rozpoznane w literaturze przedmiotu zjawisko przenikania elementów obyczaju wołoskiego do osad rolniczych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** gospodarka, Puszcza Sandomierska, osadnictwo, prawo wołoskie, rolnictwo, peryferie.

### Note

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