

## LOCATORS OF SETTLEMENTS UNDER WALLACHIAN LAW IN THE SAMBOR STAROSTY IN XV<sup>TH</sup> AND XVI<sup>TH</sup> C. TERRITORIAL, ETHNIC AND SOCIAL ORIGINS

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**ABSTRACT.** The article deals with issues related to the origin of locators of the Wallachian settlements on the example of villages established in the Sambor starosty in the XV<sup>th</sup> and XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries. It relies primarily on the analysis of information found in the location documents of settlements arising in this area. The research carried out here leads to the conclusion that the first owners of the Wallachian villages in the Sambor starosty were the representatives of the Wallachian nobility, most probably from the Transylvania area, who received extensive land bestowals from the king Vladyslav Jagiello in the XV<sup>th</sup> century. From the knyazships founded by the nobility came the knyazes who founded new Wallachian villages within the royal domain in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. They were mainly from the peasant estate, and most of them were recruited from the ruthenised knyaz families and from the subjects of the same domains. Although the Vlachs constituted a small percentage of residents of the Sambor starosty and were quickly subjected to ruthenisation, their descendants continued to lead the ranks among the locators. The work also draws attention to the characteristics of the development of the settlement network in the Sambor area. New settlements were most often created at a short distance from the home rural centres surrounding them from various directions. After some time, these “villages” could also become “home” for subsequent settlements. New settlements were usually located in areas situated higher than the home settlements of founders who, looking for new settlement areas, headed upstream as the rivers were natural communication routes.

**STRESZCZENIE.** *Lokatorzy osad na prawie wołoskim w starostwie samborskim w XV i XVI w. Pochodzenie terytorialne, etniczne i społeczne.*

Niniejszy artykuł porusza kwestie związane z pochodzeniem lokatorów osad prawa wołoskiego na przykładzie wsi powstających w starostwie samborskim w XV i XVI w. Opiera się on przede wszystkim na analizie informacji zawartych w dokumentach lokacyjnych osad powstających na tym obszarze. Przeprowadzone badania doprowadziły do wniosków, że pierwszymi właścicielami wsi wołoskich na obszarze starostwa samborskiego byli przedstawiciele szlachty wołoskiej, pochodzący najprawdopodobniej z terenów Siedmiogrodu, którzy otrzymali w XV w. obszerne nadania ziemskie od króla Władysława Jagiełły. Z założonych przez nich osad wywodzili się kniaziowie zakładający w XVI w. nowe wsie wołoskie w obrębie domeny królewskiej. W głównej mierze byli pochodzili oni ze stanu chłopskiego, a rekrutowali się przeważnie ze zrutenizowanych rodzin kniaziowskich i z poddanych tych samych dóbr. Choć etniczni Wołosi stanowili niewielki odsetek mieszkańców starostwa samborskiego i szybko ulegali rutenizacji, to ich potomkowie wciąż wiodli prym wśród lokatorów. W pracy zwrócono również uwagę na charakterystykę rozwoju sieci osadniczej na Samborszczyźnie. Nowe osady najczęściej powstawały w niewielkiej odległości od macierzystych ośrodków wiejskich, otaczając je z różnych kierunków. Owe „wsie-córki” po pewnym czasie także mogły stać się „matkami” dla kolejnych osad. Nowe lokacje powstawały zazwyczaj na terenach położonych wyżej od rodzimych miejscowości osadźców, którzy szukając pustek osadniczych, kierowali się w górę biegu cieków wodnych, będących naturalnymi szlakami komunikacyjnymi.

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**Słowa kluczowe:** ius Valachicum, starostwo samborskie, kolonizacja, etniczność, sieć osadnicza, lokacje, migracja, pochodzenie społeczne

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## INTRODUCTION

Issues regarding the origin of Wallachian settlers in the area of Polish lands were present in the literature from the very beginning of research on Wallachian migrations. Aleksander Stadnicki wrote in the middle of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century that “*it is impossible to tell where the Wallachian settlers came from and how they came to their Subcarpathian settlements*”, although he supposed that the Vlachs who settled in Poland came from Hungary<sup>1</sup>. Later historiography pointed out that the route of Wallachian migrations was opened by keen Polish-Hungarian contacts during the reigns of Casimir the Great and Louis the Hungarian. The first waves of the Wallachian settlers were to arrive in Red Ruthenia through Carpathian passes from the north-eastern Hungarian counties, most likely from the areas of Transylvania, the Maramures county and the Munkatch district. However, the reign of Vladyslav Jagiello opened before the Wallachian migrants the second route, which led directly from Moldova to the north, on the eastern side of the Carpathians<sup>2</sup>. The location of the Sambor starosty in the immediate vicinity of Maramures and Transylvania allows us to assume that it was in the migration zone from this very area<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Stadnicki, *O wsiach tak zwanych wołoskich na północnym stoku Karpat* [On the so-called Wallachian villages on the northern slope of the Carpathians], Lwów 1948, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> K. Kadlec, *Valši a valašské pravo v zemích slovanských a uherských. S uvodem podávajícím přehled teorii o vzniku rumunského národa* [Vlachs and the Wallachian law in the Slavic and Hungarian Lands. With the Introduction on the Overview of Theories on the Creation of the Romanian Nation], Praha 1916, p. 290–291; E. Długopolski, *Przyczynki do osadnictwa wołoskiego w Karpatach* [Contributions to Wallachian settlement in the Carpathians], odb. ze Sprawozdania Filii c. k. Gimnazjum św. Jacka w Krakowie za rok 1916 [from the Report of the Branch c. k. Middle School of Saint. Jack in Krakow in 1916], Kraków 1916, p. 4–5; K. Dobrowolski, *Migracje wołoskie na ziemiach polskich* [Wallachian migrations in Polish lands], in: *Pamiętnik V Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Warszawie* [Diary of the V General Congress of Polish Historians in Warsaw], Lwów 1930, p. 136; G. Jawor, *Osadnictwo historyczne od XIV do początków XVII w.* [Historical settlements from the XIVth to the beginning of the XVIIth century], in: *Bojkowszczyzna Zachodnia – wczoraj, dziś i jutro* [Bojkowszczyzna Zachodnia – yesterday, today and tomorrow], ed. J. Wolski, vol. 1, Warszawa 2016, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> G. Jawor, *Pierwsze pokolenia mieszkańców wsi bieszczadzkich w XIV–XVI w.* [First generations of the inhabitants of the Bieszczady villages in the XIV–XVI century], in: *Narodziny Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowoczesnych* [The Birth of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Studies in the history of the Middle Ages and early modern times], ed. W. Bukowski, T. Jurek, Kraków 2013, vol. 1, p. 570; G. Jawor, *Osadnictwo historyczne...*, p. 366.

The purpose of this article is to investigate the origin of locators of the Wallachian settlements on the example of villages built in the Sambor starosty in the XV<sup>th</sup> and XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is related to an attempt to answer the questions of which ethnic group they belonged to and where they came from to the areas located on the northern Carpathian slopes. No less important will be the issue of internal migration in the Sambor starosty and the capture of certain regularities related to its directions. Issues related to the estate affiliation of the settlers and causes that intensified the settlement network in the studied area will also be discussed.

### BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT IN THE AREA OF THE SAMBOR STAROSTY

The oldest information about the stay of Vlachs in the Sambor area dates back to 1377, when the governor of Galicia, Duke the Opole Vladyslav, gave the villages of Nowoszyce (Новошичі<sup>4</sup>) and Stupnica (Суупниця) to Dziurdź (rom. Gheorge), the Wallachian voivode. In return for the hereditary property obtained, the progenitor of the Stupnicki family was to pay a tax of two groats from the house (roof tax) in these villages and field three mounted men to war expeditions: one spearman and two archers<sup>5</sup>. In 1430 Vladyslav Jagiello bequeathed to the sons of the voivode Dziurdź, Iwanko and Klimaszko from Stupnica, 200 *grzywna* (lat. *marca*) of silver in the villages and knyazship in Wysocko Niżne (Нижнє Висоцьке) and obliged them to deliver 100 lambs a year as a tribute<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, this settlement had to function in accordance with Wallachian law, since it had its own knyazship. The Stupnicki family were not just simple knyazes in Wysocko but settled owners<sup>7</sup>.

A year later, for distinguished war services King Vladyslav bestowed the existing village of Turka (Турка) upon Vancza *Valachus* and his sons: Chodko, Iwanko and Zanko<sup>8</sup>. It is not known, however, on the basis of which law the settlement functioned at that time. Władysław Pulnarowicz recognized these knights as newcomers from Transylvania, but, unfortunately, he did not prove his conjecture<sup>9</sup>. In 1444 the sons of

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<sup>4</sup> Locality names are given in Polish and, if they exist, their current Ukrainian name is also mentioned (if it appears in the text for the first time). In other cases, only the Polish name is given.

<sup>5</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich* [Collection of Małopolska documents] (hereinafter: ZDM), part 4, ed. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, Wrocław 1969, no. 1037.

<sup>6</sup> *Materiały archiwalne wyjęte głównie z Metryki Litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 roku* [Archival materials taken mainly from the Lithuanian Metrics from 1348 to 1607], ed. A. Prochaska, Lwów 1890, no 70.

<sup>7</sup> В. Ф. Инкин, *В вопросу о происхождении и эволюции волошского института “князя” (кнеза) в галицкой деревне в XV–XVIII вв.* [In a question about the origin and evolution of the Wallachian institute of “knez” in the Galician village in the XV–XVIII centuries], in: *Славиано-волошские связи (сборник статей)*, ed. Н.А. Мохов, Кишинев 1978, p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> ZDM, p. 7, ed. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1975, no 2080.

<sup>9</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu, Stryja i Dniestru. (Historia powiatu turczańskiego)* [At the river heads of San, Stryj and Dniester. (History of the district of Turka)], Turka n. Sanem 1929, p. 4.

Vancza, Zanko and Chodko, received a privilege from King Vladyslav of Varna, who gave them vast voids called Ternowe Pole, in exchange for which they were obliged to participate in an armed expedition with two archers<sup>10</sup>.

The descendants of Vancza, who later adopted the name Turecki, began colonizing the land they were granted as early as the XV<sup>th</sup> century. They settled in Mielniczne (Мельничне), Komarniki (Комарники), Wysocko Wyżne (Верхне Висоцьке), Matków (Матків), Mochnate (Мохнате) and Iwaszkowice (Івашківці). Some of them took names from these settlements: Komarniccy, Wysoczańscy, or Matkowscy. The rapid breeding of the line caused its large fragmentation, which resulted in the creation of many nobles' estates in the district of Turka. Within a hundred years, as W. Pulnarowicz wrote, "*the gentlemen from Turka (Turecki, Ilnicki, Jaworski) settled besides Turka, Ilnik, Jawor, Zawadka, Jasienica, Jasionka, Łastówki, Issaje, Wysocko Niżne, and villages no longer existing Borysowa Wola<sup>11</sup> and Michałkowa Wola.<sup>12</sup>*" It should be emphasized, however, that although these Wallachian boyars were undoubtedly the owners of the above-mentioned settlements, it is uncertain whether they were also their locators. It cannot be ruled out that they received land on which settlements had already been started and only took over the knyazships in the villages bestowed upon them.

The first known royal location documents addressed directly to knyazes initiating new settlements in the Sambor region come only from the last years of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. It is not known whether such diplomas had previously left the office of the monarch. Perhaps this state of affairs led W. Pulnarowicz to believe that until the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, only villages founded by the Turecki family or their relatives existed in the Sambor region. In his opinion, it was only in the next century that there

<sup>10</sup> ZDM, p. 3, ed. S. Kuraś, Wrocław 1969, no 692.

<sup>11</sup> W. Makarski, *Nazwy miejscowości dawnej ziemi przemyskiej* [Names of the localities of the former Przemysł land], Lublin 1999, p. 227 identifies Borysowa Wola with Rozłucz. The settlement was located *in vastitate, in silva Rossen*, in 1511 a certain *providi of Borysz de Turza* based on the privilege of the starost of Sambor, Jan of Sprowa (*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych* [Central Archives of Historical Records] (hereinafter: AGAD), *Metryka Koronna* [Crown Metrica] (hereinafter: MK) 34, p. 125–126; AGAD, *Tzw. Metryka Litewska* [the so-called Lithuanian Metrica], chapter 4 B, reference 22 (hereinafter: Inwentarz 1568), p. 370–371.) The name Turza probably refers to the settlement of Turze belonging to the Turzanski family, as it is in the same form as it occurs in 1538, on the occasion of establishing its border with the neighbouring Topolnica (AGAD, MK 55, p. 151, MK 72, 28).

<sup>12</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu...*, p. 6–8. For years, no one questioned the status of masters from Turka and their kin. The situation changed, however, when the Sambor starosty was in the hands of Queen Bona. At her request, in 1538, a special commission was sent to Turka, which, considering the document of King Vladyslav Jagiello from 1431 was to distinguish the king's domains from the noblemen. In accordance with its provisions, only Turka, part of Ilnik, Mielniczne and Jawor remained in the possession of the Turecki family and families akin to them, as well as the settlements Komarniki, Matków, Wysocko Wyżne, Krywka and Żupanie located south of them. The remaining villages settled thanks to the efforts of the descendants of Vancza Valachus were included in the property of the Sambor starosty. One can guess that the execution of these decisions, made in the spring of 1539, met with considerable resistance from the nobility. Inwentarz 1568, p. 391–400, 405v–408; W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu...*, p. 8–12.

was an intense period of colonization in the royal estates, and the special service for the development of the settlement network in the Sambor starosty was put by Queen Bona who received these areas for use as her setting<sup>13</sup>. It seems, however, that the contribution of Sigismund the Old's wife to the economic development of the areas located at the heads of the San, Dniester and Stryj rivers was possible only after 1545, when she bought the Sambor starosty from Stanislaw Odrowąż from Sprowa<sup>14</sup>. Meanwhile, the establishment of the first villages under the Wallachian law in royal estates in the Sambor region should be moved to the second half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. According to V. F. Inkin, until 1495, in the area of the Sambor starosty under the king's rule, there were already 14 villages under Wallachian law, and two of them, Czerchawa (Черхава) and Jasienica (Ясениця-Сільна), were already mentioned in the mid-XV<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>.

The oldest information about the location of the village under Wallachian law in the Sambor starosty is dated before 1499. Although the original location document has not been preserved, the content of the privilege is known from its confirmation made in 1519 by Sigismund the Old. Under this rule, King Jan Olbracht allowed Jaczko to create the villages of Derewno (now Bereżnica – Бережниця<sup>16</sup>) and Kobło (Кобло) *in cruda radice*. He obtained hereditary knyazships in them (*scultetias seu knyasthwo*<sup>17</sup>), each one endowed with one *dworzyszczce* (lat. *area, curia*)<sup>18</sup>. Probably, the location of Bylicz (Біличі) should also be dated to the period of the reign of Jan Olbracht, although in this case only the name of the knyaz responsible for its creation is known. In the Crown Metrics, only the documentary from 1519 has survived, which Sigismund the Old approved “*privilegium super sculteciam in villa Bylicz per serenissimum olim Albertum Regem concessum confirmatur ad instanciam Hawrilonis knyaz*<sup>19</sup>”.

<sup>13</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu...*, p. 16–17.

<sup>14</sup> *Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie* [National Archives in Krakow], Dokumenty pergaminowe zbioru Rusieckich [Parchment documents of the Rusiecki collection], reference ZRPerg 215.

<sup>15</sup> В. Ф. Инкин, *В вопросу о происхождении...*, p. 124.

<sup>16</sup> W. Makarski, *Nazwy miejscowości...*, p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> It is a notorious practice to use the term *scultetia* in location documents to describe the word knyazship, unknown in the royal office.

<sup>18</sup> AGAD, MK 34, p. 94. Jaczko was to collect 1/3 of royal levies from sheep and pigs, and the prisoners were obliged to perform serfdom for knyaz in the period of two days a year. In addition, the knyaz gained the right to build a mill and a tavern in Derewno. According to the principles of Wallachian law, the villagers of both villages received 15 years of exemption, and after that time they were to perform all their duties according to this custom. *Dworzyszczce* – unit of field measurement typical for Wallachian farm with uncertain area.

<sup>19</sup> AGAD, MK 30, p. 303.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF SETTLERS AND MIGRATIONS  
FROM OUTSIDE POLAND

Analysing the oldest location documents from the area of the Sambor starosty, it should be noted that Jaczko received from the king hereditary knyazships in Derevno and Kobło “*ad hominem vocationem et meliorem collocationem earundem villaris*”. Probably a similar wording was also found in Bylicz’s unpreserved location privilege, since the settler’s obligation to summon “for freedom” *homines sive colonos* can be found in twenty similar documents from this area, issued in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. Receiving the hereditary knyazship was a reward for bringing settlers. Unfortunately, the sources do not tell us where the common inhabitants of the Wallachian settlements established in the Sambor starosty came from. It can be assumed, however, that at the first such locations the founders were looking for settlers primarily among people they knew well, and so they were attracting the settlers from the territories from which they themselves came. Such contacts with the family neighbourhood enabled not only bringing the colonists to one locality but also supported the migration from a given direction for a longer period of time. This phenomenon has been called the theory of migration networks<sup>20</sup>. Its operation in relation to the Wallachian migration seems to be confirmed by the example from Brzegi Dolne situated in the neighbouring Przemyśl starosty and located in 1509 by the noble Iwan Janczowicz, from Transylvania, where the simple inhabitants were the Vlachs brought from Hungary<sup>21</sup>. The location of the Sambor starosty near the Hungarian border means that the settlers attracted to the new villages created in that area could also come from a similar direction, especially from the areas of Carpathian Ruthenia and Transylvania. Another potential direction of migration is indicated by the continuous population movement on the border with Moldova. Information about these movements of the population comes from the diplomatic correspondence of hospodar Bogdan III the Blind who complained to King Sigismund the Old about the border starosts that they do not turn in fugitives from Moldova and summon the local peasants for “great freedom.” Although these migrants were mainly directed towards Pokucie and Podole, it cannot be ruled out that some of them settled in the area of the Sambor starosty<sup>22</sup>.

There is practically no doubt that the original settlers of the Wallachian village were ethnic Vlachs<sup>23</sup>. Such conclusions were reached already in the mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> centu-

<sup>20</sup> K. Jaskuńkowski, M. Pawlak, *Główne teorie migracji międzynarodowych: przegląd, krytyka, perspektywy* [Main theories of international migration: review, criticism, perspectives], “Sprawy narodowościowe. Seria nowa” 2016, no. 48, p. 136–138.

<sup>21</sup> A. Stadnicki, *O wsiach...*, p. 63–64.

<sup>22</sup> G. Jawor, *Pierwsze pokolenia...*, p. 572.

<sup>23</sup> It should be stressed at this point that the term *Valachus* was used until the XVI<sup>th</sup> century not only to describe a representative of the Wallachian law or someone in the pastoral profession, but it also had an ethnic meaning. Therefore, it can be assumed, that most locators of the described settlements were ethnically Vlachs. However, it was not until the XVII<sup>th</sup> century that the term Vlach lost its ethnic meaning, but

ry by A. Stadnicki, who, however, also noted that a large part of the population inhabiting these settlements were “natives”, the local population. These towns were governed by Wallachian law, because the office of knyazes was most often held by the Vlachs<sup>24</sup>. This view was developed by Edmund Długopolski, who understood a village as “Wallachian” as not ethnically uniform, but as a certain organizational form. He believed that the entrepreneurs undertaking the placement of new villages, their first knyazes, were of Romanian origin, while the settlers were often Ruthenians<sup>25</sup>.

It can therefore be assumed that the majority of locators of the Wallachian settlements in the area of the Sambor starosty in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century were Vlachs. The Wallachian origin of the Wallachian voivode Dziurdź who received Stupnica from prince Vladysav Opolczyk, Vancza Valachus and his sons, the owners of Turka, is doubtless. The term *Valachus*, used in relation to the latter, does not allow for a more detailed determination of its territorial origin. As Grzegorz Jawor noted, this name was defined for all representatives of this nation, regardless of the area from which they came<sup>26</sup>. Under the term Vlach could be hidden various ethnic elements: Ruthenian, Balkan, Transylvanian, Romanian, Hungarian, Slovak, or even Albanian<sup>27</sup>. It has already been mentioned that W. Pulnarowicz recognized Vancza Valachus as a comer from Transylvania, without giving supporting arguments. This thesis, however, seems to be confirmed by the information he cited regarding the relations between the Turecki family and Waradyn (now Oradea). It was in this Transylvanian town in 1444 that King Vladyslav of Varna issued a privilege for the sons of Vancza, and the name Waradyn was adopted by some parts of the land in Turka, located by the Sambor high-road<sup>28</sup>. The connection between the Wallachian boyars and the Transylvania region may also be indicated by the name Fagarasz, used by the Komarnicki and Wysoczański families, which means the name of the mountain range lying on the border of the Wallachian Plain and the Transylvanian Upland (Fagaras Mountains). This area is considered to be the cradle of the Basarab-Sas family, which seems to testify not only to the place of origin of the Komarnicki family and related to them the Wysoczański family, but also to their ethnicity<sup>29</sup>. L. Wyrostek recognized the descendants of Vancza

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it was still used to describe people engaged in sheepherding, regardless of their origin. See A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340–1650* [Settlement in Sanok Land in the years 1340–1650], Sanok 2007, p. 227–228; G. Jawor, *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu* [The Settlements of the Wallachian Law and their Inhabitants in Red Ruthenia in the Late Middle Ages], Lublin 2004, p. 23–26.

<sup>24</sup> A. Stadnicki, *O wsiach...*, p. 19–20.

<sup>25</sup> E. Długopolski, *Przyczynki do osadnictwa...*, p. 5–6.

<sup>26</sup> G. Jawor, *Osadnictwo historyczne...*, p. 368; G. Jawor, *Pierwsze pokolenia...*, p. 573.

<sup>27</sup> J. Czajkowski, *Dzieje osadnictwa historycznego na Podkarpaciu i jego odzwierciedlenie w grupach etnicznych* [History of historical settlement in Subcarpathia and its reflection in ethnic groups], in: *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat* [Lemko People in the history and culture of the Carpathians], ed. J. Czajkowski, vol. 1, Rzeszów 1992, p.157.

<sup>28</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu...*, p. 4–6.

<sup>29</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu...*, p. 19, 129–130.

and the voivode Dziurdź just as representatives of the Drag-Sas family, thus indicating their origin from the areas of Maramures<sup>30</sup>. If this hypothesis is assumed to be true, then among the Vlachs that reach the roots of the Transylvania area should be considered Jan Wysoczański, who located Borynia (Бориня), Butelka Niżna (Нижнє) and Jabłonów (Яблунів), the founder of Kotowo – the noble Popiel, Hrycz Wołoszyn Tarnawski, who received the right to establish a new settlement on the Jabłonka River, as well as Waško Tatomir the locator of Smolna (Смільна).

Thus, if it is possible to assign the Wallachian origin to the owners of the village and knyazes descending from nobility, the situation of the settlers descending from peasants looks quite different. The only method to determine their ethnicity is to try to analyse the names and nicknames they had. However, one should be very cautious taking into account that the dominant faith in the East-Romanian areas was Eastern Orthodoxy, which in the liturgy spoke Old Church Slavonic language, and Ruthenian texts were widely available. The Vlachs departing from their native lands were already permeated with Slavonic culture, hence the rapid ruthenisation of names among them<sup>31</sup>. The common Orthodox faith of Vlachs and Ruthenians meant that they derived from the same resource, which resulted in the same names among both Vlachs and Ruthenians. In addition, the presence of Romanian origin in the local names in the Hutsul region seems to suggest the former bilingualism of the Pokuta inhabitants, and this phenomenon probably also occurred among the Wallachian population of the Sambor starosty. Moreover, the possibility of occurrence of ruthenisation or in some areas of official polonisation should also be taken into account, and all this resulted in the registration of names in a different wording from the real one<sup>32</sup>. Sometimes, too, the very rapid ruthenisation of Vlachs almost completely prevented the isolation of Wallachian's ethnos from the Ruthenian one<sup>33</sup>.

Among the list of locators of the Wallachian villages in the area of the Sambor starosty, it seems that Iliá Nanczul, the founder of Nanczułka Wielka (Великосілля)<sup>34</sup>, had Romanian origins. His nickname allows us to see in him the son of Nan, and

<sup>30</sup> L. Wyrstek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej* [Drag-Sas line in Hungary and Red Ruthenia], "Yearbook of the Polish Heraldic Society" 1931/2, vol. 11.

<sup>31</sup> T. Trajdos, *Początki osadnictwa Wołochów na Rusi Czerwonej* [The beginnings of the settlement of Vlachs on Red Ruthenia], in: *Lemkowie w historii...*, p. 209.

<sup>32</sup> K. Kadlec, *Valši a valašské pravo ...*, p. 299. G. Jawor, *Etniczne oblicze osad prawa wołoskiego na przedpolu Karpat w Małopolsce i Rusi Czerwonej (XIV–XV)* [Ethnic face of the Wallachian settlements in the foreground of the Carpathians in Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia (XIV–XV)], in: *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji – Rzeszów 9–11 V 1995* [The beginnings of the neighbourhood. The Polish-Russian-Slovak ethnic borderland in the Middle Ages. Materials from the conference – Rzeszów, 9–11 May 1995], ed. M. Parczewski, p. Czopek, Rzeszów 1996, p. 304.

<sup>33</sup> A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.* [Settlement of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland. Bełżec region from the end of XIV to the beginning of the XVIIth century], Wrocław 1991, p. 200.

<sup>34</sup> AGAD, MK 91, 255v–258; Inwentarz 1568, p. 362v–364.



therefore a man who uses undoubtedly the Wallachian name. A Vlach was probably also Miklasz Motrunicz Dołżeński from Ilniczek Mały, the founder of the village of Dołżki (Довжки)<sup>35</sup>, as well as his brothers Prokop and Fiedor with whom he founded Tycha (Тиха) in 1561,<sup>36</sup>. The Hungarian variation of the name Nicholas, appearing in the location document, seems to indicate its origin from the areas of Transylvania or adjoining counties<sup>37</sup>. On the other hand, the family of Damian Mansowicz, who located the village of Lipie, probably came from other places. He was the son of a certain Łukasz Litwin (*Lucas Lithuanis*), which suggests the origin of his family from the areas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, although it is difficult to say anything about his ethnicity<sup>38</sup>. The other 55 knyazes who founded new villages *in cruda radice* in the Sambor starosty have names derived from the Orthodox calendar, so it is impossible to determine their ethnic origin.

#### MIGRATION INSIDE THE SAMBOR STAROSTY

Although we do not know much about the locators of the Wallachian villages in the Sambor region in the XV<sup>th</sup> century, they played an important role in the development of the settlement network in the discussed area in the following century. It was from those villages which had a XV<sup>th</sup> century metrics that the founders of the new settlements of the Wallachian law originated. These settlements were initially created at a short distance from the older centres. Wysocko Niżne belongs to such mother villages. This village already in 1430 was described as a *villa nostra Valachorum*, so the beginnings of Vlachs' stay in that area can date back to even the turn of the XIV<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> century. In this village, the noble Jan Wysoczański held the office of the knyaz. He received from King Sigismund the Old the right to settle Borynia and Jabłonów. Information about this bestowal is known from the document of Queen Bona, confirming the rights of Jan's sons to knyazship in these villages, which, unfortunately, does not provide more information about the circumstances of this event<sup>39</sup>. One can only assume that this occurred at the turn of the second and third decades of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, when the monarch paid more attention to the development of the settlement network in the Sambor starosty<sup>40</sup>. Noble Jan Wysoczański also located Butelka Niżna, but in this case, it is difficult to determine whether he also received the right privile-

<sup>35</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 389–390.

<sup>36</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 364–364v.

<sup>37</sup> See G. Jawor, *Pierwsze pokolenia...*, p. 573.

<sup>38</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 347v.

<sup>39</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 383v–384v.

<sup>40</sup> Sigismund the Old's location documents for the villages from the old Sambor starosty Opaka (AGAD, MK 30, p. 300), Kotów (AGAD, MK 34, p. 95v–96) and unidentified settlement on the Jabłonka River come from this period (AGAD, MK 37, p. 337).

ge from King Sigismund, or perhaps from the hands of Queen Bona<sup>41</sup>. All these three new settlements were built a short distance from the home Wysocko Niżne: Butelka and Jabłonów are located about 3 km away (respectively to the southwest and northeast), and the farthest situated Borynia – 7 km towards the north-west.

Another example of a village being the main centre in relation to its nearby settlements is Hołowiecko (Головецько). Also in this case, the Wallachian character was confirmed in the XV<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>. A native of the same village, Isaj Grosz, in 1508 was granted a privilege from the starost Stanislav Odrowąż to settle 5 km to the west in Grażiowa Wola (Грозьово)<sup>43</sup>. However, in 1527 the same starost allowed Paszek Kosz to locate Rypiany (Рип’яна) at a distance of 3 km south of Hołowiecko<sup>44</sup>.

The function of the mother-village, around which affiliate settlements grew, was not only reserved for centres with a XV<sup>th</sup> century metrics. Such a role could also be played by villages located in the following century, provided they met the basic condition: they had to be settled far enough from the existing villages that there was still a settlement space between them, sufficient to establish further settlements there. This criterion was undoubtedly met by Łomna (Лімна), which was settled by the attentive Jacek and Fedko and their brothers. In return for the effort they incurred in locating this village, King Sigismund the Old in 1519 bestowed upon them hereditary knyazship there<sup>45</sup>. Eleven years later, under the privilege of the starost of Sambor, Stanislav Odrowąż, they also founded Łomnica (later Chaszczów – Хащів), 4 km northwest of the home settlement<sup>46</sup>. In the second half of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the initiative of knyazes from Łomna, two more villages were built nearby. In 1553, under the privilege of Queen Bona, the noble Jozzko, who also held the office of the knyaz of Wólczka, founded Żukotyń<sup>47</sup>, located 4 km from Łomna to the south-east, and in 1566, “*providi Jaczkoni et Fedina sculteti de Lomna*” with the permission of the starost of Sambor Mateusz Starzechowski (they) founded *in cruda radice* the village of Bereg (later Bereżek – Бережок), situated halfway between Łomna and Żukotyń<sup>48</sup>.

The examples cited above show that new settlements were created radially around the home village, surrounding it from various directions. The creation of new villages at a short distance from one, older centre, in some cases resulted in the densification

<sup>41</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 384v–385. In the document issued by Sigismund Augustus for the sons of the deceased Jan, it was mentioned that with the consent of Queen Bona, he founded the villages of Butelka, Jabłonów and Borynia *in cruda radice*. The location document of Borynia and Jabłonów was issued by King Sigismund the Old. Perhaps, therefore, this monarch gave Jan the right to locate also Butelka Stara, although this cannot be confirmed by appropriate evidence.

<sup>42</sup> Hołowiecko as a Wallachian law town was recorded for the first time in 1495. AGAD, *Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego* [Archive of the Crown Treasury] (hereinafter: ASK) LVI, 250, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> AGAD, MK 34, p. 141v–143; Inwentarz 1568, p. 353–354v.

<sup>44</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 366v–367.

<sup>45</sup> AGAD, MK 34, p. 96v–97; Inwentarz 1568, 331v–332v.

<sup>46</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 334–336.

<sup>47</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 325v–327.

<sup>48</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 329–330.

of the settlement network even to the extent that it prevented the functioning of individual villages. The distance between the aforementioned Bereg village from Łomna on one side and Żukotyń on the other was only about 2 km. This small distance raised objections already in contemporary times. Jan Zamoyski, the author of *the Inventory of Benefits of Sambor Starosty* from 1568, commented on this situation:

a certain Jaczko of Łomna bought a new knyazship from [starost] Starzechowski, that he would found a village there, which cannot be there until part of the village of Łomna was surrounded in a different way so that one of the three dworzyszczce would be added. And he was given at the cost of the Łomna people two and a quarter of feoff, and a third to dig a parish [...] In addition, the old peasants written below was taken from Żukotyń and given to him<sup>49</sup>.

Lack of space for locating new villages near settlements, which until then were specific colonization centres, caused the necessity to find new settlement spaces in more remote areas. In the first place, the areas located in the immediate vicinity of these daughter villages, at the same time lying further away from the centre, began to be explored. As a result, it led to the situation that some of the affiliate settlements became the home villages for the newly-created localities. However, this did not have to involve degradation of the position of the old centres. They stayed in touch with affiliate settlements and it happened that thanks to the cooperation of locators of both such towns, new villages were established. An example of the fruit of such cooperation is the above-mentioned Hołowiecko and Rypiany, founded by Paszko Kosz coming from there. Coming from the home village Fiodor Jaczkowicz together with Paweł Iwaskowicz from Rypiany received in 1556 a privilege from Queen Izabela Jagiellonka to found the village of Tureczki Niżne (Нижній Турів)<sup>50</sup>. The new settlement was established 20 km south of Rypiany and 24 km from Hołowiecko.

It is also possible to observe situations in which only the residents of branch settlements became locators of villages, although in these cases their cooperation with the population from the older towns cannot be ruled out. The best example of such a “chain” development of settlement is the village of Wołcza (Вовче). Information about its existence appears in 1510, when its tax of ½ feoff and 300 sheep was paid<sup>51</sup>. To facilitate the development of the settlement, King Sigismund the Old in 1519 confirmed the hereditary knyazship of its former administrator, Heliasz<sup>52</sup>. Earlier, the brothers Michałko and Iwan, who were originally from Wołcza, founded Przysłup, (Присліп) located about 8 km away and about 120 m above the sea level. They did it on the basis of the privilege issued by the Ruthenian voivode and the starost of Sambor, Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa, which allows dating the beginnings of this set-

<sup>49</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 413–414.

<sup>51</sup> AGAD, ASK I, 20, p. 150.

<sup>52</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 321v–324.

tlement to the years 1511–1513<sup>53</sup>. However, in 1559, two knyazes of this town, Jan Bazyli and Ilia Michałowicz, received from King Sigismund Augustus a privilege to establish Jabłonka Wyżna (Верхня Яблунька), situated on the Jabłonka River, on the other side of the mountain range than the native village<sup>54</sup>.

Locations of Przysłop and Jabłonka Wyżna, however, were not the only colonization achievements of the inhabitants of Wołcza. The knyazes who were coming from Wołcza were interested in settling the wasteland between Wołcza and Lomna, the latter being located further down the Dniester river. In 1553, the aforementioned Jozzko, who concentrated the power of knyazes in both these towns, founded the village of Żukotyń (Жукотин)<sup>55</sup>. Also in this case, the new settlement bore fruit in the form of new locators. The brothers Hrycz and Lukacz, who came from Żukotyń, received in 1567 a privilege from the starost Jan Starzechowski, under which they received a hereditary knyazship in Dniestrzyk Dębowy (Дністрик-Дубовий) in exchange for the hardships incurred in founding the village *in cruda radice*<sup>56</sup>. In this way, the settlers coming from Wołcza indirectly gave rise to four more villages, with the youngest chronologically the most distant from the home town.

New settlements arising as a result of the colonization activity of the residents of daughter-villages could also be established in the areas located between the home village and an affiliated settlement. Such cases occurred in the situation when the towns emerging in the first stage of colonization were founded far enough from the home centre, that there was an empty space between them, sufficient to establish a new settlement on it. However, that was not a very common phenomenon, because the settlement network in the Sambor starosty in the mid-sixteenth century was already very compact. The only known example of this formation of the village is Turze (Тур'є), owned by the noble Turzański family. One of their subjects, the *providus* Boris, in 1511 founded Rozłucz (Розлuch), located 10 km southwest of the native village<sup>57</sup>. From this new settlement, however, came the *providi* Jan and Sieńko Oleksonickis who, based on the privilege of King Sigismund Augustus from 1559, founded Wołosianka Mała (Мала Волосянка), from which the distance to Turze, that native village, was only 6.5 km<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 414–415; Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa, at the office of the Ruthenian voivode, was recorded for the first time on May 5, 1511, and the last time on June 20, 1513. He died before November 16 of that year, when it was termed *olim*. K. Maleczyński, *Urzednicy grodzcy i ziemscy lwowscy w latach 1352–1783* [Municipal and Land People's Officers in Lviv in the years 1352–1783], Lwów 1938, p. 84. The document of Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa unfortunately did not survive. However, its existence is known from the location privilege of Przysłop, issued by Sigismund the Old in 1521.

<sup>54</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 416–417; AGAD, MK 95, p. 26–27.

<sup>55</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 325v–327.

<sup>56</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 365–366.

<sup>57</sup> AGAD, MK 34, p. 125–126; Inwentarz 1568, p. 370–371.

<sup>58</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 374–375v.

Lack of space for the location of new villages near native settlements meant that colonizers had to look for settlement spaces on the southern boundaries of the Sambor starosty. Tureczki Niżne mentioned above was settled over 20 km south of the home town of its locators. Originating from Jabłonka (Нижня Яблунька), the attentive Kost and Duma Kostynczewicz migrated about 30 km to the southeast, where in 1556, under the privilege of Queen Isabella, they founded Krasne (Красне)<sup>59</sup>. However, the *providi* Ichnat Truskowicz and Teodor Maczkowicz, who in the same year founded Klimiec (Климець) situated over 50 km from the home town of Łomna<sup>60</sup>, had the greatest distance to travel.

The consequence of the density of settlements in the Sambor area was the necessity of looking for a place for new locations also outside the borders of this king's dominion. Migration to the west to the Sanok land is confirmed in the sources. The noble Jacek Kulczycki, a native of Kulczyce (Кульчиці), founded the village of Smolnik<sup>61</sup> in 1511, and a year later his fellow nobleman Ferens settled Wisłoczek<sup>62</sup> under Wallachian law. However, the noble Waśko Ilnicki, who came from Ilnik (Ільник) in 1537, according to the same custom, founded Tarnawa Niżna and Wyżna<sup>63</sup>. Indirect evidence also indicates the migration of the Wallachian settlers from the Sambor region to the east, which seems to be evidenced by the local names of the Wallachian villages created in the second half of the XVI<sup>th</sup> c. in the Skole region. Franciszek Papee noticed that some of them are identical to the names of settlements in the Sambor region. In both these areas one can find Komarniki, Libuchora, Tarnawa, Wołosianka, Hołowiecko and Ryków, and, what is more, the churches in these places bear the same dedications as they appear in their counterparts in the district of Turka. According to folk tradition, the first settler in Ławoczno (Лавочне) came from the Sambor starosty. In addition, it is known about a large group of settlers who came to the Opór river from Smorze (Сможе)<sup>64</sup> located in the Sambor region. It cannot therefore be ruled out that among them there were also locators of new settlements in the Skole region.

Characterizing the directions of settlement development in the Sambor starosty, one should also pay attention to the fact that, in the light of hypsometric data, new villages were established mostly in areas located higher than the home settlement. It was mentioned earlier that Przysłup, inhabited by the settlers from Wołcza, is located about 120 m higher than Wołcza. Similarly, the difference in altitude between the newly founded Rozłucze and Turza is about 100 m. This tendency to locate the vil-

<sup>59</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 382v–383v.

<sup>60</sup> AGAD, MK 91, p. 243v–245v; Inwentarz 1568, p. 379–380v.

<sup>61</sup> М. Грушевський, *Матеріали до історії суспільно-політичних і економічних відносин Західньої України* [Materials on the history of socio-political and economic relations of Western Ukraine], "Запуску Наукового Товариства імені Севченка" 1905, vol. 64, no 69.

<sup>62</sup> E. Długopolski, *Przyczynki do osadnictwa...*, p. 19–20.

<sup>63</sup> A. Stadnicki, *O wsiach...*, p. 33–35.

<sup>64</sup> F. Papee, *Skole i Tucholszczyzna* [Skole and Tucholszczyzna], "Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki" 1890, vol. 18, p. 636–637.

lage in ever higher areas reflects well the case of colonizers coming from Zawadka (Завадка). In 1552, Queen Bona approved the sale of knyazship in this town by noble Fedek Ilnicki to Lazar Iliaszkowicz from Zawadka<sup>65</sup>. A few years later, his son Ivan Lazurowicz Zawadzki, based on the privilege of the starost of Sambor, Jan Mielecki, founded Rosochacz (Росохач), which was approved by Queen Bona in 1561<sup>66</sup>. The new settlement was about 2 km away from Zawadka and located higher about 25 m. In 1567, the starost Jan Starzechowski allowed Ivan himself together with George Bolbasz (Bolbash) to settle the village of Myta (Мита), situated about 4 km from the home village and 50 m higher<sup>67</sup>. It should be noted that all these villages are located in the valley of the Zawadka River. Differences in the heights between them may not be too great, but they show a gradual shift of the Wallachian settlers upstream to the higher and higher areas. A similar example is the colonization activity of Ostasz Daskowicz originating from the village of Strzyłki (Стрілки), who in 1553 established Gwoździec (Гвоздець)<sup>68</sup> under the privilege of Queen Bona. Five years later, Ostasz, who was defined as a native here, received from the starost of Sambor, Piotr of Boratyn, permission to settle Tysowica (Тисовиця)<sup>69</sup>. The first of the towns he founded is approx. 60 m higher than the home settlement, and the second – approx. 100 m higher. In this case, new villages were not established in the valley of one river. For while Gwoździec, like Strzyki, was built on the banks of the Dniester, Tysowica was settled on one of its tributaries – Tysowiczka. This confirms, however, the earlier observation that the Wallachian settlers, looking for new areas for establishing villages, were heading up the watercourses.

Many more examples of the gradual entering of ever higher areas by colonizers in the Sambor starosty could be found. On the basis of 37 known location privileges from this area, in which the origin of the founders was given, this tendency occurs in 32 cases. So, what could be the reason for this state of affairs? According to W. Pulnarowicz, people sought security in mountains from Tatar invasions<sup>70</sup>. Although this factor may have influenced the motivations of the new settlers, it seems that the Wallachian settlement was entering mountain areas primarily for economic reasons. These were areas devoid of fertile soils, allowing cultivation only of spring cereals. Consequently, at these heights villages with a typical agricultural profile could not function. The land could be used only by the population whose main occupation was not cultivation of land, but animal breeding. Therefore, thanks to the proper royal policy, the old wasteland was occupied by the Wallachian settlers, which allowed them to

<sup>65</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 386v–387.

<sup>66</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 387v–388.

<sup>67</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 458v–461.

<sup>68</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 369–370.

<sup>69</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 359v–360.

<sup>70</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Samu...*, p. 16.

make profits from previous wilderness<sup>71</sup>. The changes in trade that took place in XVI<sup>th</sup> century led to establishing villages that survived on sheep grazing at ever higher altitudes, the price of wool increased approximately twice in the period between 1526–1530 and 1571–1575<sup>72</sup>. That situation meant that the establishment of settlements of Wallachian law, based mainly on sheep breeding, became a viable initiative.

There were also demographic reasons for settlements to occupy higher altitudes. Excessive overpopulation on the previously populated areas of Sambor resulted in the need to look for new areas for settlement. The most fertile lands, located at the foot of the mountains, had already been fully developed. Settlement spaces could only be found in areas at a higher absolute altitude<sup>73</sup>.

### THE SOCIAL ORIGIN OF LOCATORS

It has already been mentioned that we do not know much about the first locators from the XIV<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> centuries of villages of Wallachian law in the Sambor starosty. The widespread bestowals for the Wallachian boyars do not determine whether they themselves established new settlements or commissioned these jobs to qualified representatives of the peasant estate. The fact that the plebeians were recipients of the oldest known location privileges, which were issued by King Jan Olbracht seems to speak in favour of the latter possibility, at least in some cases. In the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, locators referred to as *providi* or *honesti* constituted an absolute majority in the Sambor starosty. Out of 61 known locators of the Wallachian villages, as many as 51 were descended from the peasant estate.

Among the representatives of the gentry, undoubtedly the aforementioned person of Jan Wysoczański, the founder of Borynia, Jabłonów and Butelka Niżna, stands out. It is very probable that the creation of these villages took place at the turn of sec-

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<sup>71</sup> G. Jawor, *Współistnienie grup etnicznych na Rusi Czerwonej w XV–XVI wieku na przykładzie stosunku do społeczności wołoskich* [Coexistence of ethnic groups in Red Ruthenia in the 15th–16th centuries on the example of attitudes towards Wallachian communities], “Annales UMCS”, sectio F. Historia, 1997/1998, vol. LII/LIII, p. 58.

<sup>72</sup> R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu* [Trade and trade policy of Poland in the sixteenth century], vol. 1, Poznań 1928, p. 237.

<sup>73</sup> Supporting the development of Wallachian settlements in royal estates located in the Sambor region could also be motivated by the desire to strengthen the defence potential of the state with the help of immigrants. With the help of Vlachs, attempts were made to strengthen the effectiveness of royal power in these areas difficult to control. They were given political and military duties, obliging them to defend the castle and the starost, guard the forests and mountains, or capture criminals. G. Jawor, *Współistnienie grup etnicznych...*, p. 58; G. Jawor, *Migracje wołoskie w Europie Środkowej w późnym średniowieczu i u progu epoki nowożytnej* [Wallachian migration in Central Europe in the late Middle Ages and on the threshold of the modern era], in: *Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu* [Wandering and ethnogenesis in antiquity and in the Middle Ages], eds. M. Salamon and J. Strzelczyk, Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University, publ. 2 completed, Kraków 2010, p. 408–409.

ond and third decades of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. In that period, the largest number of noble locators can be recorded. In 1519, on the basis of the privileges of King Sigismund the Old, the village of Opaka (Опака)<sup>74</sup> was set up by the deputy starost of Sambor Mikołaj Wiaczkowski, and the noble Waśko Popiel founds Kotów (the later Bania Kotowska) under Wallachian law<sup>75</sup>.

For the year 1521, the royal privilege is dated for the noble Hrycz Wołoszyn Tarnawski, who was given the right to settle a new village on the Jabłonka River<sup>76</sup>. However, it is hard to say anything more about the process of localization of this settlement. The lack of the name of the place in the document makes it impossible to identify. This location may not have been unsuccessful. However, the same cannot be said of another village founded by a representative of the noble estate – Jabłonka Niżna. It was located on the basis of the privilege of Queen Bona, issued in 1554 to the *krajnik* Jaczko<sup>77</sup>.

The representatives of the clergy estate belong to the rarest locators of the Wallachian villages in the Sambor starosty. Only one such case is known, in which the village's founder was described as *religiosus*, and it concerns the person of Damian Mansowicz, the son of pope Łukasz Litwin (*Lucas Lithuanis*) from Michniowiec. In the available sources, he appears to be an extremely ambitious man, who was not satisfied with the ecclesiastical office he inherited from his father. In 1556, Damian sold a parish in Michniowiec to his father-in-law, pope Oleszko, and a year later, based on the document of the starost Piotr Boratyński, settled the village of Lipie, which in the

<sup>74</sup> AGAD, MK 34, p. 103. In the same year, generosus Nicholas Wiaczkowski received from the king also lifetime income from the Sambor mill. AGAD, MK 30, p. 300.

<sup>75</sup> AGAD, MK 34, p. 95v–96. This place had undoubtedly existed earlier. According to B. Barwiński, it was given to the Popiel family by king Vladyslav Jagiello, but after some time it was included in the royal estate, due to some legal doubts (in fact, most likely it was about access to salt deposits). The change of ownership had to take place still in the fifteenth century, since in 1495 Kotów was recorded in the inventory of the Sambor starosty (AGAD, ASK LVI, 250, p. 25). In 1515, its population was still not numerous, because the tax was paid only from 4 feoffs (A. Jabłonowski, *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym* [The sixteenth century Poland in geographical and statistical terms], vol. 7, part 1, *Ziemie ruskie. Ruś Czerwona* [Ruthenian lands, Red Ruthenia], in: *Źródła Dziejowej* [History sources], vol. 18, written by A. Jabłonowski, Warsaw 1902, p. 140). Perhaps it was the poor development of the villages that encouraged Sigismund the Old to allow in June 1519 the placement of Kotów among forests, *in cruda radice, ad hominum vocationem*. Two months later, the monarch issued a new privilege for this town, from which it is known that *nobilis Kasko Popyel et fratrum suorum* received in that village the knyazship (AGAD, MK 34, p. 143–144). According to B. Barwiński, the recipient of this document, and therefore the locator of Kotów under Wallachian law, was in fact noble Waśko Kunaszowicz Popiel, but his name was misrepresented by an employee of the Royal Chancery. Б. Барвінський, *Конашевичі в Перемській землі в XV and XVI ст. Генеалогічно-історична монографія* [Konashevichi in the Przemysl land in the XV and XVI centuries. Genealogical and historical monograph], “Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка” 1930, vol. 100, part 2, p. 89–92.

<sup>76</sup> AGAD, MK 37, p. 337.

<sup>77</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 412–412v. *Krajnik* – chief of Wallachian district, which included a few villages.



same year was approved by King Sigismund Augustus<sup>78</sup>. It seems, however, that it was not enough for him to be eligible for his duties as a knyaz. When in 1567 a new parish was established in Lipie, it was Damian who became the parson in it, thus combining the secular authority in the village with the power over the souls of the faithful subordinate to him<sup>79</sup>. Perhaps not without significance for Mansowicz's location activity was the fact that the knyazship in his hometown Michniowiec in 1527 was purchased by another representative of the clergy, pope Wańko from Hołowiecko<sup>80</sup>. Although it is impossible to determine whether Damian drew inspiration from Wańko's career, nevertheless it can be seen that combining the office of knyaz and being a representative of clergy was nothing new in this part of the Sambor starosty. However, unlike Wańko, Damian Mansowicz gained much more. When in 1572, due to the destruction of the location document, King Sigismund Augustus issued a new privilege for Lipie, his knyaz was already identified as *nobilis Demian Lypieczki*<sup>81</sup>. In this way, the son of a pope from Michniowiec was promoted to the nobility.

G. Jawor, examining the links between knyaz families and the Orthodox clergy, came to the conclusion that the younger sons or relatives of a knyaz often became popes in Wallachian villages<sup>82</sup>. It can therefore be assumed that father Damian Mansowicz, as well as his father-in-law, enjoyed such a background<sup>83</sup>. Arranging marriages within the same social group seems to be a commonly used custom. The followers of the Wallachian law were mostly representatives of the Knyaz families from older settlements, to a lesser extent people who came from across the Carpathians or minor Subcarpathian gentry of Wallachian origin. This led to the formation of complex family ties within this group<sup>84</sup>.

This situation is well illustrated by the relationship between knyazes of noble origin. At least four of them belonged to the heraldic Drag-Sas family and it can be assumed that they were related or at least connected by marriage. L. Wyrostek considered the family of the locator of Borynia, Butelka and Jabłonowa, Jan Wysoczański, to be the offspring of one of the Lower Sambor families, perhaps the Stupnicki family. He would therefore be a descendant of the Wallachian voivode Dziurdź<sup>85</sup>. W. Pulnarowicz derived the Wysoczański family from the second donor of bestow-

<sup>78</sup> AGAD, MK 90, p. 394–395v; MK 91, p. 248–249v; Inwentarz 1568, p. 347v–348v.

<sup>79</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 350–350v.

<sup>80</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 345v–347; According to the registrations of the location document made in the Crown Metrology, pope Wańko located a new settlement. AGAD, MK 37, p. 337.

<sup>81</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 346–349.

<sup>82</sup> G. Jawor, *Particularités de «ius Valachicum» dans la Pologne du XV e et XVI e siècles. Question de l'autorité exercée sur les paroisses orthodoxes par les knyazes*, in: *Studia Mediaevalia Europaea et Orientalia. Miscellanea in Honorem Professoris Emeriti Victor Spinei Oblata*, eds. G. Bilavski, D. Aparaschivei, Bucharest, 2018, p. 531–533.

<sup>83</sup> Confirmation of the pope's affiliation to the knyaz estate may be the fact that the locator of the village of Potok Wielki was the *providi* Bazyl, son of a pope from Lenina. Inwentarz 1568, p. 362–362v.

<sup>84</sup> G. Jawor, *Particularités de «ius Valachicum»...*, p. 532–533.

<sup>85</sup> L. Wyrostek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów...*, p. 56, 70.

als in this area, Vancza from Turka<sup>86</sup>. Regardless of who was the progenitor of Jan Wysoczański's family, the family was merited for the development of settlement in the area of the Sambor region. Waško Tatomir, the settler of Smolna, was probably related to the Wysoczański family. He came from a line that for some time held the office of knyazes in Wysocko, and at the same time owning some property in Popiel, since the wife of Aleksander Tatomir received her dowry there. Ownership of the land in the village which is the home of the Popiel family allows us to guess the links between this family and the Tatomirs, which the founder of Kotów, Waško, came from<sup>87</sup>.

Founding new Wallachian villages was also a family undertaking for knyazes belonging to the plebeian estate, as evidenced by the example of the Telepian family. Interestingly, its progenitor, Telepian, is the last to appear in the sources. In 1561, the *providus Thelepian Krainik*, under the privilege of King Sigismund Augustus, located the village of Radycz (Радич)<sup>88</sup>. A few years earlier, the location documents of the villages settled by his descendants are dated: in 1554, the brothers Vasyl and Iwaszko Telepian received the consent of Queen Bona to establish Uszne Wyżne (later Husne Wyżne – Верхне Гусне)<sup>89</sup>, and two years later the Sambor starost Jan Starzechowski issued permission to locate Uszne Niżne (later Husne Niżne – Нижне Гусне) by Staszek Telepian<sup>90</sup>. In the hands of the representative of the *krajnik*'s family there was also a parish in Uszne Wyżne, which was taken by Łukasz Telepian<sup>91</sup>.

Also in the knyaz family from Mszaniec (Мшанець) settling of new villages was an inherited profession. In 1510, King Sigismund the Old confirmed to the Wańka et his brothers, Steczko and Waszko the ownership of knyazship in this town<sup>92</sup>. The latter, based on the privilege of the starost of Sambor, Stanisław Odrowąż, founded Gałówki (later Gałówka – Галівка) in 1534<sup>93</sup>. However, five years earlier, a representative of the next generation, Jaczko Steczkowicz, contributed to the creation of a new settlement, founding the Płoskie (Плюске)<sup>94</sup> village under Wallachian law.

Considering the connections among locators of the Wallachian settlements, it is also worth reflecting upon the reasons for which they ventured not always successful attempts to settle new villages. When analysing location documents, their knyazship confirmations and sale acts, it can be noticed that the practice of accumulating these offices in the Sambor starosty was a rarity and in principle limited only to representatives of the nobility. The noble Jan Wysoczański belonged to this group. In

<sup>86</sup> W. Pulnarowicz, *U źródeł Sanu...*, p. 56, 70.

<sup>87</sup> L. Wyrostek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów...*, p. 48–51, 67.

<sup>88</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 390–390v.

<sup>89</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 403–404.

<sup>90</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 402–402v. In the Inventory of fruits of the Sambor starosty of 1568, the locator of Uszne Niżne was described as the “Son of *krajnik* Telepian”. Inwentarz 1568, p. 123v.

<sup>91</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 404.

<sup>92</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 342v–343v.

<sup>93</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 357v–358v.

<sup>94</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 355v–356v.

his hands, he collected the knyazships in Wysocko Niżne and founded by himself Borynia, Jabłonów and Butelka Niżna. All these offices were also in the possession of his sons, Jan and Mikołaj Wysoczański<sup>95</sup>. The other such case reported in the sources concerned the noble Hrycz Ilnicki Uczylowicz and his son Roman, who in 1578 came into possession of knyazships in Ilnik, Radycz, Rykowo (Риків), Zawadka, Jabłonka, Rosochacz and Dołżki, but those were only acquired by purchase<sup>96</sup>. On the other hand, the only known knyaz from the peasant estate who held the office in three places at the same time was the attentive Joszko, who, on the location document of Żukotyń from 1553, appears as the *scultetus de villa nostra Wolcza et Lomna*<sup>97</sup>. This situation lasted, however, only until 1567, when Joszko gave up his part of the knyazship in Żukotyń in favour of his brother Tymko and stepfather Paweł, in return for which he received full power from them in Wołcza<sup>98</sup>. Nothing indicates that Joszko at the same time was the knyaz in Łomna.

In the Sambor starosty, there was also no common occurrence of founding new villages for later sale with an appropriate profit. Only one case can be found in the sources when the settlement was sold by its locator. It was the attentive Waszko from Mszaniec, who in 1534 settled the village of Gałuki in order to sell it in 1553 for 40 florins to the attentive Fiedor<sup>99</sup>. However, it is impossible to say whether it was a so-called location entrepreneur, whose actions were motivated only by the desire to multiply the wealth, or perhaps by other reasons. Nothing is known about his later fate. Location activity as an attempt to gain social promotion and enter the noble estate should also be considered but such cases were far and few between. The only successful example of such a career is the above-described story of Damian Mansowicz, the son of a pope who, thanks to his hard work, gained nobilitation.

It seems that the most frequent reason for setting new villages in the Sambor starosty was to ensure that the descendants of the Knyaz family had something to live on. Several people, most often related to each other, often took part in founding settlements of Wallachian law. It was a consequence of large expenses related to the establishment of new villages. Locators were not only obliged to pay a high fee for the purchase of knyazship, but also bore the costs of bringing settlers and deforestation. They also had to survive a not too profitable period of exemption<sup>100</sup>. The consequence of

<sup>95</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 383v–385.

<sup>96</sup> *Biblioteka Ukrainskiej Akademii Nauk we Lwowie* [Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv], Zbiór dra A. Czołowskiego [Collection of PhD. A. Czołowski], reference 2837/III, p. 17.

<sup>97</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 325v–327.

<sup>98</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 328–329.

<sup>99</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 357v–359.

<sup>100</sup> The fee for the knyazship in the Sambor starosty was very diverse. The attentive Borys, for the knyazship in Rozłucz, paid only 26 florins to the Sambor starost (AGAD, MK 34, p. 125v), but the nobles Vasył and Iwaszko Telepian, for the same office in Uszne Wyżne, paid to Queen Bona 100 florins (AGAD, MK 91, p. 259). Most often, the fee was 40 (Gałówka – Inwentarz 1568, p. 358) or 50 florins (Rypiany – Inwentarz 1568, p. 366v). The most frequently granted exemption period was

the shared founding of villages was, however, dividing the income from the knyazship into many shares. This problem grew as the next generation reached the age of maturity, which resulted in the necessity of further divisions of the joint property. Sharing a knyazship even by two people could lead to conflicts. In *The Inventory of fruits of the Sambor starosty*, written in 1568, it was noted that two cousins had shared that office in Łomna, “after that, one killed the other, and the one who killed gave in reconciliation his share to the son of the killed one without the consent of the King. An attempt of unaided reconciliation for the damage, however, worsened the economic situation of the feuding family, because it caused the confiscation of a half of the knyazship by the monarch<sup>101</sup>.

In order to avoid similar situations and at the same time ensure a better material situation, representatives of the younger generations of families with knyazships often had to leave their home villages and look for success in the location of new settlements. It seems that for these reasons, the investment activity took on the character of the family venture described above. However, sometimes fathers thought about the future of their descendants. Such prudent parents include first of all the attentive *krajnik* Ostasz Daskowicz, who in 1553, based on the privilege of Queen Bona, founded Gwoździec<sup>102</sup>, and five years later, with the consent of the starost of Sambor Piotr of Boratyn, he founded Tysowica under Wallachian law<sup>103</sup>. In 1563, this *krajnik* renounced the knyazships in both villages for the benefit of his sons: in Gwoździec – Vasył, and in Tysowica – Waszka Tysowiecki<sup>104</sup>. In order to ensure also a proper income for himself, Ostasz asked King Sigismund Augustus for confirmation of lifelong possession of the knyazship in Strzyżki<sup>105</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Summing up the considerations included in the article, it should be noted that the first owners of the Wallachian villages in the area of the Sambor starosty were representatives of the Wallachian nobility, most probably from the Transylvania area, who received extensive land bestowals from king Vladyslav Jagiello in the XV th century. From the settlements founded by the nobility came the knyazes founding in the XVI th century Wallachian villages within the royal domain. The majority of them came from the peasant estate, and they were mostly recruited from the ruthenised knyaz families and from the subjects of the same domains. The less common situation was

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24 years (Płoskie – Inwentarz 1568, p. 355v, Chaszczów – Inwentarz 1568, p. 335) although the settlers brought to Grąziowa enjoyed it for another six years longer (AGAD, MK 34, p. 142v).

<sup>101</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 39v.

<sup>102</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 369–369v.

<sup>103</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 359v–360.

<sup>104</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 360–360v; 369v–370.

<sup>105</sup> Inwentarz 1568, p. 434–435v.

the location of royal villages by representatives of the minor gentry of Wallachian origin and, in individual cases, by clerics of the Orthodox rite<sup>106</sup>. The model of establishing new settlements of Wallachian law in the Sambor starosty meets the criteria of the phenomenon called migration of elites. The Vlachs, however, although they constituted a small percentage of residents, had attractive solutions for the local population. Thanks to this, despite the rapid ruthenisation, the descendants of Vlachs still took the lead among the locators. A characteristic feature of the development of the settlement network in the Sambor starosty was the occurrence of rural centres, often dating back to the XV<sup>th</sup> century, from which the knyazes of satellite settlements came, which were built at a short distance from the home village. After some time, these “villages” could also become “home” for subsequent settlements. New settlements were usually located in areas situated higher than the home settlements of founders who, looking for new settlement areas, headed upstream as the rivers were natural communication routes.

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<sup>106</sup> An analogous situation occurred in the neighbouring Sanok land. See A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej...*, p. 229.

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