

Jerzy Rajman

## Peasants in the Works of Jan Długosz

*Chłopi w dziełach Jana Długosza*

## ABSTRACT

This analysis encompasses the following subjects: Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae, Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis and the lives of Saints Stanislaus and Kinga. I would like to synthesize all the information that Długosz included about peasants in his works. I will show the terminology he uses in relation to 'peasants', the contexts in which they appear, and the most important detailed information. I will ask whether these studies reveal a 'picture' of peasants and his personal attitude towards them. The article consists of the following parts: 1. Terms used to refer to peasants and the countryside, 2. The countryside – elements of the natural and cultural landscape, 3. The rural community, 4. Home, family, farm, 5. Oppression and slavery, misfortune and poverty, 6. The monarch's attitude towards peasants, 7. Peasants' attitude towards faith and the Church, 8. Peasants' attitude towards townspeople, 9. Peasants' participation in wars, Summary.

**Key words:** peasants, Jan Długosz, Poland, 15th century

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THE AUTHOR: <b>Jerzy Rajman</b> , the Institute of History & Archival Studies of the University of the National Education Commission, Kraków, Poland; e-mail: jerzy.rajman@uken.krakow.pl; <a href="https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0988-0414">https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0988-0414</a>					
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## STRESZCZENIE

Przedmiotem analizy są *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae, Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* i żywoty świętych Stanisława i Kingi. Chciałbym przedstawić w syntetycznej formie wszystkie informacje, jakie Długosz zamieścił o chłopach na kartach swoich dzieł. Ukażę terminologię, jaką się posługuje w stosunku do „chłopów”, konteksty zdarzeniowe, w jakich się oni pojawiają, najbardziej ważkie informacje szczegółowe. Postawię pytanie, czy z badań tych wyłoni się „obraz” chłopów oraz o jego osobisty stosunek do nich. Artykuł składa się z następujących części: 1. Określenia wobec chłopów i wsi, 2. Wieś – elementy krajobrazu naturalnego i kulturowego, 3. Społeczność wiejska, 4. Dom, rodzina, gospodarstwo, 5. Ucisk i niewola, nieszczęście i bieda, 6. Monarcha wobec chłopów, 7. Stosunek chłopów do wiary i Kościoła, 8. Chłopi wobec mieszkańców, 9. Udział chłopów w wojnach, Podsumowanie

**Słowa kluczowe:** chłopi, Jan Długosz Polska, XV w.

‘Admittedly, we returned the cattle to the peasants, but who will return the tears shed for them’ – was to bitterly say Queen Jadwiga, moved by their misfortune, when royal officials, electing a so-called ‘station’ in Greater Poland in 1386, committed abuses<sup>1</sup>. This is one of the most famous passages from Długosz’s *Annales*, analyzed and cited in works on Queen Jadwiga<sup>2</sup>. The quoted sentence, thanks to its emotional saturation, encourages the analysis of the works of the Kraków canon, as it shows that Długosz not only took into account the existence of peasants in his history of Poland, but captured both the fact of their harm and the theme of the monarch’s care for the peasants. Various questions have been posed as regards the works of the Długosz’s *Annales* in the scholarly literature, but no compilation and analysis of its information on peasants exists<sup>3</sup>. This article aims to fill this gap, at least in part. The subject of the analysis

<sup>1</sup> In the original Latin: ‘etsi peccora colonis reddidimus, quis innis effusas lacrimas restituet’, Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, book 10, 1370–1405, eds. S. Gawęda et al., Varsaviae 1985 [hereinafter: Ann. 10], p. 158; in the Polish translation the term ‘colonis’ has been replaced by ‘villagers’, Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 10, 1370–1405, eds. S. Gawęda et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1981 [hereinafter: Rocz. 10], p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> R.M Zawadzki, *Fundacje i darowizny kościelne królowej Jadwigi, “Analecta Cracoviensia”* 1995, 27, p. 696.

<sup>3</sup> M. Koczerska, *Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 1971, 15, p. 127 noticed that Długosz ‘divides the nation into nobility and peasantry’. A concise description of what Długosz wrote about peasants was provided by J. Krzyżaniakowa, *Społeczeństwo polskie XV wieku w “Rocznikach” Jana Długosza*, in: *Gospodarcze przesłanki historii społecznej*, eds. B. Miśkiewicz, W. Szulc, J. Topolski, Poznań 1982, p. 61 where the thesis that the nobility and peasants are the most important social groups in Poland in Długosz’s works.

will be not only *Annales*<sup>4</sup>, but also *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>5</sup> and Długosz's Lives of Saints<sup>6</sup>. Of course, of greatest value are those excerpts from Długosz's works in which he describes times contemporaneous with, or reasonably close to, his own, i.e. the last three books of the *Annales* and the *Liber beneficiorum*. In the latter work, there are mentions of peasants on almost every page, although it is more a source for the history of villages than of peasants themselves.

From the information contained therein, the authors of studies and slogans devoted to individual localities will cling to it<sup>7</sup>, overall, it still remains an untapped source.

The detail and reliability of the descriptions vary. Excellent, full of details are the depictions of the villages of the sub-Kraków chapter, precise characterizations of the villages of some monasteries, such as the Norbertine nuns and the Holy Sepulchre monastery, or the Pabianice estate. There are numerous passages in this source that disappoint as they are very schematic, written using the same sentences, with blanks left. We see here the use of the form, as a rule, then the information about the number of landholdings is missing (there are mentions of the peasant

<sup>4</sup> I do not address in this article the question of the reliability of individual information from the *Annales*, I refer you to the works of the A. Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów polskich Jana Długosza (do roku 1394)*, Kraków 1887 and *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1385–1444*, vol. 1, eds. S. Gawęda et al., Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961.

<sup>5</sup> This work has not lived to see a comprehensive study or a critical edition based on the so-called autograph of Długosz. In this article I refer exclusively to the printed version of the, see M.D. Kowalski, *Źródła i wiarygodność informacji w Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis jana Długosza*, in: *Jan Długosz (1415–1480). Życie i dzieła*, eds. L. Korczak, M.D. Kowalski, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2016, pp. 103–126.

<sup>6</sup> H. Rajfura, *Warsztat pisarski Jana Długosza w świetle Żywotu św. Stanisława*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 2018, 56, pp. 35–36 gave an overview of the works in which the authors used this life. Peasant themes were not addressed in this work. Another rich source is the life of St Kinga, written before 1474; O.M. Przybyłowicz, *Vita beatae Kunegundis z archiwum klarysek w Starym Sączu. Losy rękopisu, stan zachowania, źródła wiedzy kronikarza o klasztorze ubogich pań*, in: *Jan Długosz (1415–1480)*, pp. 87–101 evotes considerable space to descriptions of Miracles, attempting to locate them geographically.

<sup>7</sup> *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu* [hereinafter: SHGK], part 1, issue 2, *Borek – Ciecień*, prep. Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa et al., Wrocław 1985; SHGK, part 1, issue 4, *Dubie – Górkę*, prep. J. Laberschek et al., Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1986; SHGK, part 2, issue 2, *Iwanowice – Kaczorowy*, prep. J. Kurtyka et al., ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1989; SHGK, part 3, issue 2, *Krzepice – Lasocice*, prep. W. Bukowski et al., ed. F. Sikora, Kraków 1997; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa lubelskiego w średniowieczu*, ed. S. Kuraś, in: *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, vol. 3, ed. M. Wawrzyniak, Warszawa 1983 [hereinafter: SHGL].

landholdings)<sup>8</sup>. Disregarding the shortcomings, the *Liber beneficiorum* is even an inexhaustible resource of detailed information. In this article I refer to selected examples from this work. A comprehensive account of the village and rural relations in light of this work, the basis of which should be the so-called original, awaits its author.

I would like to present a synthesis of all the information that Długosz included about peasants in the pages of his works. I will show the terminology he uses in relation to 'peasants', the event contexts in which they appear, the most important detailed information. I will pose the question of whether an 'image' of the peasants emerges from these studies, as well as his personal attitude towards them.

### TERMS TOWARDS PEASANTS AND VILLAGES

The word 'peasant' is probably an adequate term to be used in describing the social realities of the 15th century, since it first appeared in Polish medieval sources as early as 1404<sup>9</sup>. There was even a village near Lublin called 'Chłopie'<sup>10</sup>, which our historian mentioned. Długosz was undoubtedly familiar with the term 'peasant', but he never used it in his writings, although medieval Polish fades from them frequently. The account he puts into the mouths of Polish diplomats staying in Prague in 1410 says a lot about his way of naming things. I am, of course, leaving aside the context of big politics. Unwilling to listen to a biased verdict, the Polish deputies resorted to the philological argument that the Polish and Czech languages are similar, but the meaning of individual words can be confusing. As an example, they cited the word 'syedlak', that

<sup>8</sup> Joannis Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, *Ecclesia cathedralis cracoviensis – ecclesiae collegiarum*, ed. A. Przeździecki, Cracoviae 1863 [hereinafter: Dlb 1], pp. 80–84; Joannis Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 3, *Monasteria*, ed. A. Przeździecki, Cracoviae 1864 [hereinafter: Dlb 3], pp. 198, 364–368, 440, 442, 560–561, 594.

<sup>9</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 1, issue 4, (Bystry – Ciec), ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław 1954, pp. 237–238; J. Wyrozumski, *Kmiec czy chłop w Polsce średniowiecznej?*, in: *Aetas media, aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątce rocznicę urodzin*, eds. A. Bartoszewicz, H. Manikowska, W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2000, pp. 356–362 was convinced that the word 'chłop' was of late modern origin. Also P. Guzowski, *Ille pieniedzy mieli chłopi w XV i XVI w.? Próba sondażu*, in: *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi. Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane prof. A. Wycząskiemu*, eds. C. Kuklo, P. Guzowski, Białystok 2014 p. 31 footnote 1 writes about the anachronism of the term. This author's view that 'in the Middle Ages and also at the beginning of modern times we find only cmetho in the sources' is debatable.

<sup>10</sup> SHGL, p. 47.

in Polish it means a 'saddler' (craftsman making saddles), while in Czech it is a synonym for peasant-and here Długosz gave as many as 3 Latin terms: *agricola*, *rusticanus* and *incola*<sup>11</sup>. I see here as an example of greater appreciationthe of Latin over the national language. The terms with which Długosz referred to peasants in the cited account and in hundreds of other places were already functioning in antiquity, but in medieval Latin they took on additional meanings. I will immediately point out that capturing all the contexts of Długosz's use of the words *agricola*, *rusticus* and other terms for peasants is difficult, and I have not been able, partly for lack of space, to conduct such an analysis.

In Długosz's works one can encounter as many as 12 Latin terms for peasant. It occurred to me that this multiplicity of terms testifies to the widespread presence of peasants in the landscape of Poland in the 15th century. The vocabulary is richest in this regard in the *Annales*, somewhat poorer in the lives of saints and in the *Liber beneficiorum*. The nomenclature in the latter was influenced by the language of the estate inventories, which Długosz's secretaries transcribed or summarized. The terms that Długosz used for peasants are enormously varied. Some of them are somewhat value-laden in nature.

The medieval Latin word *agrestis* describes a man living in the countryside, rural, uncouth, crude, primitive. Is this how Długosz viewed peasants? *Agrestis* is the most common term toward peasants occurring in the *Annales*<sup>12</sup>. He also uses the term against peasants in neighboring

<sup>11</sup> Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 10–11, 1406–1412, eds. C. Baczkowski et al., Varsaviae 1997 [hereinafter: Ann. 10–11], p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 1–2, ed. I. Dąbrowski, Varsaviae 1964 [hereinafter: Ann. 1–2], p. 320; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 3–4, eds. S. Budkowa et al., Varsaviae 1970 [hereinafter: Ann. 3–4], pp. 44, 63, 108, 287; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 5–6, eds. S. Budkowa et al., Varsaviae 1973 [hereinafter: Ann. 5–6], pp. 81, 100, 121, 150, 179, 194, 196, 221, 232–233; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 7–8, eds. S. Budkowa et al., Varsaviae 1975 [hereinafter: Ann. 7–8], pp. 48, 121–122, 125, 136, 146, 151, 223, 238, 239, 250; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, book 9, eds. S. Budkowa et al., Varsaviae 1975 [hereinafter: Ann. 9], pp. 82, 126, 147, 162, 183, 291; Ann. 10, pp. 11, 17, 19–20, 67, 112, 129, 131, 193; Ann. 10–11, pp. 31, 41, 139;; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 11, 1413–1430, eds. C. Baczkowski et al., Varsaviae 2000 [hereinafter: Ann. 11], pp. 36, 102, 136, 179, 232; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 11–12, 1431–1444, eds. C. Baczkowski et al., Varsaviae 2001 [hereinafter: Ann. 11–12], pp. 41, 46; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 12, 1445–1461, eds. C. Baczkowski et al., Cracoviae 2003 [hereinafter: 12/1], pp. 155, 288; Joannis Długossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti*

countries<sup>13</sup>. It appears three times in the descriptions of saints' Miracles<sup>14</sup>, while it does not appear in the *Liber beneficiorum*. I will emphasize that for Długosz *agrestes* meant peasants in general, since we see that he used this term when he juxtaposed the terms of other social states side by side: *nobilium*, *civium*, *agrestium* or *militium et agrestium*, in other places of the *Annales* – *oppidanos et agrestes* and *cives et agrestes*<sup>15</sup>.

It is not new to say that from the word 'rus' come the terms *rusticus* and *rusticanus*, and from *villa* – *villanus*. I found the word *rus* as a term for village in only two places<sup>16</sup>. The most common, of course, in uncountable numbers, is the term *villa*. Occasionally the terms *vicus* and *vicinus* appear, the Polish word 'wieś' ('village') appeared as early as 1249<sup>17</sup>, the old Polish words 'wieśnianin' ('villager') and 'wieśniaczka' ('peasant woman') also have an ancient metric<sup>18</sup>. Thus, Długosz had a variety of terms to choose from. In spite of his predilection for the word *villa*, Długosz's keenly used term for peasant is *rusticus* and *rusticanus*. *Rusticus*'s meant a peasant, a villager, but also a peasant who is directly subordinate to the monarch. In the *Annales*, the words *rusticus* and *rustici* occur relatively frequently<sup>19</sup>, also in juxtaposition with *vilis homo* and in juxtaposition with *servi*<sup>20</sup>. He used the terms *rusticus* and *simplicis ingenii vir*, or 'man of simple mind', to refer to the same person<sup>21</sup>. Peasant-friendly monarch is *rusticorum rex*<sup>22</sup>. The term *rustici* also appears, but rarely, in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>23</sup>.

*Regni Poloniae*, books 12, 1462–1480, eds. C. Baczkowski et al., Cracoviae 2005 [hereinafter: 12/2], pp. 34, 41, 64, 114, 323, 344.

<sup>13</sup> With regard to the Yotvingian, Pomeranian, Warmian, Teutonic, Silesian, Bohemian, Hungarian, Ruthenian and Moldavian peasants: Ann.7, p. 141; Ann. 12/2, pp. 143, 291, 179, 240, 277, 336, 351 404, 417.

<sup>14</sup> *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai Episcopi Cracoviensis*, in: *Joannis Dlugossii senioris canonici cracoviensis opera Vita S. Stanislai – Vita B. Kunegundis – Vitae Episcoporum Poloniae – Vita Sbignei de Oleśnica cardinalis – clenodia – banderia prutenorum – epistolae*, vol. 1, prep. I. Polkowski, Ź. Pauli, ed. A. Przezdziecki, Cracoviae 1887 [hereinafter: VS], p. 16; *Vita Beatae Kunegundis*, in: *Joannis Dlugossii senioris* [hereinafter: VK], pp. 318 i 322.

<sup>15</sup> Ann. 7–8, pp. 222, 250; Ann. 10, pp. 24, 41; Ann. 12/2, p. 335.

<sup>16</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 268, 301–302. Here we can also add the adjectival form *rura Ann.us*, in juxtaposition with *bubuleis pastoribus*, Ann. 12/1, p. 256.

<sup>17</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 10, issue 3 (63), *Wiel – Wjechać*, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1990, p. 199.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 205.

<sup>19</sup> Ann. 1–2, pp. 127, 213; Ann. 9, p. 297; Ann. 10, p. 96; Ann. 11, p. 166; Ann. 11–12, pp. 19, 25, 40, 42, 155.

<sup>20</sup> Ann. 1–2, pp. 317–318; Ann. 11–12, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> VS, p. 116.

<sup>22</sup> Ann. 9, p. 350.

<sup>23</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 154, 644.

A closely related word is *rusticanus*, also translated as peasant, villager. The term appears in the description of one of the Miracles<sup>24</sup>. We also find the terms *homo rusticanus* (rural man)<sup>25</sup>, *plebs rusticana*<sup>26</sup>, and for the rural people in general – *rusticane sortis* or *humilis sortis et rusticani generis*<sup>27</sup>. He also used for the term women peasant – *rusticane femine*<sup>28</sup>, *rusticanae mulier*<sup>29</sup>, and for child – *rusticane infans*<sup>30</sup>. It appears as a phrase to define the village – *ex vico rusticano*, and gave a pejorative view of the countryside with the phrase *sortis rusticane et obscure*<sup>31</sup>.

It is significant, however, that when he wrote about Peter Nowak, who had been ordained bishop of Wrocław and was of peasant descent, he wrote that he was *ortus de villa*<sup>32</sup>.

The term *ruricola* – one who lives in the countryside – occurs only in descriptions of Miracles – twice in the Life of St. Stanislaus<sup>33</sup> and 5 times in the Life of St. Kinga<sup>34</sup>. The term *villanus* also occurs in Długosz rarely<sup>35</sup>. Unlike *agrestes* or *rustici*, neutral is the term *agricola*, for it means one who cultivates a field, a farmer. In the Middle Ages, rural and landless farmhands were also referred to as such. At this point, I have no data to determine who exactly Długosz had in mind when mentioning *agricolae* in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>36</sup>. The term also appears in descriptions of St. Kinga's Miracles<sup>37</sup>.

Note that the terms *kmeto et agricola* were used in one place against the same person, while in another he called the husband *agricola*, and his wife '*rusticani generis femina*'<sup>38</sup>. Where one could see the desire to emphasize that the husband was engaged in farming. However, the term *cultores*, or plowmen, did not become widespread in Długosz. Although chronologically it appears first<sup>39</sup>, used it only once.

<sup>24</sup> VS, p. 108.

<sup>25</sup> VS, p. 114; Ann. 9, p. 293.

<sup>26</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 108.

<sup>27</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 276; Ann. 12/1, p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 48; VK p. 312.

<sup>29</sup> VK, p. 232.

<sup>30</sup> VK, pp. 334–335.

<sup>31</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 52; Ann. 10, p. 94.

<sup>32</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> VS, pp. 120, 170.

<sup>34</sup> VK, pp. 298, 305, 309–310, 325, 333.

<sup>35</sup> Dlb 1, p. 648.

<sup>36</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 432, 474; Dlb 3, p. 272.

<sup>37</sup> VK, pp. 312, 313, 325, 328–329, 333.

<sup>38</sup> VK, p. 312.

<sup>39</sup> Ann. 1–2, pp. 88–89.

*Incolae* to denote villagers appears relatively rarely in Długosz. In the Middle Ages, the word meant an inhabitant (both of a village and a town), but also a serf, a farmhand and a so-called guest. There is only one instance in the *Annales* where it is mentioned that village leaders are to collect tithe money from *incolis*<sup>40</sup>. There is also one instance of the term being used in the Lives of saints<sup>41</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum*, he uses this most often when describing villages<sup>42</sup>, but it also happens with city residents<sup>43</sup>. *Incolae* also occur in juxtaposition with other terms, most commonly *incolae et cmethones*<sup>44</sup>, exceptionally *incolae et inquilini*<sup>45</sup>. In one case, you can see that the *incolae* in the description are a term for the general population of the village<sup>46</sup>.

There are different views on the etymology of the word *cmetho*, meaning – in general – a farmer who cultivates the land<sup>47</sup>. Old Polish also knew the expression 'kmieć', which was recorded in 1391<sup>48</sup>. The first mention in the *Annales* attesting to *cmethones* is entered under 1356<sup>49</sup>, in this work, the term *cmetho* occurs rarely, in only 10 contexts<sup>50</sup>, and only once in the Lives of the saints<sup>51</sup>. By contrast, it is conjugated through all cases in the *Liber beneficiorum*. We learn indirectly about the peasants when Długosz mentions 'full-farmers lans'. We have hundreds of such expressions, hence the impression of the commonness of the occurrence of the *hortulaniae*. There are also relatively numerous descriptions that directly mention the *hortulania*<sup>52</sup> and *hortulanis*, although in this work we most often read about full-farmers lans and homesteads. We also come across the terms as 'freeholder'<sup>53</sup>, side-by-side *incolae et cmetho-*

<sup>40</sup> Ann. 9, p. 297.

<sup>41</sup> VK, p. 273.

<sup>42</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 141, 144; Dlb 3, p. 265.

<sup>43</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 303–304.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 632; Dlb 2, pp. 129, 135, 292; Dlb 3, pp. 271, 331.

<sup>45</sup> Dlb 1, p. 537.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, s 141.

<sup>47</sup> In the article I use the phrase *full-farmer*. Sometimes in the scientific literature *cmeto* translated as serf, but in my opinion it is not strictly.

<sup>48</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 3, issue 4 (17), (*Karać – Kołowrót*), ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961, p. 300; *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 11, issue 1 (69), *Z – Zagumnie*, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Kraków 1995, p. 77.

<sup>49</sup> Ann. 9, p. 283.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 298, 305; Ann. 11, p. 211; Ann. 11–12, pp. 153, 202, 251; Ann. 12/1, pp. 96, 244; Ann. 12/2, p. 440.

<sup>51</sup> VK, p. 329.

<sup>52</sup> Dlb 1, p. 142.

<sup>53</sup> Dlb 3, p. 207.

*nes<sup>54</sup>, cmethones, hortulani et inquilini<sup>55</sup>, cmethones, tabernatores, hortulani<sup>56</sup>.* We read about the ministries that every *cmetho et hospes* owes<sup>57</sup>. In another place, the phrase appears 'some of the farmers and those of the vicinis of the village'<sup>58</sup>.

Długosz was fond of juxtaposing different terms, such as *colonis et rusticis, coloni et rusticani<sup>59</sup>, agrestes et colones<sup>60</sup>, kmetonis et colonis<sup>61</sup>, incolis et aliis agrestibus<sup>62</sup>*. On the pages of the Annales appeared a sentence in which there were as many as 4 terms: *colonus seu kmetho, incolae et rusticici<sup>63</sup>*. Noteworthy here is the phrase *colonus seu kmetho*, suggesting that both terms meant the same category of peasant population.

The Polish word 'zagrodnik' is attested in a text from 1391<sup>64</sup>. In the pages of the Annales, the term *hortulani* occurs when describing the privilege in Jedlnia in 1430<sup>65</sup>. One person identified as *hortulanus* appears under 1410 in the Miracles of St. Kinga<sup>66</sup>. In the Liber beneficiorum, we read in hundreds of places that there are 'homesteads' (*hortulaniae*) in a village, which allows us to claim that there were homesteaders there as well. There are also references directly attesting to the presence of *hortulani*<sup>67</sup>. Crofters also appear in juxtapositions with other terms for peasants, for example *hortulani et inquilini*<sup>68</sup>. *Inquiliinus* meant a settler, but also a farmer with no land.

The word *colonus* meant peasant, homesteader and rural worker without land in the Middle Ages. In the Annales, the term *coloni* appears to describe villagers – *colonus suarum villarum*<sup>69</sup>. We also read about their

<sup>54</sup> Joannis Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 2, *Ecclesiae parochiales*, ed. A. Przeździecki, Cracoviae 1864 [hereinafter: Dlb 2], pp. 129, 135, 292; Dlb 3, pp. 271, 331.

<sup>55</sup> Dlb 1, p. 478.

<sup>56</sup> Dlb 3, p. 286.

<sup>57</sup> Dlb 2, p. 256.

<sup>58</sup> Dlb 1, p. 343.

<sup>59</sup> Ann. 1–2, pp. 282–283; Ann. 9, p. 101, 266; Ann. 10, p. 38.

<sup>60</sup> Ann. 7, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> Ann. 9, p. 350.

<sup>62</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 290.

<sup>63</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 285.

<sup>64</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 11, issue 1 (69), p. 77; *ibidem*, vol. 3, issue 4 (17), p. 300.

<sup>65</sup> Ann. 11, p. 279.

<sup>66</sup> VK, p. 327.

<sup>67</sup> Dlb 1, p. 147; Dlb 3, pp. 50, 293.

<sup>68</sup> Dlb 1, p. 159.

<sup>69</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 269, 310; Ann. 10, pp. 76, 158; Ann. 11, p. 249; Ann. 12/2, p. 324; Ann. 12/1, p. 319.

abandoned *agrorum cultura*<sup>70</sup>, or about *colonis* having *rure et agriculture*<sup>71</sup>. And about *agris colonisque desertis*<sup>72</sup>. There is also the phrase *coloni cum coniugibus et liberis*<sup>73</sup>. Several times the term *colonus* appears in the lives of saints<sup>74</sup>. Rarely do we see this term in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>75</sup>, although there too we read that 'the colonus' is set on a special doe<sup>76</sup>, or about a village once inhabited by *hominibus et colonis*<sup>77</sup>. The term *hospes* means settler also referring to a foreign visitor. In the *Liber beneficiorum* we come across them in the description of the village of Wyżne (near Strzyżów), when he enumerates the duties owed by each *cmetho* and *hospes*<sup>78</sup>. We also read about *hospes* when describing the village of Godawa<sup>79</sup>. Peasants are also hidden under the term 'folk', which occurs in Długosz without any connotation suggesting valuation<sup>80</sup>. However, Długosz also uses the phrases *vulgares vero populares* and *saeculares wlgus* making his commonness evident in them<sup>81</sup>. The term appears in his works to denote a social condition<sup>82</sup>, different, of course, from the nobility: *cum omnium nobilium et popularium*, but also from the townsfolk *militares, cives aut populares*<sup>83</sup>. The term *plebeius*, which in the Middle Ages meant peasant or burgher, also appears but rarely. A record of a certain man coming 'from an unknown plebeian family' ('vir quidem obscura et plebei generis')<sup>84</sup> has value opinions. A juxtaposition of state terms also appears: 'nobiles et plebeios and servicia et plebes'<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Ann. 3 p. 19.

<sup>71</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 295.

<sup>72</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 273.

<sup>73</sup> Ann. 10, p. 158.

<sup>74</sup> VK, pp. 269, 271, 299.

<sup>75</sup> Dlb 1 p. 642; Dlb 3, p. 459.

<sup>76</sup> Dlb 1 p. 581.

<sup>77</sup> Dlb 3, p. 132.

<sup>78</sup> Dlb 2, p. 256.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257.

<sup>80</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 116; 185; Ann. 11–12, p. 25; Ann. 12/1, p. 139.

<sup>81</sup> VS, p. 19; Ann. 1–2, p. 248.

<sup>82</sup> As a term denoting a social condition in the Middle Ages, it captures the people's T. Chrobak, *Filozoficzne przesłanki agraryzmu. Studium wybranych zagadnień*, Rzeszów 1998, p. 33.

<sup>83</sup> Ann. 3–4, p. 262; Ann. 9, p. 350.

<sup>84</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 12, 1462–1480, eds. K. Baczkowski et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 2006 [hereinafter: Rocz. 12/2], p. 321 = Ann. 12/2, p. 306.

<sup>85</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 279; Ann. 12/2, p. 77.

## VILLAGE. ELEMENTS OF THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The village, its name, history, owners and parish affiliation, topography, economic facilities, sometimes even Miracles happening in it, etc., constitutes an important segment of Długosz's account<sup>86</sup>. The 'villa' appears in Długosz's works in hundreds of places and in a variety of contexts. In the *Annales*, it is usually mentioned in general terms, while fascinating details are provided by the *Liber beneficiorum*, which allows for the arrangement of elements of the rural cultural landscape. From Długosz's works, we learn about the history of a particular village and its name. For example, he wrote about the town of Nymburk in Bohemia, that it was formed from a rural settlement<sup>87</sup>. It also informs us that where the town of Bochnia is now, there was once the 'Vincent's village'<sup>88</sup>. There is plenty of information about settlements that no longer exist today<sup>89</sup>. For example – about the village of Wierciczów, which is deserted and annexed to the town of Pińczów. He knew that the fields of the village of Zagórzany (near Gorlice) were also included the fields of the village of Mościany. He stated that there was a village Chechły in the estate of the Sieciechów abbey, which has disappeared. He wrote about Zwierzyniec, near Kraków, that it was a *ferarum villa*, but I suppose that wild animals were no longer there at that time. I think that Długosz's etymology influenced the location in the village of Zwierzyniec of the royal garden of wild animals, which we read about in sources from the 16th century. Długosz reveals in many places his knowledge of how the village was formerly called<sup>90</sup>. He reported that 'Imbramowice is a village that was once called Dłubnia'. He noticed, that the village of Marzysz (south of Kielce) was once called 'Oppan', and the name 'Nieciecza' meant Opatkowice. He also showed changes in village names using the example of Wola Sieciechowska.

*Liber beneficiorum* is an irreplaceable source for learning about the size of 15th century parish districts. Of course, this issue goes beyond strictly peasant issues, but it is difficult to talk about the communities of the past without taking into account the context of the Church, the factor which stabilized these communities most strongly at the time. Of the hundreds

<sup>86</sup> J. Matuszewski, *Dziesiątka kościelna w Małopolsce w świetle "Liber beneficiorum"* Iwana Długosza, w: *Symbolae historico-iuridicae lodzienses Iulio Bardach dedicate*, ed. Z. Rymaszewski, Łódź 1997, p. 30 pointed out that.

<sup>87</sup> Ann. 9, p. 52.

<sup>88</sup> Dlb 3, p. 289.

<sup>89</sup> Dlb 2, p. 132; Dlb 3, pp. 74, 201, 272.

<sup>90</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 107, 261, 386, 411.

of descriptions of parishes, I will quote a very significant one, where the border between parishes divided a village. In Wola Więclawska (near Kraków) the part with the tavern-keepers and inn-keepers belonged to the parish of Goszcz, while the part with the knight's manor and homesteads was subject to the parish of Więclawice<sup>91</sup>. The reason for this anomaly was the creation of a parish in Goszcz and the subordination of part of it to the older parish of which Więclawice was the capital.

When Długosz describes the parish villages he also gives data about the church, what material it was built of. He notes what property and income the parish had, sometimes there is the name of the parish priest, sometimes a more significant altar, and in most cases the church's name is given<sup>92</sup>. Knowledge of the patrocinium is the starting point for many issues in social history, such as the influence of saint worship on the naming of parishioners. Information about the church is sometimes laced with historical and topographical details. For example, he wrote that there was a church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the village of Niekrasów. He supplemented this with information that the church was originally dedicated to the Holy Cross and located on a mountain, but the village was moved *propter difficiliorum ascensum*<sup>93</sup>. From the *Liber beneficiorum* we can also obtain information about elements of the rural sacred space, such as chapels or cemeteries, e.g. a cemetery appears when describing the area near Kłobuck. It is located – a common thing at the time – near the church<sup>94</sup>. I would like to point out that despite their close connection with the church, schools are very rarely mentioned – they are mentioned in the villages of Wierzchowisko (near Częstochowa) and Konopnica (near Lublin)<sup>95</sup>. He provided interesting information about the village of Podleśna Wola, namely that it is obliged to work for the rector of the municipal school in Miechów<sup>96</sup>.

The *Liber beneficiorum* contains not only data on village owners and manors, but also scattered throughout it are references to castles, often no longer in existence today. Sometimes enriched with such details as the account of the demolition of the castle in the village of Grodzisko by the burghers

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<sup>91</sup> Dlb 2, p. 48.

<sup>92</sup> J. Rajman, *Ocena wiarygodności informacji Długosza o patrocinach w diecezji krakowskiej*, in: *Jan Długosz 600 lecie urodzin. Region – Polska – Europa w jego twórczości*, eds. J. Maciejewski et al., Toruń–Bydgoszcz 2016, pp. 9–30.

<sup>93</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 323 and 325.

<sup>94</sup> Dlb 3, p. 166.

<sup>95</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 221, 539.

<sup>96</sup> Dlb 3, p. 19.

of Zator and the use of the material to build houses<sup>97</sup>. An important place in the descriptions of the villages is occupied by mentions of the manors and of the granaries to which the tithe sheaves were carted.

It should be noted that the *Liber beneficiorum* contains plenty of references to the village having boundaries marked<sup>98</sup>. This was considered, as now, to be very necessary. When describing the village of Tampoczol (near Skalbmierz), the following are mentioned 'metas et granicies et ageres' zwane 'ujazdy' In the description of the village of Osmolice near Lublin, there is a sentence that 'limites et scopuli iam sippati'. In the village of Miernów near Wiślica, fields 'in modum skokorum siti et locate'. The term 'ugyazdy/ujazdy' as a border occurs in many places. I also encountered the Polish word 'myedze'. Boundary marks were 'scopuli alias mounds'. Probably the impermanence of the earthen mounds caused stones to be mentioned as boundary signs in meadows, e.g. the demarcation between the village of Żydówek (near Jędrzejów) and the neighboring villages was fortified with stones, sometimes even 'large' ones. The village of Kunice (near Brzostek) has its borders described in detail. In the description the fields of peasants are listed, together with their names<sup>99</sup>. In the description of the village of Świerże the boundaries are demarcated – as is common – 'per scopulos', but of interest is the mention that the lake was also demarcated – 'per palos in lacubus'<sup>100</sup>. I wonder if the fish respected this.

Some information reveals internal village divisions. From the description of the village of Prandocin (near Kraków)<sup>101</sup> can be concluded that it was divided into two parts with their own names. The part of 'Powszna' comprised 4 lans and the part of 'Oblowsczy' 14 and a half lans. In the description of the village Świerże (near Radom), a distinction is made between peasants and 'alii extranei de vicinis'<sup>102</sup>. One and the other live in the same village, so perhaps the term *vicinium*, which means neighborhood as we know it, should be understood as the part of the village outside of the kmiel farms, as a hamlet? On this occasion, the names given to individual fields and fields are often noted: 'Zaduszny', 'Dobkowskie Drwantowe', 'Ujazd', 'poszwanthni', 'Borek alias niwa', 'Kaczkow', 'Szczkowski', 'Agri Montani', 'sors Krajkonis', 'sors Szmyssczae', 'Stodolu'<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 387; Dlb 1, pp. 157, 159, 166, 199, 413, 458, 535.

<sup>99</sup> Dlb 1, p. 650.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 343.

<sup>101</sup> Dlb 3, p. 424.

<sup>102</sup> Dlb 1, p. 343.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 7, 414, 54, 603; Dlb 2, pp. 186, 202; Dlb 3, pp. 33, 47, 213, 408, 410.

Długosz drew attention to the issue of soil fertility<sup>104</sup>. Even in the *Annales* he noted that by the road to Tvardošin (now Slovakia) there are barren lands, long under frost<sup>105</sup>. He argued for the occurrence of barren land (agros steriles) due to the mountainous location of individual villages<sup>106</sup>. He showed a link between the barrenness of the land and the amount of rent. Szydlówek near Kielce is an example of a village with few fields and, in addition, with barren soils<sup>107</sup>. In several places, however, it emphasizes that the village in question has fertile soils<sup>108</sup>. Wola Radłowska (near Tarnów), was, in his opinion, a village located on marshes and meadows, moved to a better place, it became from a barren one an excellent (de sterili villa optima)<sup>109</sup>.

Meadows therefore appear very frequently in the *Liber beneficiorum*, as they were valued right after arable land<sup>110</sup>. For example, 'blonie', 'pratum litigiosum alias szwadna', 'łąka mała zwana othlok', 'łąka zw Bartna Łąka', 'Zatoka alliast Popowe yczyoro', 'Klimkowka', 'Kaczerka', 'Kosczelka', 'Pastwiska', 'Gospotka', 'Niedzielska'<sup>111</sup>. Sometimes a mention of a garden appears, but they always bring interesting details, e.g. the 'Friday Jedwabny' garden near Radom, 2 gardens in Tyniec 'sub monte', garden near Książ<sup>112</sup>. From the *Liber beneficiorum* we learn about 30 gardens near the town of Wieliczka, numerous gardens in the village of Krowodrza near Kraków and many more<sup>113</sup>.

Długosz's works are an invaluable but underused source when it comes to the distribution and names of forests. We are of course interested in those which he mentions in the context of specific villages. Let me give you a few examples<sup>114</sup>: 'Mościsko' (in Dmitrów), 'Łązek', 'Przewocze', 'Czyoszny', 'Ploza', 'Samyn' (in rural areas near towns Osiek), 'Zawierzbie' in Niekrasów, 'Korzonek', 'Trąbinów' and 'Gaczy' (in Mirzec), 'Zawirb' over the Vistula (near Złota village), 'Ostrów' in Łęg (near Kraków), grove with 'mellificis Zawirzh' in Gąwłuszowice (north

<sup>104</sup> For the ability to pay tithes depended on it, see J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>105</sup> Ann. 9, p. 297.

<sup>106</sup> Dlb 1, p. 141; Dlb 3, p. 144.

<sup>107</sup> Dlb 1, p. 465.

<sup>108</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 74, 85.

<sup>109</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 421–422.

<sup>110</sup> P. Sobalski, *Stanowisko prawnie-społeczne chłopów w świetle tzw. Constitutiones Lancienenses, uchwał łękoszyńskich i zapisek sądowych łączyckich w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, "Zeszyty Historyczne WSP in Częstochowa" 2000, 6, p. 300.

<sup>111</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 160, 418; Dlb 2, pp. 158, 309, 324; Dlb 3, pp. 194, 441.

<sup>112</sup> Dlb 1, p. 304; Dlb 3, p. 474.

<sup>113</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 42, 44.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 52, 428; Dlb 2, pp. 30, 322, 324, 395, 479.

of Pilzno). In Książnice Wielkie (near Proszowice) he mentions a shrub folklore called 'plebanye rzechti'<sup>115</sup>. We also gain such information that in the village of Tur (near Książ Wielki) there are 'duo gaya quercina bona', 'et duas borras', while the village of Wojsław (near Mielec) is 'villa in sylvis'. In the village of Łączna there are 'borrae vastae et sylvae'<sup>116</sup>. 'Gayum optimum' was in the village of Tempoczów<sup>117</sup>. Using the description of the parish of Raciborowice near Kraków as an example, we can identify the groves and forests separating the various villages<sup>118</sup>. Polish names of tree species appear in Długosz's works. When describing the forests near Łagów, the author gives Latin names 'quercus', 'tilia' and 'abies' and Polish 'qyedlina', 'buczina' and 'lyeszczina'<sup>119</sup>. In the village of Rudawa (near Kraków) there are 'querceti alias dambniki'<sup>120</sup>.

*Liber beneficiorum* is filled with numerous mentions of rivers, lakes, ponds and smaller bodies of water. It is difficult to elaborate on rivers here, especially as they go beyond the subject of peasants, although the mention of the village of Bystrzanowice on the Vistula is of interest. There was a dam of some kind (*obstaculum*), at which all the work had to be done by local peasants<sup>121</sup>. An analysis of Długosz's work provides data for the issue of the former course of rivers, their names and importance for the economy, as it is obvious that without the proximity of a river it would have been impossible to build mills. Noteworthy is the village of Łączany (near Zator), as he notes a large lake there<sup>122</sup>, undoubtedly a remnant of the flooding of the Vistula. The great lake at Dębniki<sup>123</sup> was on the opposite side of Wawel Castle. In Wyciąże (near Kraków) there was a large pond called 'Szubienin' rich in fish, which he wrote is not currently leased. He mentioned that there were also two smaller ponds in this village<sup>124</sup>. The nearby village of Krzecin had *sex piscinae*<sup>125</sup>. He praises the Holy Cross abbot for having set up an excellent fishpond at Dziurów on the Kamienna River<sup>126</sup>. About the village of Zręcin near Biecz, he stated that once

<sup>115</sup> Dlb 2, p. 167.

<sup>116</sup> Dlb 1, p. 537; Dlb 3, pp. 236, 267.

<sup>117</sup> Dlb 1, p. 535.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 156.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 622.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 166.

<sup>121</sup> Dlb 3, p. 127.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 193–194.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

<sup>124</sup> Dlb 1, p. 154.

<sup>125</sup> Dlb 3, p. 67.

<sup>126</sup> Dlb 2, p. 484.

there were *piscina*<sup>127</sup>. It also documents significant changes in the hydrographic network, as in the case of the village of Przegorzały noting a large pond where the Vistula once flowed<sup>128</sup>. The aforementioned 'Szubienin' is an example of how some fishponds had their own names at the time, such as 'Graboszów' in Dmitrowie, 'Gajowy stawek' in Włostów (near Opatów), 'Gorylewski staw' (near Kłobuck), 'Nieciecza' in Łęg (today a part of Kraków)<sup>129</sup>. Small bodies of water undoubtedly predominated, as the most numerous mentions that there are in a village are *piscinae*, *piscinulae*, 'szadzawka' ('also in its present form sapphire'). An important clarification is made by the village of Strzyżowice (south of Opatów) – that *piscina parva* is otherwise a sapphire (pond)<sup>130</sup>. We often read about their exact location (near the manor house, near the church, in the middle of the village, in the fields, by the side of the road, 'na wyrzchowisku')<sup>131</sup>.

The knowledge of the hydrographic network was essential for Długosz to show the distribution of the mills of the. Analysis of the *Liber beneficiorum* does not provide examples of mills other than water mills. As regards the number of mills<sup>132</sup>. The large village of Zielonki (near Kraków) draws our attention. It was divided into a part belonging to the Kraków chapter (where the parish church was located) and the royal part in which there were as many as 3 mills. They worked thanks to the current of the Prądnik river. Three mills were also in Baranów (between towns Łagów and Opatów), in Słupia Stara. In Michałowice (near Kraków) there were 2 mills working on the river Dłubnia, the same number of mills was recorded in the villages of Przedmiejska Wola and Szczepanowice (both near Miechów). An interesting example is the village of Słupia Stara (near Kielce), where there were 3 mills. The third one was adapted for cutting trees into planks (*serrat asseres*)<sup>133</sup>. An example of a mill owned by the village mayor is the village of Dąbrówka (near Tarnów)<sup>134</sup>. In many places in the *Liber beneficiorum*: there is a brief annotation 'molendinum non est' (e.g. in the village of Facimiech, even though it was located on both sides of the Vistula River – here, however, we must point out that

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 282.

<sup>128</sup> Dlb 3, p. 68.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 166, 428; Dlb 2, pp. 309, 344.

<sup>130</sup> Dlb 2, p. 340.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 480; Dlb 1, pp. 152, 158, 161, 356, 418, 597; Dlb 3, pp. 48, 293.

<sup>132</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 221, 624; Dlb 3, pp. 16, 21, 22. See J. Góral, *Młyny wodne na Lubelszczyźnie*, "Studia i Materiały Lubelskie" 1997, 14, pp. 45–130; P. Plisiecki, *Młyny wodne w województwie lubelskim (do schyłku XVI wieku)*, Lublin 2015.

<sup>133</sup> Dlb 3, p. 231; J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>134</sup> Dlb 3, p. 199.

the mills were established on the so-called millstones, and the great river posed a significant threat to them). Długosz also provided information on the names of some mills<sup>135</sup>: 'Stary Młyn' near Łagów, 'Merszanow' (Biała Mała), 'Boduszów', 'Sgrzebni' and 'Mniszek' – both in the village Kosin (near Zawichost), 'Barłóg' in Moniakowice (near Kraków).

An as yet uncompleted analysis shows that there were fewer mills than inns, which occupied also an important place in the cultural landscape of the Polish countryside in the 15th century. It would be an exaggeration to say that there was an inn in every village, but studying the *Liber beneficiorum* one gets the impression that there were many. In Niepołomice, before it became a town, there were in Długosz's time 20 inns owning fields<sup>136</sup>. In Lubochnia there were 17 inns<sup>137</sup>. He noted the information on 13 inns in the village of Nawodzice (near Sandomierz)<sup>138</sup>, on 9 in Stodoły (near Opatów)<sup>139</sup>, on 7 in Końskie (near Kielce)<sup>140</sup>, 6 inns each in the villages of Potworów (near Radom), Brzeźnio (near Sieradz) and Wierzbica<sup>141</sup>, 5 inns each in the villages of Osmolice near Lublin, Dębno (including 4 with fields) and Biechowo<sup>142</sup>. In the village of Krzeczów near Szczyrzyc there were 4 inns and all of them belonged to the parish priest<sup>143</sup>. Of the 3 inns in Bolechowice (near Kraków), two belonged to the bishop and one to the local parish priest<sup>144</sup>. Similarly in the village of Tczyca – two inns belonged to the parson and one to the nobleman owner of the village<sup>145</sup>. I only give these as examples because there were so many villages with 4 or 3 inns that it is impossible to list<sup>146</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* provides opportunities to analyse inns in relation to the course of roads, the location of the village and the size of the village in question. Here I would like to point out that in Sułoszowa, one of the largest villages in Lesser Poland, there were only 3 inns. It is noteworthy that Długosz very often gave data on the ownership of inns (e.g.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 315, 429; Dlb 1, p. 622; Dlb 2, pp. 213, 337.

<sup>136</sup> Dlb 2, p. 164.

<sup>137</sup> Dlb 1, p. 509.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 394.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 348.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 360.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 391; Dlb 3, p. 95.

<sup>142</sup> Dlb 1, p. 199; Dlb 2, pp. 271, 453.

<sup>143</sup> Dlb 2, p. 176.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 29.

<sup>145</sup> Dlb 3, p. 111.

<sup>146</sup> For further details and conclusions, please refer to the article E. Gałzka, *Sieć karczem w Małopolsce na podstawie "Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis" Jana Długosza*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 1984, 32, 2, pp. 17–125.

heir, parish priest, etc.). Sometimes the inn appears under its own name. As for the names of the inns, I will mention 'Grzymowa' in Bieżanów, 'Kuthlow' in Trojanowice (near Kraków) and 'Pleszowski Brzeg' (they three near Kraków), 'Turek' in Targowisko (near Bochnia), Wiecheć near Samborzec, 'Studzianka' (without location – Długosz says it was given to the Holy Sepulchre by Comes Mikora, but the Miechów monastery lost it), 'Niegrabka' in Zwierzyniec, 'Samostrzelna' in Wola (near Kazimierz), 'Szwab' in Staniątki, 'Stanczka' and 'Bolechówka' (both in the parish Bodzanów (near Kraków), 'Łupicha' in Damice (near Kraków), 'Urwaniec' in Niedźwiedza (near Czchów)<sup>147</sup>. In many cases we can see that the inns were situated by the roadside.

Extremely numerous and extremely valuable are the data on the roads running through the individual villages, both the 'great' ones and the local connections. The collection of this information awaits its researcher<sup>148</sup>. In some villages there were customs chambers<sup>149</sup>. Długosz mentions them in Gorzyce near Opatów, where oxen and cows were driven from Rutenia, in the villages of Turbia and Trześń (both near Sandomierz). He also noted a customs chamber in Targowisko near Kraków and in Piotrawin on the Vistula (near Opole Lubelskie). He also documents the existence of a village called Cło. There are also significant omissions<sup>150</sup>. Occasionally mentions river crossings, e.g. in Wrocieryż on Nida River or on Vistula River at Nagnajew in the parish of Miechocin<sup>151</sup>. Nor does it omit the most famous one, the Vistula carriage located in Tyniec near the monastery<sup>152</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* should be examined more closely in this respect, looking also for information about bridges.

Długosz documents the existence of vineyards. They were on the property of the Cistercian monastery in Wąchock<sup>153</sup>. He notes a vineyard in the village of Tyniec belonging to the local Benedictine monks – here he makes a valuable mention that 'agros vineae' are part of the Tyniec farm<sup>154</sup>, vineyard in Tempoczów (near Skalbmierz)<sup>155</sup> and several near

<sup>147</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 152, 221; Dlb 2, pp. 114, 164, 267, 317; Dlb 3, pp. 10, 11, 49, 61, 281, 290, 332.

<sup>148</sup> A valuable outline of the problems of the roads of Lesser Poland remains the work of the B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI w.*, Wrocław 1977.

<sup>149</sup> Dlb 1, p. 349; Dlb 2, pp. 114, 354, 356; Dlb 3, p. 270.

<sup>150</sup> An example is the chamber in Brzeźnica near Kraków, which has excellent source documentation dating back to the 15th century, see F. Sikora, *Brzeźnica*, in: SHGK, part 1, issue 2, pp. 255–256.

<sup>151</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 16, 388.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 184.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 410.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 183–184.

<sup>155</sup> Dlb 1, p. 535.

Sandomierz, including the vineyards of Paweł Trestka (a townsman) and the vineyards of St. Peter's Church located near the house of the parson St. Paul outside the walls and by the ravine 'Piszczele'<sup>156</sup>.

Relatively numerous references have survived about rural economic establishments for the manufacture of iron components. They were called 'fabricae ferri', in Polish the name kuźnica (interchangeable with hamernia) has become established. Below the town of Jastrząb there was a village called 'Fabrica ferri Lipienicka', founded by Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki<sup>157</sup>. Długosz also mentioned a smithy in the village of Zajęczków near Chęciny<sup>158</sup>. A cluster of forges was located near Częstochowa. In addition to the Jamnisko forge in Zakrzów (mentioned as a fabrica ferri in the *Annales* under 1393), there were also forges in Błeszno and Gwaszyn, and in Dankowice there was a forge known as the 'Przestańska' forge<sup>159</sup>. There were several forges near Kłobuck, and thanks to Długosz we know their names: 'Herbolda', 'Sarra or Pila' and 'Rankona'<sup>160</sup>. I will also point to fabrica ferri in the region of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, namely the village of 'Lyenartov Most'<sup>161</sup>. He wrote about the village of Gnaszyn (near Częstochowa) that it is rich in 'venas ferri et mineras'<sup>162</sup>. It was surprising to me that although he mentioned the village of Roździeń (near Mysłowice), he did not record forges there<sup>163</sup>. Manufacture of iron components was built also in the Pabianice area (the land of Sieradz). 'A vitratorium called a smelter' is also mentioned there<sup>164</sup>. Mention should also be made of the sulphur mine in the village of Swoszowice (near Kraków)<sup>165</sup> and about the mine of 'the best azure in vicinatu' of the town of Chęciny<sup>166</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 387; Dlb 2, p. 314; Dlb 3, p. 52. There is no study of winemaking in medieval Lesser Poland; see D. Burdzy, "Vineae istic coluntur". *Winnice Sandomierza od średniowiecza do połowy XVII wieku*, "Zeszyty Sandomierskie. Biuletyn Towarzystwa Naukowego Sandomierskiego" 2014, 37, pp. 22–30; K. Kowalski, *Klasztor w śród winnic, „Wiara i Odpowiedzialność”* 1987, 2, 2, pp. 58–68.

<sup>157</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 487–488.

<sup>158</sup> Dlb 1, p. 595.

<sup>159</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 263; Dlb 2, pp. 211, 222; Dlb 3, p. 122.

<sup>160</sup> Dlb 3, p. 171.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 233.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 125.

<sup>163</sup> Dlb 2, p. 204.

<sup>164</sup> Dlb 1, p. 292.

<sup>165</sup> Dlb 3, p. 143.

<sup>166</sup> Dlb 1, p. 465.

In one account of the Miracles in the village of Borowno, a bathhouse for soldiers<sup>167</sup>. This is the only Długosz mention of a bathhouse. There were more, so Długosz carefully omitted this topic<sup>168</sup>.

In the *Liber beneficiorum* we can sometimes also find references to topographical points whose names may be associated with local legends, such as 'Wylcza Gora' in the village of Tempoczów or 'Mogiłka' Hill in Stradów (also called Zastampow) or ravine 'Pysczel' (near Sandomierz)<sup>169</sup>.

At the end of this brief review of Długosz's information on the topography of the village, I also found some references to village prices<sup>170</sup>. Of those recorded in the *Liber beneficiorum*, the highest price of 600 'marcas' was achieved by Wrocieryż (near Książ), followed by high prices for Łęg near Kraków (475 marcas), Rybitwy near Kraków (360), Nagnajew south of Sandomierz (300), Bieżanów (230), Okonin near Pilzno (200), Dąbrówka near Bytom (price of half the village 120 marcas), and Lisów south of Kielce (whole village 80 marcas).

#### RURAL COMMUNITY

He used none of his favorite terms, such as *agrestis* or *rustici*, when discussing the royal privilege granted in Jedlnia in 1430. At that time, he listed the following groups (categories) of the rural population: *cmethones* (full-farmers), *sculteti* (village mayors) and their servants, *molendinatores* (millers), *tabernatores* (innkeepers) and *hortulani* (crofters)<sup>171</sup>. I have listed them in the order they appear in Długosz's text. Here he points out that the full-farmers were listed before the village mayors, despite the fact that it was the reeve who had authority, not the peasant, and, moreover, he outweighed the village mayor by the size of his agricultural acreage.

<sup>167</sup> VS, p. 12.

<sup>168</sup> F. Kiryk, *W okresie staropolskim*, in: *Prace Historyczne*, vol. 10, *Rudawa. Z dziejów wsi podkrakowskiej (do 1945 r.)*, ed. F. Kiryk, Kraków 1983, p. 67 wrote about the bathhouse in Rudawa, a village of the cathedral chapter (and therefore well known to Długosz); more broadly illustrates this G. Jawor, *Wiejskie łaźnie w średniowiecznej Polsce w świetle lubelskich i chełmskich zapisów sądowych z XV wieku*, "Res Historica" 2012, 33, pp. 29–37.

<sup>169</sup> Dlb 1, p. 535; Dlb 2, p. 417; Dlb 3, p. 52.

<sup>170</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 16, 152; Dlb 3, pp. 382, 388, 409, 428, 431. Prices are given in so-called *marca*, units of account, each of which was equal to 48 pennies ('grossi'). Due to a translation problem, I have left the Latin word *marca* in the text.

<sup>171</sup> Ann. 11, p. 279. About the categories and groups of the peasant population see G. Jawor, *Ludność chłopska i społeczności wiejskie w województwie lubelskim w późnym średniowieczu. Schyłek XIV – początek XVI wieku*, Lublin 1991; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Społeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2009.

So I will start with the village mayors, who, along with the aldermen and townsmen, Długosz mentions in his description of the time of Casimir the Great. He emphasizes that they were subject to Magdeburg law. By order of the ruler, the reeves of the villages near Kraków were to be, together with the townsmen, jurors of the supreme court of 'German law' in the king's castle of Kraków<sup>172</sup>. However, it is also among the few pieces of information in the *Annales* that mentions 'German law'. It seems that Długosz was somehow not explicitly interested in it. In the *Liber beneficiorum* we find several times a note that the village in question is 'under German law', or that it has 'laneis teutonicalis'<sup>173</sup>.

The book is, as is well known, an indispensable source for research on village heads, although it does not go completely into legal issues. The village mayor is obvious, but what his powers are, we won't find out from Długosz. In the *Annales* under 1359, he stated that it was the duty of the reeve to collect tithe money from the full-farmers in a given village<sup>174</sup>. In several cases, he noted that the village mayor had military responsibilities ('scultetus tenetur servire ad bellum')<sup>175</sup>.

The *Liber beneficiorum* contains a wealth of annotations as to whether there was a *scultetia* in a village and what its property endowment was (fields, inns, sometimes also mills). These notes are of great importance for the study of the history of the village mayor, as an institution of German law in Polish villages. A cursory look indicates that *scultetiae* were still a permanent element of rural relations. One should be tempted in the future to attempt a comprehensive compilation of data on *scultetiae* and *sculteti* in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>176</sup>.

As for the size of the agricultural acreage, the richest was the village of Zakrzów (near Kraśnik) with as many as 8 lans and 2 inns<sup>177</sup>. The sovereignty in the village of Łagisza near Będzin included 7 lans<sup>178</sup>. One less had the mayor of the village of Łobodno near Częstochowa, he has also a mill<sup>179</sup>. Examples of villages with 4-lans *scultetiae* include Tucznababa (near Sławków) and Zagórze (near Kielce). In the latter, the village mayor

<sup>172</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 277–278.

<sup>173</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 277, 543, 624; Dlb 3, pp. 344 and 437.

<sup>174</sup> Ann. 9, p. 297.

<sup>175</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 623, 625, 637.

<sup>176</sup> The basic study still remains the book by L. Łysiak, *Własność sołtysia (wójtowska) w Małopolsce do końca XVI wieku*, Kraków 1964; see also S. Plaza, *Sołectwa w powiecie sądecko-częstochowskim w. XIII–XVIII*, Nowy Sącz 1968; Z. Guldon, *Sołectwa w województwie inowrocławskim w końcu XV i w XVI wieku*, "Ziemia Kujawska" 1998, 13, pp. 37–52.

<sup>177</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 176, 385.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 72.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 170.

had two of his own rent-free lans, in addition to the peasant fields<sup>180</sup>. Noticeable is the group of villages endowed *scultetiae* with 3 lans<sup>181</sup>. Noteworthy among them is the village of Zbelutka near Łagów (near Kielce), where the village mayor, in addition to 3 lans, owned 3 inns and a mill<sup>182</sup>. The most numerous group is made up of 2-lans village mayors<sup>183</sup>.

I would also add that the large estates of reeves in villages near Kraków are noteworthy, such as the 5-lans estate in the village of Bronowice, the 4-field estate in the village of Prądnik; the 3-field estate in the village of another village of the name Prądnik<sup>184</sup>. The historians long ago noted that although the Warta statute allowed for the buyout of village mayors offices, it did not result in a breakthrough in the history of village administrator's offices that is visible in the sources<sup>185</sup>. There is not much information in Długosz about the purchase of *scultetiae*. He noted that in the village of Bełzów (near Skalbmierz) there is a *scultetia* with 2 lans, but one field is occupied by the village heir. In Tworkowa (near Czchów), the purchase of the *scultetia* by the heir and the creation of a grange is recorded<sup>186</sup>. The village of Łapczyca (near Bochnia) is an example where the village mayors' fields have been turned into full-formers' lans<sup>187</sup>.

We read about the forcible detachment of a field from the village and its replacement with a farmer's field in the description of the village of Gotkowice (north of Kraków)<sup>188</sup>. In the village of Wełcz (near Wiślica), Długosz shows 2 village mayors' fields included in the area of full-formers' lans<sup>189</sup>. From the *Liber beneficiorum* it is also possible to find out that individual *scultetiae* (village mayors offices and property emoluments) were bought by the owners of the villages, e.g. the provost of the Imbramowice monastery bought a large sołectwo (village) in Tarnawa with as many as 7 lans, and the abbot of Tyniec bought the *scultetiam* in Zborowice (near Biecz)<sup>190</sup>. Names reeves appear rarely. The *Liber beneficiorum* mentions Marcin and Jan, the village mayors of Krzeszowice, who once bought the reeve for 87 *marcas*, but it was restored

<sup>180</sup> Dlb 2 p. 187; Dlb 1, p. 450.

<sup>181</sup> Dlb 1, p. 623; Dlb 3, pp. 76, 94, 170, 171, 334.

<sup>182</sup> Dlb 1, p. 628; Dlb 2, p. 200.

<sup>183</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 454, 468; Dlb 2, pp. 187, 228, 245, 270; Dlb 3, pp. 64, 110, 417.

<sup>184</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 16, 28; Dlb 3, p. 210 (now Prądnik Biały i Prądnik Czerwony are the parts of Kraków city).

<sup>185</sup> L. Łysiak, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>186</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 141, 175.

<sup>187</sup> Dlb 3, p. 195.

<sup>188</sup> Dlb 1, p. 260 ('laneus qui olim erat scoltetalis, redactus est in cmethonalem').

<sup>189</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 488.

<sup>190</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 109, 200.

to the bishopric by Bishop Bodzeta in 1364<sup>191</sup>. In the case of the village of Mniszek, the parish of Borów recorded that the *scultetus* was a nobleman (Piotr Trzeński of the Nałęcz coat of arms), which suggests that this was a very rare occurrence<sup>192</sup>. In the pages of the *Annales*, Jan, called Janiec, the village mayor of Moszczyna, appears under 1471, described as *laicus scultetus, ignote sortis*. Długosz quotes an interesting opinion that this reeve Jan was 'blindly loved' by Casimir, Duke of Masovia, who was elected Bishop of Płock<sup>193</sup>. Details of this gossipy memo are not revealed.

On almost every page of the *Liber beneficiorum*, we can read about *cmethones* (full-farmers) but nowhere have I come across a mention of a village community. They occupied the most important place in it. Among the many questions which we can pose to Długosz's works is what size field did the average *cmetho* have? The acreage at the disposal of the Piasts is described by Długosz as *agellum*, i.e. plot of ground<sup>194</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum*, *cmethones* cultivate unspecified fields, but there is also the very specific term *laneus*. Długosz knew the Polish equivalent, since he wrote that under Żarnowiec there are 'lanei alias lani'<sup>195</sup>, but he did not use the Polish term anywhere else. He used the term *mansus* less frequently<sup>196</sup>, and, exceptionally, only the *arvum*<sup>197</sup>. It is rare to find a precise indication of the type of *laneus*, e.g. 'Franconian', or – not very accurately – German (*teutonicalis*)<sup>198</sup>. Occasionally, the use of the term *virga*, that is to say perch, representing 1/12 of a lan<sup>199</sup> and the *ieruga*, which he himself explained as a 'stajanie'<sup>200</sup>. It covered an area of approximately 1.4 hectares. With reference to the village of Grodzisko (near Zator), he wrote that each 'cmetho laborant ratione murgi seu jutrzyny sex sulcos alias zagoni arat'<sup>201</sup>. This is probably the oldest example of the use of the term 'murga', as a synonym for a commonly recorded benefit called 'jutrzyny'. The name also became the designation of a field subject to compulsory harvesting: special fields called 'jutrzyny'<sup>202</sup>. Both *jutrzyna* and 'morga'

<sup>191</sup> Dlb 1, p. 237.

<sup>192</sup> Dlb 3, p. 329.

<sup>193</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 294 = Ann. 12/2, p. 281.

<sup>194</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 159.

<sup>195</sup> Dlb 3, p. 322.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 437; Dlb 1 p. 543.

<sup>197</sup> Dlb 2, p. 337.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15; Dlb 3, p. 344.

<sup>199</sup> For e. Brzozowa (near Czchów): 'lanei et sex virgae cmethonales' (Dlb 1, p. 178); suburb of Tarnów '15 lanei et una virga' (*ibidem*, p. 608).

<sup>200</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 416: 'duas ierugas alias stayania'.

<sup>201</sup> Dlb 3, p. 68.

<sup>202</sup> Dlb 1, p. 107.

are derived from the name of the time of day<sup>203</sup>. The ell, which Długosz identified with the homestead, also appeared as a unit of measurement.

Very often in the *Liber beneficiorum* fields and soils are mentioned – ‘campi alias nywy’, ‘agros satis amplos alias niwy’, ‘campos alias niwos cmethonalis’<sup>204</sup>, and in Oporzyszów, the fields were called ‘Black Soils’<sup>205</sup>. ‘Przymiarki’ is the name of the fields appearing in the *Liber beneficiorum* most often in the Polish form<sup>206</sup>. The name is explained, using the example of the village of Kacice (near Kraków), that these are ‘aliqui campi in supplementum villaे dati’<sup>207</sup>. Elsewhere, we also read that ‘przymiarki’ is a complementary field (*supplementorum*)<sup>208</sup>, or that they are ‘campi sive pecies parvi et minuti’<sup>209</sup>. It can be assumed that the gauges were located outside the segment encompassing the fields. I note that he states that ‘the gauges’ are located on the road to another village, and are accompanied by fields called ‘klyni’<sup>210</sup>, i.e. triangular-shaped fields. In one village the fitting has a name of its own – ‘polya Uleczkowskie’<sup>211</sup>. I suppose these kinds of fields also apply to the mention of ‘domiarki’ – field called ‘domiarek trzi na rzędzinach’<sup>212</sup>.

In the *Liber beneficiorum*, *lanei* constitute the unit of account for the list of tithes. Numerous mentions in this work about *cmethonis lanei*, in many cases also with their number, give the impression that in the last quarter of the 15th century in the villages of Lesser Poland there were still one-lan farms<sup>213</sup>. However, this impression is mistaken, as much of Długosz’s information contradicts it, and he himself, in the *Annales*, when discussing the privilege in Jedlnia from 1430, wrote about ‘whole lani or their

<sup>203</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 3, issue 4 (16), (*Jen – Karać*), ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961, p. 206 states that *jutrzyyna* also appeared under the name *jutrznia*, i.e. morning (morgen). This dictionary lacks the entry *morga*.

<sup>204</sup> Dlb 2, p. 31; Dlb 3, p. 35.

<sup>205</sup> Dlb 2, p. 405.

<sup>206</sup> Dlb 1, p. 141; Dlb 2, pp. 78, 134; Dlb 3, p. 274.

<sup>207</sup> Dlb 1, p. 141.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 123, 144.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 145.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 308.

<sup>212</sup> Dlb 2, p. 222.

<sup>213</sup> P. Guzowski, *Warunki gospodarowania chłopów w Małopolsce i na Rusi Czerwonej w pierwszej połowie XV w. w świetle dokumentów lokacyjnych*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 2006, 66, pp. 7–24 considers that for the 15th century, one-lan holdings are typical; in the 16th century, half an lan is typical. The reasons for this decline are complex; economic development, land trade fragmentation through inheritance, etc.

halves' ('mansos seu laneos integros vel medios')<sup>214</sup>. Half-lan holdings occur here as a normal part of relations in villages. In fact, he described the village of Nieprowice, which has a large field with 4 full-farmers. In addition, there are 7 crofters in the village<sup>215</sup>. Under 1359, there is a reference to a small and a large field<sup>216</sup>. Also, many references in the *Liber beneficiorum* indicate that the fields were not of equal size. We read that in one of the villages near Wieliczka, the cmethones have 'small field'<sup>217</sup>. In the village of Obrazów, which belonged to the endowment of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Sandomierz, there were 4 peasant fields, but it also mentions 2 'full-farmers from larger lans'<sup>218</sup>. There are numerous references to lans, crofts and fields that were not demarcated (subdivided)<sup>219</sup>. Płaszów, near Kraków, is an example of a village where there are no lans of full-farmers, but only patches of fields ('sed solum arvorum pecies')<sup>220</sup>. About the village of Trześniów (near Lublin), he wrote that there are fields there *non distincti*<sup>221</sup>. Jugowice (near Wieliczka) is an example of the lack of crofts due to the small amount of land and the small size of the whole estate<sup>222</sup>.

Crofters are mentioned as having fields or without fields. If we assume that the *Liber beneficiorum* was created to list tithes, the reason for this distinction is obvious. It even gives details such as one crofter not having a field but a garden<sup>223</sup>. The description of the village of Brzuchania (near Miechów) is interesting, as Długosz enumerates there 7 lans, which he immediately calls 'cmetho-croft' ('septem lanei sive hortulaniae cmethonales')<sup>224</sup>, which suggests that the crofts and fields of the crofters and of full-farmers did not differ in size here.

<sup>214</sup> Ann. 11, p. 279.

<sup>215</sup> Dlb 2, p. 371.

<sup>216</sup> Ann. 9, p. 297.

<sup>217</sup> Dlb 1, p. 142.

<sup>218</sup> Dlb 3, p. 54.

<sup>219</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 10, 230, 234, 425; Dlb 3, p. 10.

<sup>220</sup> Dlb 3, p. 70.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 459.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 32–33: 'propter paucitatem agrorum et hereditatis angustias'. J. Laberschek, *Jugowice*, in: SHGK, part 2, issue 2, p. 344 explained the passage differently writing about the 'tightness of the domains'. However, it seems to me that the term 'hereditas' used here should be equated with the village as a whole, see F. Sobalski, *op. cit.*, p. 300, who defined the concept of inheritance as 'all immovable property' belonging to the master of a thorough.

<sup>223</sup> Dlb 1, p. 156.

<sup>224</sup> Dlb 3, p. 19.

The *Liber beneficiorum* is an indispensable source for estimating the ratio of the number of fields to the number of homesteads, which gives us some idea of the numerical ratio of the peasant and smallholder population. Indirectly, these are also data on the size of the agricultural acreage of Lesser Poland's villages in the second half of the 15th century. Some examples are presented in the table below.

Table. Number of lans and number of crofters (using selected examples)

Village Wieś	Number of lans	Number of crofts
Skorczyce (near Kraśnik)	136	there are, without fields
Sułoszowa (near Olkusz)	120	there are no
Stróża (naer Kraśnik)	100	these are, without fields
Lubochnia	100	
Grodziec (near Będzin)	80	these are
Konopnica (near Lublin)	50	
Brzeźno (the land of Sieradz)	36.5	these are
Minoga (near Skała)	35	6, without fields
Krzyżanowice (near Busko)	34	these are with fields
Wierzbica	32	24
Klimuntowice	30	these are
Krzyżanowice (near Szczyrzyc)	30	1
Kobylany (near Skaryszew)	30	2
Wszachów (near Opatów)	27.5	there are no
Wawrzeńczyce (near Kraków)	26	20
Chorzów (near Bytom)	25	there are
Wełcz (near Wiślica)	24	5
Michałowice (near Kraków)	23	7
Chojnik	22	
Olszanica (near Kraków)	20	4
Rzeczyca (near Kraśnik)	18	there are no
Stara Słupia	17.5	6, with fields
Strzemieszyce Wielkie (near Olkusz)	17	1
Sędziszowice	17	there are no
Krzesławice (near Kraków)	12	7
Krowodrza	12	there are no
Zorawice	10	7
Motycz Większy	8.5	2
Rytwiany	8	5 with fields

Biechów	6	14 with fields
Zwierzyniec (near Kraków)	Są	7
Otalasz	5	there are no
Gromadzice	5	17
Bobrza (near Kielce)	5	there are no
Wojkowice Komorne (near Siewierz)	3	1
Wróblowice (near Kazimierz)	2	2
Olszyny	2.5	
Kliszów	1.5	6
Wiktorowice (near Kraków)	1	there are
Tyniec	there are no	14
Przemęczany Małe	there are no	7 with fields
Jugowice	there are no	7
Bieniatki (near Busko)	there are no	3

Sources: Dlb 1, pp. 315, 342, 486, 488, 625; Dlb 2, pp. 2, 22, 42, 63, 175, 187, 197, 200, 270, 528, 539; Dlb 3, pp. 15, 16, 32, 37, 41, 60, 62, 68, 95, 103, 144, 174, 183–184, 254, 404, 431.

Although the peasants on the pages of Długosz's works are mostly anonymous, they often appear in the *Liber beneficiorum* when, for example, he writes down, on the basis of old registers, who leased a field belonging to the Church. The works of Długosz add significantly to our knowledge of peasant names and surname forms. I cite all characters appearing in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>225</sup>. As *cmethones* were noticed: Wawrzek in Gawłuszowice (near Pilzno), Babnek in Zbydniów (near Sandomierz), Russek and Ribalt (Przędzel on the San River, 'at the edge of the diocese'), Piotr and Koszut in Skotniki (near Kraków), Swantek in Czarna Wieś (near Kraków), Landek (near Opoczno), Okun, Jan Wieksa, Raszek, Stanisław Zila in Mydlów (between Sandomierz and Łagów), Mądrak in Podegrodzie, Mikołaj Krol and Szydło in Bieńczyce (near Kraków), Mikołaj Opiołka and Mikołaj Południe in Mąkoszyn, Mateusz, Jan i Mikołaj in Pierstne (near Kłobuck). Crofters near Sandomierz were: Jakub Kuchta, Marcin Jaszczorka, Piotr Wojnowski, Wojciech Gołębek, Wojciech Bik and Jan Bialek. *Cmethones* as garden owners in Krowodrza were: Mikołaj Stawownik, Szczepanek, Sledz, Bartek Wojtowicz, Latossek, Dzadyek, Bartek Wangrodyn, Maciek Wangrody, Jan Pialka, Sledzowa, Grzegorz, Baran, Janczowa, Piotrek Komorek, Hannusz, Kachna Pienczorow i Paszek Balinski.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 42, 168; Dlb 1, pp. 241, 268, 303, 384, 550; Dlb 2, pp. 60, 312, 314, 362–364, 395.

The detail of the data on peasants that we follow in the *Liber beneficiorum* depended on the ecclesiastical institution that compiled the property inventory. The estates of the Bishopric of Lubusz in Lesser Poland clearly differ in this respect. I would like to emphasize that the data on the villages of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter are carefully collected, but they do not match the detailed descriptions of the villages of the Bishopric of Lubusz. In them, we find the greatest amount of named data on peasants, together with annotations of the size of their fields. In Stryczowice (near Jędrzejów) one *mansus* had: Wenczel Kysil, Mikołaj Knysch, widow Snochna, Wojciech, Kaszczoch, Naska Jakubowa. The Register lists the amount of the fee next to each one. The following are listed separately Caszkiecz crofter<sup>226</sup>. In the village of Czerwona Góra (near Opatów), the register showed *octo mansi* and as much *rustici*: Wyszek, Filip, Wersakta, Nazem, Ponter, Zonka, Stanisław and Slanska<sup>227</sup>. Świątkowa Wola near Jędrzejów had 8 lans, which were cultivated by Szetarz, Stolko, Alement, Tybericz, Malowiec, Polko and Korczek<sup>228</sup>. Przebieczany (near Wieliczka) had 13 lans, but the source uses the term *laneus* when enumerating the peasants. The full-farmers paying certain rents (usually 1 'marca') per lan were: Jan, Michał, Myczek, Marczyn, Janslobel, Musek, Jakub, Wojtek, Jan Janoff 'syn', Staszek, Jan, son of Adam, Steskesager. Each of them farmed one lan<sup>229</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* describes in detail the village of 'Kunycze alias Kamiényecz' near Frysztak<sup>230</sup>, in the Wisłok valley. The peasants listed here (referred to as *villani*) owned fields of varying sizes. I will first quote the summary that the author of the inventory put at the end of the named list, namely that the village had 19 lanas and 3.5 rods. The detailed list of Kunice's inhabitants can be regarded as instructive for research into the size of a peasant farm. The largest field in the village was owned by a certain Bokfek, as it was a lan and half a rod. Stams, Profeta, Stobener, Nyklos Mockener, Kolbe, Filip, Steyner, Kothfrid, Stams and Andreas Awynchel – there are 10 of them. Among the half-lan farmers, Czerne had the most, because he had half a lan and half a rod; Henke Molner, Janos, Werner, Karner, Worke, Kolcz, Hannus Landchende and Stegir had half a lan each. Another group consisted of peasants farming a certain number of rods. Here Lebeynne had the most, 15, followed by Kunil (11). Peter Herberat, Manczekenson, Mycze, Hannos Mockener, Brostil and Kolecz each had 9 rods. Petere Mockener farmed

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<sup>226</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 643–644.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 644.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 645.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 646–647.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 647–648.

with his father on 8 rods and Wemkunckel had 7. This group is closed by Biskreczemer with 3 rods of land. The significance of this description lies in the fact that we gain a precise idea of who had how many fields out of a total comprising 19 fields. It is not difficult to see that there were 10 single-field holdings, i.e. just over half.

Description of the village of Wielopole (now Wielopole Skrzyńskie)<sup>231</sup> lists among the holders of the lans a mayor (from the town of Wielopole) and *agricultores*. Lobczer, Kaspar, Przybeke, Kyrchan, Budil and Kressand had one lan each. Niklos Lobczer, Molkener, Vebuske, Michil, Welke, Myczke, and Wojtke and Staske both had half a lan each. Peter Fuchss had a field of 20 rods, and Korke, Peche, Nyklsgocz and Mychel had 9 rods each. About the whole group mentioned above, the source states that they all paid rents.

Another group are those who 'do not pay rent to this day, but could'. Among them were the hosts of one lan: Marczyn, Nikos Ungeroth, Maczek, Pelcze Keler, Petir Uszdemberge and Jokyl Eberchard. The half of lan had: Klocze, Kolbe, Niklos Filip, Mertin Sined, Niklis Tzizner, Niklis Schufner, Filip, Hans Melczyr and Marczyn. Michelbiger farmed with an area of 9 rods and *alde* Filip had 3 rods. In total, the two groups mentioned farmed on 27 lans 'minus 3' rods. In the same village, a group described as *sunt novissimi* was listed, which means that the process of settlement continued. In this group there were no longer single-field farms, only half-lan. Half a lan each was farmed by Marke, Herman Mekroth, Ypjke, Fuyher, Hannos, Makelkorkefettir, Franczke, Forynher, Petir Eberhard, Sewancze, Panik, Stencylson, Swarczpetir, Domik, Pawil and Tamke. The outlier here was Micze, who farmed 9 rods. The inventory further states about some 'half of the village Wielopole' and in which there are 9 'mansos'. We further read that behind 'the rusticum Kelecz' the village borders with Kamieniec and there they have lan: Werner, Kunelhindeher, Boyemer and Jebul. Post haec there is mention a *scultetia* with 15 rods of land. Also listed are the peasants Klosfocsch, Thomas Snyderynne, Derglessner, Krusinne, Domnik, Petir Klener, Micoale, Tomke, Nickols Ebirhard, Niklos Schimham and Michael Soboscherynne. Separately included are those who *habent libertatem*, that is, presumably also the new settlers. They were Niklos Rychel and Bernhardt, each of whom had 1 łane. Hans Kemeler, Petr Rudiger, Venczke, Pauil, der alde Kolbe, Buche, Petir Richelin, Chycznerynne (a woman – JR), Batyhos, Hannus Webir, Hans Rotborer, Vemk Andres, Krombudelinne (a woman – JR) and Jannos Hufarlin each had half a lan each in this group. Hannus Fritzcke had 15 rods and Boze had 9. And another group – 'isti habent

<sup>231</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 648.

longam libertatem'. Numerically dominant here were the half-lan farmers: Venczke, Svarcz Petir, Joal, Franczke, Hans Czymmerman, Kloze, Petucze, Petr Czimerman, Franczke, Jorgegleser, Janke, Hans Hopsbecke, Cantor, Niklos Prudecz, Olberch, Pech and Marczyn. Hanne had 9 rods and Miczke 3, The summary states that a certain Werner counted everything.

The register then mentions the peasants of Wielopole identified as Poloni, but unfortunately does not name them. It only states that they pay from 17.5 lan. With other villages such important information is generally not available. The descriptions of Kunice and Wielopole make it possible to discern exactly who owned how many fields and how much, as well as to capture certain waves of influx and associated changing farm sizes. It is noticeable that 1 lan holdings occur only with those groups of peasants that we could describe as old. The new ones, on the other hand, which also included those who were freehold, had half-lan holdings.

The German form of the names of the peasants in Kunice and Wielopole stands out. I will draw your attention to the separate inclusion of 'Poles' in the invnet. It is worth noting that those recorded in the German form usually have both first names and surnames/names. In the Polish-language records, peasants appear only under first names or only under surnames/names. The data from the *Liber beneficiorum*, which I have subjected to a preliminary inspection, make an important contribution to the question of the national origin of the peasants. It was of no interest to Długosz. About Stanisław called Iwanek from Lublin, he wrote that he was from a 'schismatic Rusin family', but converted to Catholicism<sup>232</sup>. In one of the Miracles, Gertruda of Morawica (near Kraków) appears with the annotation of 'German nationality'. The name references provide an opportunity to explore the stock of names, which can, for example, be linked to the influence of the cult of saints. Taking into account the entire fifteenth-century material, not just the works of Długosz, it is possible to attempt to draw conclusions about the ways in which peasant names/names were created. Długosz gave a sample of this in one place, namely when he described the ordination of Peter as Bishop of Wrocław in 1447. He wrote that Peter 'was born in a village belonging to the Wrocław church called Nowa Wieś, near Nysa, and the court gave him the nickname Nowak'<sup>233</sup>. This is the oldest attempt to explain the origin of one of Poland's most popular surnames.

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<sup>232</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 12, 1445–1461, eds. K. Baczkowski et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 2004 [hereinafter: Rocz. 12/1], pp. 168–169 = Ann.12/1, p. 150.

<sup>233</sup> Rocz. 12/1, pp. 59–60.

Innkeepers occupied an important place in the 15th-century Polish village community. The aforementioned Stanisław Iwanko entered an inn near Lublin to quench his thirst. It ended badly for him, and Długosz lists drunkenness first among the vices of peasants<sup>234</sup>.

In the *Liber beneficiorum* there are references to innkeepers by name<sup>235</sup>. Mikołaj Kostur and Jan Szidło were innkeepers in Bieńczyce (near Kraków), and I note that the surname Szidło was also borne by one of the full-farmers in that village. In the village of Podlesie there were the inns of Jakub, Klemens and Parson. Tomasz Dudek was an innkeeper in Ujazd, Stanisław Pudelko in Jugowice. A certain Gąba has an inn and homestead in Obrazów (near Sandomierz). It is written about Jakub Kuna that he lives in an inn in the village of Przemęczany. In the village of Racławice, the innkeepers were Mirzanta and Kotul, Jajko and Stanisław. Wojciech Czepek, Jan Cielątko and Swiantek were innkeepers in the village of Włostów, Galicki in Mirzec. an Pleszowski, noted at the inn in Mniszów, is probably a nobleman-owner and not an innkeeper. Obviously, the innkeepers were involved in beer brewing; references in the *Liber beneficiorum* also indicate that they were beer producers – ‘brasea parant’ reads a description of the village of Gorzyce<sup>236</sup> at an innkeeper in Konice (near Zawichost) is recorded as brewing malt *pro curia*<sup>237</sup>. For example from an inn in Raciborowice near Kraków, the innkeeper had to give the village owner an ‘achtel’ of beer<sup>238</sup>. They were also involved in meat production. The name of the inn ‘Kuthlow’ in Trojanowice (near Kraków) indicates the slaughter of cattle. We read about the fact that innkeepers *mactant pecus* in many places in the *Liber beneficiorum*. For example, in his description of the inn in the village of Góra, Długosz stated that the inn had no fields, but sold beer and meat. This was undoubtedly produced locally, since the innkeeper *mactat pecus* for the parson, and also gave 1/4 *omasorum*, and ‘stolowe’<sup>239</sup>. It is written of an innkeeper in Dąbrowa that from the inn he paid 2 fines and an achtel of beer at the Nativity of the Lord, as well as *mactat pecus*<sup>240</sup>. We learn in detail about the innkeepers’ property, especially the fields belonging to them<sup>241</sup>. Długosz gave, on the basis of a document from 1424, the salary of an innkeeper in Jugowice (near

<sup>234</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 108.

<sup>235</sup> Dlb 1 p. 478; Dlb 2, pp. 213, 342, 344, 364, 480; Dlb 3, pp. 34, 54, 77, 115, 192.

<sup>236</sup> Dlb 2, p. 354.

<sup>237</sup> Dlb 1, p. 356 (in the reading error *brasca* instead of *brasea*).

<sup>238</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 155.

<sup>239</sup> Dlb 2, p. 281.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 431.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 267.

Kraków), who was Stanisław Pudełko<sup>242</sup>. In addition to providing beer and meat for the clergy's table, the innkeepers sometimes had to provide other services. Of the three inns in the village of Żerniki (near Opatów), all their inhabitants provided auxilia alias pomoczy (these have been described in detail)<sup>243</sup>.

A wealthy group of the rural community were the millers. Again, the exceptional importance of the *Liber beneficiorum* for research into this group, as well as into ancient milling, should be emphasized. First of all, it should be noted that the fees paid by millers varied<sup>244</sup>. Dlugosz does not, unfortunately, give the reasons for the differences in rent. We can guess that they depended on the profitability of the mill, on its size. The mills with 1 wheel probably paid the least, while those with 7 or 10 *marcass* each had more wheels. For example, in Czyzemin near Pabianice, under German law, a mill on the Nurzec river paid 2.5 *marcas* in rent per year. A miller from the village of Prusy paid 3 *marcas* in annual rent, but was also obliged to fatten 2 pigs per year. High fees were recorded from the mills in Wrocieryż – 10 *marcas*, in Krzesławice – 7 *marcas* and the same amount in Zdzięsławice. In Michałowice rent of 5 and 4 *marcas* was paid from 2 mills on the Dłubnia River. The miller from the village of Górką (near Proszowice) gives 2 measures of *emolumentorum* (flour or malt), and has the third for himself. An identical fee was recorded at the mill in Targowisko on the Raba River. In the village of Szczepanowice near Miechów, where there were 2 mills, one miller paid 60 pennies, but the other paid as much as 120 pennies. In the neighboring villages of Zagorzyce and Komorów, the mills on the Cicha River gave rent of 6 *marcas* each. These amounts indicate that the millers were rather wealthy. St. Kinga's Miracles depict the family of a miller from Maszkowice near Nowy Sącz – Jan, his wife Katarzyna and daughter Jadwiga, who suffered a tragic accident<sup>245</sup>. When mentioning the three mills near Łagów, we read that the first one was managed by Piotr Skóra and the second one by Marcin Skóra. They were probably brothers<sup>246</sup>. There is also mention of Jakub Kopacz, who leased a mill on Prądnik<sup>247</sup>.

The local population gave grain to the mills. We have notes that the peasants could grind their frument, noting that it is not recorded

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<sup>242</sup> Dlb 3, p. 34.

<sup>243</sup> Dlb 1, p. 624.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 277, 603, 617; Dlb 3, pp. 5, 10, 16, 22.

<sup>245</sup> VK, p. 329.

<sup>246</sup> Dlb 1, p. 622.

<sup>247</sup> Dlb 3, p. 42.

whether they had to pay for this<sup>248</sup>. As a rendering of the common condition, numerous records should be considered that the peasants could grind their grain in the mills for a fee.

Village mayors, full-farmers, millers, innkeepers and crofters do not exhaust the list of rural population groups. The multitude of rivers, lakes and ponds raises the question whether the villages described by Długosz were inhabited by groups or individuals specialising in fishing. It seems that anyone could have fished. Free fishing in the Vistula near Sandomierz is attested<sup>249</sup>. The desire to obtain fish by various means is shown by the mention of the village of Konice. There was in this village 'szadzawka', and also 'paludes in campis in quibus pisces reperiuntur'<sup>250</sup>, which means that fish were also caught in the marshes. Mention of a fisherman living by a large lake on the Vistula River in Łączany, paying 3.5 *marcas* in rent<sup>251</sup> indicates the existence of a specialized group engaged in fishing. Noteworthy is the high rent. *Piscatores*, who also had the right to fish for their needs, are also recorded in the above-mentioned village of Konice. The *Liber beneficiorum* also gives other examples in this regard. Franek and Jan were fishermen fishing in the Vistula, in a settlement called Pobrzezie<sup>252</sup> (now a street in the Kazimierz district of Kraków). The most famous fisherman in Długosz's works is the one who fished the body of Wenceslas, King of Bohemia, out of the Veltava River and buried it in his own cottage<sup>253</sup>. It should be assumed that in villages where a large number of fish ponds are recorded (e.g. in the Zator and Oświęcim lands) there were also hosts of people involved in their maintenance, stocking and harvesting.

Despite the relatively large amount of information on vineyards, little can be said about the occupation of peasants in the cultivation of the vine. It seems natural that in villages where there were vineyards, there must have been a group of workers with specialized skills. We also do not know the names of the peasants who cultivated vines. The obligation for them to bring wine to the monastery from the vineyards belonging to the Cistercian abbey in Wąchock is attested to<sup>254</sup>.

<sup>248</sup> Dlb 1, p. 277.

<sup>249</sup> Dlb 3, p. 457.

<sup>250</sup> Dlb 1, p. 356.

<sup>251</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 193–194.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 118.

<sup>253</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 11, 1462–1480, eds. S. Gawęda et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1985 [hereinafter: Rocz. 11], p. 110.

<sup>254</sup> Dlb 3, p. 410.

A numerically small, but noticeable, place in the village community was occupied by professionals involved in iron smelting<sup>255</sup>. Mention is made of Janisz, identified as the first master of the 'Lipienicka' forge near the town of Jastrząb<sup>256</sup>. In the case of the forge in the village of Zajączków near Chęciny, it is known to have had arable fields<sup>257</sup>, which means that the blacksmiths made their living, to some extent, also from agriculture. We do not know any other forge workers, just as we do not learn about the work of peasants in the mines from Długosz. These industrial plants, which we see here in embryonic form, over time became alternative livelihoods for the landless population.

A rare group of the rural population were the 'świątnicy' (*sanctuarii*). The village of Świątniki near Sandomierz takes its name from the sanctuariis who serve the Sandomierz collegiate church day and night<sup>258</sup>. Długosz mentions them in the village of Opatkowice as serving the Kraków cathedral 'day and night' from time immemorial<sup>259</sup>, it also lists church processions attended by cathedral *sanctuarii*<sup>260</sup>. *Sanctuarii* Piotrek and Gromasz are known by their names<sup>261</sup>. *Sanctuarii* also lived in the villages near the Premonstratensian abbey in Brzesko, where they performed a similar service to this monastery as before<sup>262</sup>. Characteristically, they were not subject to the tithe obligation<sup>263</sup>. *Sanctuarii* can be considered an important research postulate, especially regarding their possession of arable land and their distribution. It does not seem that only the Brzesko Abbey had them, a much younger monastery than, for example, Tyniec. In the village of Chebdów, where the Premonstratensian abbey was located, a group of servile peasants called the 'nathoniczci'<sup>264</sup>.

Sources of Długosz contain little information about hired workers. They were employed by the housekeeper who appeared in the episode from the times of Duke Mieszko the Old. Together with their dogs, they

<sup>255</sup> See G. Jawor, A. Rozwinka, *Wytop i dystrybucja żelaza w XV–XVI w. w świetle najstarszej księgi sądowej miasta Kamionki w ziemi lubelskiej i źródeł archeologicznych*, "Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej" 2008, 10, pp. 163–170.

<sup>256</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 487–488.

<sup>257</sup> Dlb 1, p. 595.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 347 (the word 'świątnicy' has no equivalent in English).

<sup>259</sup> Dlb 3, p. 119.

<sup>260</sup> Dlb 1, p. 97.

<sup>261</sup> VS, p. 97.

<sup>262</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 77–78.

<sup>263</sup> J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>264</sup> Dlb 3, p. 77 (the word 'nathoniczci' has no equivalent in English).

guarded the flocks of sheep against wolves<sup>265</sup>. An example of economic emigration is Piotr Hungarian, who came to Poland with his family in search of sources of income. He came to live in the village of Myślec in the land of Sącz. In the farmer Wojszon's house, where his son, name Polek, fell ill<sup>266</sup>. One of the descriptions of Miracles mentions a woman serving (*ancilla domestica*) in the farmer's family. She took care of the farmers' child<sup>267</sup>.

#### HOME, FAMILY, FARM

Długosz used the word *tugurium*, meaning cottage, to describe the building in which the peasant lived. The term *domus* rarely appears<sup>268</sup>. He wrote generally about the houses and cottages of poor people (*domos quoque et tuguria*), which were visited by Princess Kinga<sup>269</sup>. Piast lived in a peasant cottage, and the Hungarian king Aba Samuel was also strangled in a cottage<sup>270</sup>. *Tugurium* also occurs in several other places of his Annales<sup>271</sup>. He also described a case in Poland when the wind blowing from the north overturned a peasant cottage, and his parents were collecting beams from a collapsed house<sup>272</sup>. There is also a mention of thatched roofs (from 1455)<sup>273</sup>. He also conveyed the general opinion that peasants in Poland build houses not very carefully, being satisfied with poor huts<sup>274</sup>. Similarly poor are the huts in Hungary, carelessly built and exposed to burning. A few references refer to the interior of the house. The atrium, or room, is the place in the house of Piast, where he was proclaimed king<sup>275</sup>. In one of the Miracles, a separate room is mentioned in which the hostess's brother slept<sup>276</sup>. From the mentions of the interior of the cottage, a stone pillar (*columna lapidea*) standing in one of the houses

<sup>265</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 5–6, eds. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1972 [hereinafter: Rocz. 5–6], p. 133.

<sup>266</sup> VS, p. 100.

<sup>267</sup> VK, p. 327.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299; Dlb 3, p. 428.

<sup>269</sup> VK p. 208.

<sup>270</sup> Ann. 3–4, p. 54.

<sup>271</sup> Ann. 10, p. 67; Ann. 11, p. 106.

<sup>272</sup> VK, p. 299.

<sup>273</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 241.

<sup>274</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 108.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 162.

<sup>276</sup> VK, p. 306.

in the village of Niezyt is noteworthy<sup>277</sup>. There is little mention of household appliances. He points out that Długosz describes a peasant's place to sleep as *grabatus*, meaning a lair, a miserable bed<sup>278</sup>. He also mentioned the cork stools owned by the peasants in Samogitia<sup>279</sup>. I have not come across any mentions directly talking about the ways of lighting the interior. Among the tributes from the village of Biszyce (near Wieliczka), the lumina, or candles, are noteworthy<sup>280</sup>. There is also a mention of a wax candle, but it is a votive offering (and it is the size of a beast! – JR) for healing a child after a burn<sup>281</sup>. There is also little information about peasant clothing. It is worth mentioning the bark sandals that Piast wears<sup>282</sup>. Describing a certain peasant and a Teutonic spy in 1422, he stated that he had 'poor clothes'<sup>283</sup>.

A lot of the information given by Długosz concerns the peasant family, its daily life and names of peasants<sup>284</sup>. To the names of the peasants from Kunice and Wielopole listed above, we can add the peasant farmers mentioned in the descriptions of the Miracles. Mikołaj from Piątkowa was in great pain, and neither plasters nor bandages helped. Grzegorz Szanko, from the village of Łapczyca, suffered from great pain in his joints and deafness in both ears. He was given herbs and ointments. Interestingly, in these two cases an attempt at paramedical assistance is mentioned<sup>285</sup>. A more indefinable insanity gripped Marcin from Łętkowice and Piotr called Pietrzec from the village of Niezyt. In both cases, the help consisted of restraining the sick with ties so that they

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<sup>277</sup> VS, p. 117.

<sup>278</sup> VK, pp. 298, 310.

<sup>279</sup> Ann. 11, p. 22.

<sup>280</sup> Dlb 1, p. 215.

<sup>281</sup> VK, p. 314.

<sup>282</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 162.

<sup>283</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 11–12, eds. K. Baczkowski et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 2004 [hereinafter: Rocz. 11–12], p. 175.

<sup>284</sup> I refer the reader in particular to the studies based on an analysis of court records, see A. Izydorczyk, *Rodzina chłopska w Małopolsce w XV–XVI wieku*, in: *Społeczeństwo staropolskie. Studia i szkice*, vol. 3, ed. A. Wyczański, Warszawa 1983, pp. 7–27; G. Jawor, *Obraz rodziny chłopskiej w Polsce XV wieku w świetle ksiąg oficjała lubelskiego*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F" 1986–1987, 41–42, pp. 81–91; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Obraz życia codziennego społeczności chłopskich pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w świetle późnośredniowiecznych chełmskich ksiąg sądowych*, in: *Hominem quaerere. Człowiek w źródle historycznym*, eds. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2008, pp. 483–498; see also M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Społeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2009.

<sup>285</sup> VK, pp. 329, 333.

would not throw themselves at people<sup>286</sup>. Stanisław of Golkowice suffered from a headache<sup>287</sup>, and on the blindness of the Krzyżan of Piotrkowice<sup>288</sup>. The description mentions the giving of a lighted candle to the sick, which is given to the dying, in the case of the peasant Wojsław. He succumbed to the plague, and his recovery was doubted by his 'cognatos et domesticos'<sup>289</sup>.

As fathers, they were portrayed in Miracles in the context of the misfortunes suffered by their loved ones<sup>290</sup>. Jacob had a daughter Anna, whose tongue swelled up and did not fit in her mouth. She was given some *anti-dota*, but it did not help. Jasiek's father from Załęże was pained by his son's illness, which manifested itself in bloody bowel movements. It was the father who offered to go to the tomb of St Kinga to ask for healing. Grzegorz called Gagowka from the village of Maszkowice wanted to relieve the suffering of his son Wojciech, who was possessed by a demon. When Radosław from Skotniki was taken ill by his son Piotr, who had lost his speech, people watched over him at night as he tried to leave the house. The father went with his son to Kraków to the sepulchre of the Saint. Parents are also shown as weeping over their child's plight and trying to help<sup>291</sup>. Świętosław, son of Zbroslav from the village of Drużków (also in the land of Sącz), lost his hearing and speech. The terrible illness caused him to fall from his lair and get such fits of pain that 7 people could not hold him up. His parents received relics from someone and laid them on the sick man<sup>292</sup>. Jarosław and Gotusha from Chełm cared for their son who was born blind and ulcerated<sup>293</sup>.

Woman at work<sup>294</sup> – it is a picture as old as Poland was. Rzepicha, Piast's wife, worked with him on the farm<sup>295</sup>. A woman who owned a farm, testifying before Mieszko Stary, was described as a *matrona*<sup>296</sup>. There were sheep on her farm, she produced meat, milk and wool. He says that 'I also gathered from it (the flock of sheep) an abundance that could satisfy every

<sup>286</sup> VS, pp. 116, 117.

<sup>287</sup> VK, p. 333.

<sup>288</sup> VS, p. 120.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 107.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 114, 116, 313, 320.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 106, 114; VK, p. 322.

<sup>292</sup> VK, p. 298.

<sup>293</sup> VS, p. 104.

<sup>294</sup> I refer here to considerations M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Mulier honesta et laboriosa. Kobieta w rodzinie chłopskiej późnośredniowiecznej Małopolski*, Lublin 2018.

<sup>295</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 159.

<sup>296</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 104.

greedy person'<sup>297</sup>. I don't know if the mentioned *matrona* was a country woman. This fragment was taken from the Chronicle of Master Wincenty, where the woman was described as the widow and servant of the prince Mieszko the Old<sup>298</sup>. A lot of interesting mentions can be found in the descriptions of Miracles. Having his own property is shown in a note about the widow Paulina de Cudzynowice (near Proszowice). She was suffering from a serious illness for a long time, no medication helped. This case, described under the year 1407, also contains the interesting information that Pauline made a will regarding her house<sup>299</sup>. In *Liber beneficiorum* we find a mention of a certain Stachna, the owner of 2 lans of land, which Marcin and Jakub inherited from her<sup>300</sup> and about a widow named Snochna, Naska Jakubowa and the women Chyczernynne and Krombudelinne who owned fields. The widow Kołaczkowska was mentioned in the context of a mill in the village of Niekrasów (south of the town of Osiek), namely she seized a measure of grain owed to the parish priest, who, however, appealed to the land court and recovered it<sup>301</sup>. Gertruda from Tylmanowa was busy with some work, from which she was distracted by the cry of her child<sup>302</sup>. Małgorzata, the wife of a peasant Tomek from the village of Barcice, was making bread dough on the feast of the Three Kings. Then an ulcer attacked her and she quickly understood that it was a punishment for violating the holiday<sup>303</sup>. The example of another Gertuda, from a village called 'Krive', indicates that domestic poultry was in the care of the women. Gertuda, in search of geese, went to the field, where she found a bird torn by a wolf. While carrying it home, she got poisoned by rabies, which caused terrible suffering<sup>304</sup>. When the tragedy happened at the home of Klemens from the village of Wiśnicz, his wife Gertruda was at the market in Bochnia at the time<sup>305</sup>. Rural women were shown as not accepting the loss of their cattle. Together with their husbands and children ('coloni coniugibus et liberis') they brought a complaint to the king in Gniezno in 1386<sup>306</sup>. Only women were shown in the description of the robbery near Kraków in 1447. The peasant women (*rusticane*

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<sup>297</sup> Rocz. 5–6, p. 133.

<sup>298</sup> *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska*, transl. K. Abgarowicz, B. Kürbis, Warszawa 1974, p. 183.

<sup>299</sup> VK, p. 323.

<sup>300</sup> Dlb 1, p. 603.

<sup>301</sup> Dlb 2, p. 324.

<sup>302</sup> VK, p. 313.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 312.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 309–310.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 305.

<sup>306</sup> Ann. 10, p. 158.

*femeine*) followed the plundered cattle, 'filled the entire Church of Kraków' (i.e. the cathedral – JR), 'where the divine service was held, with tears, lamentations and anxiety'<sup>307</sup>.

There are also notes attesting to the work of women as servants. Piechna, a servant from the countryside, worked for a woman in Kazimierz near Kraków. She was supposed to bring water for washing, but out of ignorance she brought water from Lake St. Stanislaus<sup>308</sup>.

We have a note about Dorota, daughter of Mikołaj from Janina, and Barbara, daughter of Pietrasz from Stadl. Their employer was, probably, an unknown widow<sup>309</sup>. The note (under 1311) about a peasant girl named Tomka can be considered in the context of the issue of the geography of marriages<sup>310</sup>. Tomka came from the village of Piotrowice near 'Machowyecz' (Długosz specifies, that in the diocese of Kraków), and married a young man Jakub from the village of Książnice<sup>311</sup>. Tomka was oppressed by a devil, which disappeared during the day, and finally disappeared completely when St. Kinga appeared to her. Identification of the names given by Długosz is problematic<sup>312</sup>. Tomka fell ill with an epilepsy called kaduk. Despite this, she made a pilgrimage to the Holy Cross on Łysa Góra, but it did not help her and she succumbed to paralysis and stuttering for six months. She screamed out of fear of the devil, but because Michał, her brother, stuttered, he did not understand and instead of going to Sącz, he went to Opatowiec on the Vistula to the Dominican church. The marriage is also referred to in the above-quoted mention of Stachna, who had 2 lans in the village of Prądnik (parish of St. Nicholas close to Kraków), but her sons were described as sons of Marcin of Batowice<sup>313</sup>.

<sup>307</sup> Rocz. 12/1, p. 53 = Ann. 12/1, p. 48.

<sup>308</sup> VS, p. 167.

<sup>309</sup> VK, p. 322: 'viduae ancillae una Dorota [...]'. This note is not fully clear to me. Both servants were specified as daughters, if they were widows, they should be named after their husbandp. The fact that they were virgins is indicated by the fact that the offering to the tomb of St. Kinga was made by their parents.

<sup>310</sup> Cf. G. Jawor, *Obraz*, pp. 82–83; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Mulier*, p. 82 showed that the spouses usually came from peasant families living in the same parish.

<sup>311</sup> VK, p. 306.

<sup>312</sup> A similar name – Makowiec – is given to a village located north of Skaryszew, but in this area we do not find Piotrowice. A village called Książnice occurs near Wieliczka (In the entry Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Książnice*, (in: SHGK, part 3, issue 2) there is no reference to this relation). There are also 2 villages of this name near Proszowice. Piotrowice has existed, since the Middle Ages, near Oświęcim and near Proszowice (I limit myself to the diocese of Krakow). Machowyecz can be a form of the name Makocice, a village with this name exists near Proszowice.

<sup>313</sup> Dlb 1, p. 603.

The issue of marriage is also related to the case of Agnieszka, wife of Andrzej de Kunczlowa (Krużlowa?). The note informs that she was ill for half a year, stopped walking (became lame) and lost her speech. Her fate sounds the more serious, that because of her infirmity, she became depressing and useless to her husband. During her illness, her mother Dorota watched over her, who admonished her to offer herself to St. Kinga<sup>314</sup>.

Długosz mentions women giving birth and being in childbirth. First, he talks in general about Princess Kinga's provision of help to the poor in towns and villages, including women who were in childbirth<sup>315</sup>. He also describes, in 1425, the case of Anna, wife of Stanisław Radosz from the village of Wojnarowa, who suffered terribly during childbirth. Other obstetricians advised her to pray to St. Kinga. She listened to her, and Anna gave birth to a child, which she then raised. Katarzyna from the village of Piątkowa suffered terrible torments during childbirth<sup>316</sup>. In these notes we can see a picture of the help that rural women gave each other.

Moral matters are mentioned in the mention of a peasant woman (*rusticanae mulier*) Agata, the concubine of the nobleman Peter of Wojcz<sup>317</sup>. The remaining notes show a woman afflicted with a condition, without additional context provided<sup>318</sup>. Marta from the village of Tarnów (from the village belonging to comes Rafał) was blind in one eye, and walked with a limp. In this description, he points out that she went to confession. A serious illness befell Małgorzata from the village of Brzeszno, who suffered pain for two years. She had grown a tumor as big as a goose's egg and expected to die. Paralysis affected Jutka, the wife of Mikołaj from Kocmyrzów (near Kraków). Bratumile from Radłów had a worm from a tree in her ear, Jawita, wife of Bogusław from Chełm, suffered from a swollen throat, and a headache bothered Katarzyna, described as a *femina* from Dąbrowica. Katarzyna called Acztoia and Anastasia, wife Piotr of Adamowa Wola, were depicted as sick, without specification.

There are also mentions of widows<sup>319</sup>. Elżbieta from Poręba (in the land of Sącz) had a son, Wawrzyniec, who was so sick that she and her family were already discussing his funeral.

Mirochna, or Miroslawa, a widow from Tylmanowa, suffered so much from dropsy that she wished to die. Magdalena, a widow from

<sup>314</sup> VK, p. 329: 'iacebatque non sine sua et viri sui Andree magna anxietate, inutilis effecta, clauda et muta'.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 234.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 333.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 232.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 300, 301, 318, 325, 333; VS, pp. 106, 108, 120.

<sup>319</sup> VK, pp. 315, 318, 319, 322.

Moszczenica, was portrayed as severely ill. The widow Anna from the village of Maszkowice was said to be a distressed mother trying to find her only son lost in the forest. When Marcin, son of the widow Gertruda of Cydzynowice, fell ill, his distraught mother out of her desperation pled to St Kinga.

There is also an image of a mother-in-law, portrayed as caring for her son-in-law. Grzegorz Szanko from the village of Łapczyca who suffered immensely from joint pain and, in addition, was deaf in both ears. He was given herbs and ointments; his mother-in-law, Catherine, asked for the intercession of St Kinga, which once brought her a relief from a severe pain in her leg<sup>320</sup>. An aunt, a certain Markowa, was shown caring for Stanislav (no degree of relationship given), who had a leg contracture<sup>321</sup>.

Długosz included two drastic examples of the fate of rural women in war. In 1383, during the civil war in Greater Poland, women of both nobility and peasantry are stripped of their clothes: 'matronas vero ingenuas et agrestes'<sup>322</sup>. In 1474, at the time of the battles near Wschowa, Polish soldiers committed acts of rape of girls and women 'who were snatched from the local villagers' ('stupraciones virginum et matronarum, quas propriis eripiebant colonis')<sup>323</sup>.

We see episodes in the lives of children, their illnesses, their succumbing to accidents, their parents' deaths and despair mainly through Długosz's *Miracles of the Saints*<sup>324</sup>. Numerous examples concern sick children. Stanisław, son of Elżbieta and Maciej from the village of Podrzecze, for a year and a half suffered from *caducus*<sup>325</sup>. Elżbieta from Podegrodzie fell into despair when her small daughter (filiola) Stanisława lost her hearing<sup>326</sup>. 7-year-old Agnes, daughter of Niewglasz from Jasło parish, had twisted and swollen limbs, much to her parents' sorrow. She was taken to the church in Jasło. After being touched by a relic of St Stanislaus, Agnes rested her head on her mother's bosom (in *sinum maternum*) and recovered<sup>327</sup>. Elżbieta, daughter of Maciej Węgr from the village of Myślec, died at a young age. Her parents despaired, and finally the mother took the child's corpse in her arms and went to the tomb of St Kinga. The father

<sup>320</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 329.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>322</sup> Ann. 10, p. 112.

<sup>323</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 347 = Ann. 12/2, p. 333.

<sup>324</sup> See: E. Pluta-Saladra, *Śmierć dziecka w świetle wybranych piętnastowiecznych spisów cudów świętych*, in: *W kręgu rodziny epok dawnych. Śmierć*, eds. B. Popiółek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Płonka, Kraków 2022, pp. 17–30.

<sup>325</sup> VK, p. 325.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 315.

<sup>327</sup> VS, p. 108.

stayed at home because, curiously enough, he did not believe that his wife's efforts would change anything. The child came to life after a quarter of a mile, past the Poprad River<sup>328</sup>. Also sick was 3-year-old Marcin, son of Gertruda from the village of Morawica near Kraków, who identified, interestingly enough, as genere Theutonica – the mother went to the tomb of St. Stanislaus with the child in her arms and the little boy recovered<sup>329</sup>. Mikołaj, son of Jan and Ozanna from Tylmanowa, was considered spoilt and prone to crying. It was believed that he contracted a hernia precisely because of excessive crying. His parents took him to the tomb of St Kinga<sup>330</sup>. Andrzej, son of Maciej, called Korzen, and Małgorzata, from the village of Golkowice, suffered from epilepsy (*morbum epilepticum*) since his birth and the illness lasted for several years. The mother, despite the fact that it was her child, feared him like Satan and thus wanted to strangle the child. Her mother-in-law Anna, who had died years before, appeared to her in a dream and rebuked her for this intention with the words 'mulierum infelix et miserrima'. In this vision, Andrzejek was described as an innocent child<sup>331</sup>. Długosz concludes this description by saying that Małgorzata Korzeniowa (here we see a transitive form from her husband's surname), went on foot to Kinga's grave (1471)<sup>332</sup>.

The accidents involving children described in the Miracles show, by the way, various aspects of the life of a peasant family. Catherine, the wife of Maciej from a village near Opatów Wielki in the Kraków diocese, had given birth to a son a few months ago, but in August, she crushed him with her own body in her sleep. She didn't tell anyone, but went with the baby's corpse in her arms to Kraków, to the tomb of St. Stanislaus. She walked for 5 days and the child's body stiffened completely; a woman helped her carry it. The husband did not know the whereabouts of his wife and child. As soon as Kraków came into view, the boy came back to life<sup>333</sup>. Jarosława, daughter of Wojciech from the village of Golkowice, was crushed under the debris of a house. She was found by her parents on the rubble of the collapsed building. Their screams were heard by the whole village<sup>334</sup>. Marta, wife of Siestrzemil from the village of Kunów visited the home of her neighbour Szwanszek.

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<sup>328</sup> VK, p. 301.

<sup>329</sup> VS, p. 112.

<sup>330</sup> VK, p. 314.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 334–335.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>333</sup> VS, p. 170.

<sup>334</sup> VK, p. 299.

When she returned home, it turned out that Dorota, her young daughter, had fallen into the fire<sup>335</sup>.

A similar accident happened to Agnieszka, daughter of Gertruda from Tylmanowa, who was playing by the fire and fell into it. The mother was busy with some work, but rushed back upon hearing the child's screams<sup>336</sup>. A man named Marcin Czolbic fell as a cart ran over him. The record shows his parents mourning his demise<sup>337</sup>.

The entry from the year 1410 described the Miracle that happened to a homesteader family. Martyna, wife of Stanislaus called Stanek, a full-farmer from Podegrodzie, gave her one-year-old child into the care of a maid (*ancillae domesticae*) and told her to go for a walk with him in the village. The child was given an apple cut into quarters. The child sucked on the apple but began to choke, which went unnoticed. The maid ran to the mother, who raised a cry that everyone in the village converged on. At that time, the baby was already dead, and the neighbors tried to comfort the distraught mother. She pressed the baby to her breast, sprinkled it with milk and continued praying to St Kinga. The baby was revived on the spot, and only then did the mother and child visit St Kinga's tomb<sup>338</sup>. Jadwiga, daughter of Katarzyna and Jan the miller from Maszkowice, fell into the Dunajec river. Initially, no one noticed this, as the rest of the family was busy with housework ('*reliqua familia circa curam domesticorum operum occupatis*'). Eventually, someone noticed that the child's corpse being carried downstream. The father took it out of the water and gave it to his wife Katarzyna, who fainted in despair<sup>339</sup>. Marcin, son of the widow Anna from the village of Maszkowice, wandered off into the nearby forest and got lost. He had been gone all day, leaving the poor mother very worried; she searched for him with friends and neighbors. In the end, the child could not be found and it was assumed that it was torn apart by a wild animal<sup>340</sup>.

We also have examples of child labor. 10-year-old daughter of Katarzyna from Zakrzew (near Kazimierz) was walking with a turnip on her back to Kraków and got into a boat crossing the Vistula. As a result of a collision with another vessel, she fell into the water<sup>341</sup>. Klemens from the village of Wiśnicz, heard the cries of children herding cattle ('*pecorum*

<sup>335</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 303.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 313.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 327.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 329.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>341</sup> VS, p. 159.

custodiam excentium') seeing his daughter Agnes was ragged by a wolf. This happened in the absence of his wife<sup>342</sup>.

The fate of the children after the death of their father is also shown. Under 1435, Tomek from the village of Krynów (in Greater Poland) is described, having died as a result of illness. He was mourned by his surrounding relatives and friends. Preparations for the funeral began, which were interrupted by an uncle (brother of child's father) of the deceased requesting a prayer to St Stanislaus. He pointed out that the deceased brother had left behind minor children, and that he was barely able to feed his own<sup>343</sup>.

The descriptions of the Miracles also offer depictions of neighbors<sup>344</sup>. When Krzyżan from Piotrkowice fell ill, his neighbor and buddy Szczepan put him on his horse and drove him to Kraków. Neighborly help is also seen when Marcin, son of the widow Anna from the village of Maszkowice, got lost in the nearby forest. He had been gone all day, his mother searched for him with friends and neighbors. He could not be found and it was assumed that a wild animal mauled him. When a woman from the village of Piotrowice went on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the tomb of St Kinga, people from the village she lived in bid her farewell. She arrived at the tomb together with many inhabitants of her village. It is also attested that her neighbors visited her and urged her to make a pledge to St Stanislaus.

Thanks to the descriptions of Miracles, we can consider the issue of the peasant journey. At the tomb of St Kinga in Stary Sącz, it was mainly the inhabitants of the surrounding villages who gathered. The distances they had to cover were no more than 10 km one way. The Sunday walks were determined by parish compulsion. Of twenty-one villages in the Oświęcim urban parish, the furthest was 10 km away. The farthest village in the parish of St. Szczepan in Kraków was 7 km from the church. Bronowice Małe, belonging to the parish of St Mary's in Kraków, was about 6 km from the church. Jugowice was more than 6 km from St Jacob's Church in Kazimierz plus the Vistula crossing. This is comparable to the distance of 7 km a woman had to cover walking from the village to the town market (from Wiśnicz to Bochnia). Distances of this order of magnitude could be covered in one day counting including the return. We also have examples of far-flung peasant treks involving the visitation of a grave. From Łapczyca to Stary Sącz it is 64 km, from Jasło to Stary Sącz

<sup>342</sup> VK, p. 305.

<sup>343</sup> VS, p. 152.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 114, 120; VK, pp. 308, 318.

about 80 km. The pilgrimage from Książnice near Proszowice to Święty Krzyż required travelling a distance of 103 km.

The longest route was covered by the distraught mother. It is more than 150 km from the town of Opatów to Kraków. If one were to walk without a break, it would take 36 hours today. In most cases, pilgrimage was done on foot<sup>345</sup>, sometimes even with the child's body in his arms<sup>346</sup>. The mention of a horse used on a peasant's journey appears in a Miracle known in as early as the 13th century, when it carried bundles for pilgrims from Mazovia and the land of Łęczyca on their way to Kraków<sup>347</sup>. Miracles also note a case where a sick person travelled to Kraków on his neighbor's horse.

Jan Długosz – an excellent rural economy organiser – had a good idea of what the peasants did for a living and what their farming consisted of. The ploughmen, hard-working 'Lechites' tilling the fields, appear at the beginning of the story of the origin of the Poles<sup>348</sup>. Describing the fabulous beginnings of Poland, he writes that peasants also acquired new fields by clearing forest areas<sup>349</sup>. Describes the clearing and acquisition of land in the land of Kraków towards the borders of Hungary and the land of Oświęcim during the reign of Casimir the Great<sup>350</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum*, we come across references to grubbing and establishing villages on raw roots ('in crudo radice')<sup>351</sup>.

Przemysł, the progenitor of the Bohemian dukes, was originally a peasant who ploughed the land with oxen harnessed to a plough<sup>352</sup>. Ploughing with oxen and horses is described in many other places, and we also find references to people being harnessed to plough when cattle and horses died. I found one reference to fertilising fields<sup>353</sup>, but unfortunately without details. Also mentioned are so-called fallow land (under Polish word 'ugory')<sup>354</sup>, clear evidence of the use of the three-field system. Długosz believed, in the context of the information about

<sup>345</sup> VS, pp. 116, 120.

<sup>346</sup> VK, p. 301.

<sup>347</sup> VS, p. 122.

<sup>348</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 88.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>350</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 296–297; Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 9, eds. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1975 [hereinafter: Rocz. 9], p. 373.

<sup>351</sup> Dlb 2, p. 136; Dlb 3, p. 328; see F. Bujak, *Studia nad osadnictwem Małopolski*, Kraków 1905 (new edition Poznań 2001, with an afterword by A. Janeczek).

<sup>352</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 127.

<sup>353</sup> Ann. 9, p. 183.

<sup>354</sup> Dlb 1, p. 213.

the enlistment of peasants in the army, that they 'were suitable more for making crops in the field and feeding cattle'<sup>355</sup>. Under the entry for 1474, he wrote that 'knights and villagers enjoyed the peace and quiet of the country busy with domestic work, namely the harvest'<sup>356</sup>. I see in this sentence a praise of village life and farming, such as we will encounter frequently in sources from the 16th century.

The granary (*horreum*) in Długosz's descriptions appears most often in the context of a place to which tithes are to be transported. It would be worthwhile in the future to draw up a map of these grain depots in Lesser Poland. Peasant granaries, barns, stables and pigsties are not mentioned once. An exception, and a specific one, is the mention in 1410 that the peasant subjects of the Teutonic Knights, in order to avoid robbery, hid their grain in 'underground hiding places'<sup>357</sup>.

The most commonly mentioned equipment is *aratrum*, which is the word for plough<sup>358</sup>. The peasant Premysł, progenitor of the Czech princes, cultivated the land with oxen and plough<sup>359</sup>. Także Piast 'in-opiam agellum exiguo colens aratro'<sup>360</sup>. When cattle haddied, people themselves would bear the weight of the ploughs<sup>361</sup>. The term *aratrum* used in Długosz's quoted document of the settlement between the King and the Bishop of Kraków in 1361 means arable land<sup>362</sup>. There is a reference to the butterfly (*ligo*), with which vegetables are grown<sup>363</sup>. We read about the peasants' abandonment of hoes when describing the people's revolt in 1037<sup>364</sup>. I have also found references to the scythe<sup>365</sup>, axe<sup>366</sup>, rope<sup>367</sup>, and *vinculis ferreis*, or probably chain<sup>368</sup>, used by the peasants.

<sup>355</sup> Rocz. 11–12, pp. 50–51.

<sup>356</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 350 = Ann. 12/2, p. 335.

<sup>357</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 10–11, 1406–1412, eds. S. Gawęda et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1982 [hereinafter: Rocz. 10–11], p. 161.

<sup>358</sup> Ann. 7–8, pp. 39, 258.

<sup>359</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 127.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 159.

<sup>361</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 7–8, 1241–1299, eds. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa et al., transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1974 [hereinafter: Rocz. 7–8], p. 303.

<sup>362</sup> Ann. 9, p. 305; see J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 37, footnote 24.

<sup>363</sup> Ann. 9, p. 305.

<sup>364</sup> Ann. 1–2, pp. 317–318.

<sup>365</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 34.

<sup>366</sup> VK, p. 306.

<sup>367</sup> VS, p. 116.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117.

The necessary farm equipment was the peasant carts<sup>369</sup>. No farm could do without them, since peasants must use their own carts to bring the tithes to the place indicated by the Church<sup>370</sup>. Under 1287, we read that peasants from the village of the Poor Clares' convent had to evacuate the nuns to the 'Pieniny' castle with their carts<sup>371</sup>.

An invaluable guide to cultivation in the villages of Lesser Poland in the second half of the 15th century is the *Liber beneficiorum*, as it contains detailed lists of fees and tributes paid in crops (or more broadly naturalia). Particularly important are the mentions of 'sep' and 'meszne'. As a rule, three types of cereals appear in these lists: rye, wheat and oats<sup>372</sup>. In one village, we read about each farmer donating a crown of wheat flour for the Passover festival<sup>373</sup>. From Zawada (near Kłobuck), each farmer in pure grain 3 measures of rye and the same amount of oats<sup>374</sup>. Such examples could be multiplied. He noted an extraordinary wheat harvest in the farmstead of Zagorzyce near Miechów<sup>375</sup>. I have not come across any mention of barley cultivation. However, contrary to some suggestions by researchers<sup>376</sup> it must be claimed that this cereal was cultivated. As is known, barley was used to make groats and malt for beer. A tribute paid in beer is recorded in some villages in Lesser Poland<sup>377</sup>. Assuming that this was beer made locally, this would be an indirect argument for barley cultivation. It should also be added that, in the 15th century, barley was ranked third in Kraków's price tariffs, after wheat and rye, but before oats<sup>378</sup>. Information on the types of measures used in the villages concerned from nearby towns (e.g. of Kraków, Zator, Bochnia, Lublin etc.) is valuable, as it makes it possible to place rural production within specific grain markets.

A separate note is due to the hemp tribute. Hemp grew wild and was also cultivated on an unknown scale, as can be seen from the tithe in hemp grains<sup>379</sup>. Hemp was grown probably in those villages, where a hemp tithe was in force<sup>380</sup>. In future studies of the *Liber beneficiorum* it would

<sup>369</sup> VK, p. 269.

<sup>370</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 336.

<sup>371</sup> VK, p. 269.

<sup>372</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 124, 608, 614, 638; Dlb 2, pp. 227, 264; Dlb 3, pp. 7, 63, 21.

<sup>373</sup> Dlb 2, p. 326.

<sup>374</sup> Dlb 3, p. 167.

<sup>375</sup> Dlb 3, p. 5.

<sup>376</sup> The lack of mention of barley was pointed out by the J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>377</sup> Dlb 1, p. 215; Dlb 3, pp. 191, 197, 206.

<sup>378</sup> J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600*, Lwów 1935, p. 61.

<sup>379</sup> J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>380</sup> Dlb 1, p. 214.

be useful to collate the mentions of hemp tithes, perhaps they will be arranged into some regions. The flax tithe is mentioned once<sup>381</sup>. Hops were also grown, although there is relatively little information directly pertaining to this crop<sup>382</sup>. In the *Annales* we read about the cultivation of turnips, poppies, cabbages, onions and garlic<sup>383</sup>. In the descriptions of the gardens in the *Liber beneficiorum*, we read that cabbages, herbs used as kitchen spices and 'plures apum truncos' and vegetables ('olera singula serens') were grown there<sup>384</sup>.

It is clear that bread and dairy products were made at peasant farms. The kneading of the dough by the peasant woman Margaret of Barcice is shown in one of the records in the Miracles of St Kinga<sup>385</sup>. Breads also appear as tribute in many villages<sup>386</sup>. It is important to note a product that would become extremely popular in later centuries, namely strucel made from wheat dough – 'unus panis pszenicaeues altu, qui strzucel appellatur' was a tribute from a miller near Opatów<sup>387</sup>.

Długosz used the term *pecus* meaning, as is well known, both horned cattle and non-horned cattle. He wrote about cattle breeding as a specific feature of the Polish economy<sup>388</sup>, and here, under the term *pecus*, are cows and oxen. The ox pulls the plough with which the peasant Premysl, the progenitor of the Bohemian princes, ploughs the plough<sup>389</sup>. Shepherds of the oxen were mentioned in 1456 as those with whom John Capistrano defeated the Ottoman Turks<sup>390</sup>. Our historian gave evidence that he valued the role of animals on the farm, e.g. in his account of the great flood of 1270, lamenting that cattle, pigs and pack animals had perished<sup>391</sup>. In 1298, a plague brings cattle down and no farming takes place due to the 'shortage of working animals and oxen'<sup>392</sup>. When a great drought hit in 1474 destroying the spring crops, animals that nibbled the grass with sand died because silt filled their stomachs<sup>393</sup>. Cattle on the pages of the *Annales* usually appear as the segment of the peasant farm that

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<sup>381</sup> Dlb 2, p. 423.

<sup>382</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 261, 263.

<sup>383</sup> Ann. 9, p. 305.

<sup>384</sup> Dlb 1, p. 304; Dlb 3, p. 474.

<sup>385</sup> VK, p. 312.

<sup>386</sup> Dlb 1, p. 215; Dlb 3, p. 191.

<sup>387</sup> Dlb 1, p. 590.

<sup>388</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 108.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 127.

<sup>390</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 256.

<sup>391</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 166–167.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 384 = Ann. 7–8, p. 301.

<sup>393</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 322.

was most frequently robbed<sup>394</sup>. In the context of robberies perpetrated on peasants, non-horse and horse and sheep also appear, it should be emphasized<sup>395</sup>. During the reign of duke Mieszko the Old, depriving peasants of their horses, which were caught in the fields, resulted in the neglect of farm work<sup>396</sup>, which suggests the remaining animals were used in field work. Under 1361, fields belonging to the nobility were written about, cultivated with the help of both oxen and horses<sup>397</sup>. In the description of the village of Mucharz (near Zator), we read that the amount of fees depends on whether the farmer ploughs with a team of 4 horses or 4 oxen<sup>398</sup>. In his account of a certain Miracle (taken from a collection from the 13th century), Długosz recalls an image of peasants from Mazovia and the Łęczyca region going to the tomb of St Stanislaus, whose belongings were carried by a one-eyed horse<sup>399</sup>. When he describes the Samogitians he states that they have horses and saddles<sup>400</sup>. Among the compulsory tributes we come across tributes referred to as 'ox', but there were also tributes in the form of a cow<sup>401</sup>.

Pigs were raised on a massive scale. Hogs appear in Długosz's description already as a product of the Piast economy in Kruszwica<sup>402</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum* we read that for grazing pigs in the great forest the owner is due 100 measures of oats (from the whole village).

From the hog comes the name of the tribute 'porcus alias narzass'<sup>403</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* attests, for many villages, to a levy known as 'wieprzowe' ('hog')<sup>404</sup> replacing the tribute in the animal. The tribute lists also report on the fattening of pigs by millers.

A woman testifying before Mieszko the Elder said that she had amassed such a flock of sheep on her farm that their number 'could satisfy any greedy person'<sup>405</sup>. Długosz portrayed sheep herding as a fea-

<sup>394</sup> Ann. 3–4, p. 63; Ann. 7–8, pp. 48, 121–122, 141, 151, 198, 218–219; Ann. 9, pp. 162, 270; Ann. 10, p. 158; Ann. 11–12, p. 25; Ann. 12/1, p. 356.

<sup>395</sup> Ann. 10, p. 67; Ann. 11–12, p. 187; Ann. 12/1, pp. 96, 319.

<sup>396</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 12.

<sup>397</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 384.

<sup>398</sup> Dlb 3, p. 67.

<sup>399</sup> VS, p. 122.

<sup>400</sup> Ann. 11, p. 22.

<sup>401</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 186, 188, 384.

<sup>402</sup> Dlb 1, p. 640.

<sup>403</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 191.

<sup>404</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 578, 637, 645.

<sup>405</sup> Rocz. 5–6, p. 133.

ture of the Wallachian economy<sup>406</sup>. A ram (*aries*) is among the tributes that the village of Bukowie near Skawina gives to the Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec<sup>407</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* attests, for some villages, the fee called 'lamb' fee<sup>408</sup>. Goats were also bred, but there is little information about this. For example, two goats were taken every year from the peasants of the village of Brzeźnica by the Benedictine monastery in Staniątki (in addition to other tributes)<sup>409</sup>. The breeding of goats is evidenced, indirectly, by the mention of a fee *pro haedo*, i.e per goat, of half a penny<sup>410</sup>.

Among the compulsory tributes, eggs and cheese have a common place. The *Liber beneficiorum* lists in detail how many of these products are to be delivered to the clergyman's table each year<sup>411</sup>. As examples, the village of Wróblowa in the parish of Brzyszka gave the whole village 90 eggs and 14 cheeses, and the village of Brzeźnica gave the Benedictine monastery in Staniątki 100 eggs<sup>412</sup>. Cheese is often attested as a tribute, which also appeared as an obligation included in tithes<sup>413</sup>.

From Długosz's work we can also learn a lot about poultry raised on peasant farms. 'Chickens moult for the glory of God' – we can read in the description of a Miracle dated 1311<sup>414</sup>. We can count the mentions of poultry tributes in the *Liber beneficiorum* in the hundreds. In general, it can be stated that roosters, capons, hens and chickens were donated. The size of this tribute varies. For example, in the parish of Kock, 4 roosters were given from each field<sup>415</sup>, from Wróblowa (parish of Brzyszka), 6 chickens from each field. This tribute was also counted in total for the entire village, e.g. from the inhabitants of Brzeźnica the Benedictine monastery in Staniątki collected a total of 26 cockerels<sup>416</sup>. It is noticeable that chickens are mentioned less frequently than roosters. Mentions of capons indicate some skill in poultry breeding. One of the tributes from each farmer in the village of Przebieczany (near Wieliczka) is duos pullos, but

<sup>406</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 190; see A. Obara-Pawłowska, *The image of Vlachs in the works by Jan Długosz, "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta Et Studia"* 2018, 24, pp. 197–220.

<sup>407</sup> Dlb 3, p. 191.

<sup>408</sup> Dlb 2, p. 224.

<sup>409</sup> Dlb 3, p. 283.

<sup>410</sup> Dlb 1, p. 644.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 637; Dlb 3, pp. 31, 41, 54–55.

<sup>412</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 206, 283. I give these references only by way of example, as tributes in eggs and cheese were assigned to almost every village.

<sup>413</sup> J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>414</sup> VK, p. 306.

<sup>415</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 566–567.

<sup>416</sup> Dlb 3, p. 283.

from the whole village on the Feast of the Assumption *duos castratos*<sup>417</sup>. In Dąbrówka Szczepanowska (near Wojnicz), each farmer gives 2 priests<sup>418</sup>. I have not encountered tributes in geese. The only mention that they were raised on peasant farms comes from the description of a Miracle when a goose was torn apart by some wolf<sup>419</sup>.

I would also like to mention the peasants' fishing for venison, which was highly prized for culinary reasons. From the village of Skrzynice, also known as Poniatowa (near Lublin), a village belonging to the Lublin Brigidine Monastery, the peasants gave a capon from each field (and there were 18 of them) for Passover, but also 'unam coturnicem id est czetrew'<sup>420</sup>. *Coturnix* this is obviously a quail, not a black grouse. In the village of Dąbrówka Szczepanowska (near Wojnicz) each farmer gives one hare<sup>421</sup>. About the village of Czyżemin (near Pabianice), he wrote that peasants kept nets used for hunting wild game in their houses<sup>422</sup>.

As a tribute there is often 'fresh meat' or *carnibus porcinis* (possibly a monetary equivalent of varying amounts)<sup>423</sup>. This is most probably pork, the origin of which was certainly cured ham (*perna lardi*), about which we read in several places in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>424</sup> and tallow formed into so-called stones (*lapis sepide*)<sup>425</sup>.

The forest in the rural landscape is shown in a variety of contexts. It is a place where one can get lost<sup>426</sup>, in which one can be assaulted<sup>427</sup>, but it also provides shelter from invaders (it was shown when describing several war episodes)<sup>428</sup>. It is arguable that in villages where the existence of forests is attested, peasants were allowed to use them. However, this was subject to rationing by the land lord. This is evidenced by the record of the village of Wyciąże (near Kraków), in which Długosz mentions as many as 6 groves intended for the needs of the Kraków chapter and only one 'common grove'<sup>429</sup>. The forest played an important role in the peasant economy. The village of Dąbrowa near Tarnów is one

<sup>417</sup> Dlb 1, p. 646.

<sup>418</sup> Dlb 2, p. 306.

<sup>419</sup> VK, pp. 309–310.

<sup>420</sup> Dlb 3, p. 307.

<sup>421</sup> Dlb 2, p. 306.

<sup>422</sup> Dlb 1, p. 277.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215; Dlb 3, pp. 195, 203–204.

<sup>424</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 186, 188, 206.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>426</sup> VS, p. 116; VK, p. 318.

<sup>427</sup> VS, pp. 101–102.

<sup>428</sup> Rocz. 7–8, pp. 11, 16, 175.

<sup>429</sup> Dlb 1, p. 154.

of many examples that oak forests yielded acorns (*producunt glandies*) and were therefore a place where the pigs of the village farms found the desired food<sup>430</sup>.

Długosz usually depicts the forest as a place where bee hives are established, also confirming that honey production was carried out by peasants<sup>431</sup>. Peasant bee yards are attested in the forests of the village of Świerże (near Radom). About the village of Koniemłoty he wrote that "in borris sunt mellificia", each of them a farmer gives 2 *urnas*. For example, from the village of Borów an urn of honey was given from each field, from the village of Drwinia peasants give the monastery in Brzesko 5 *urnas* of raw honey. From the village of Brzeźnio near Sieradz, the Norbertine convent in Imbramowice gives 3 'quartas alias faszky mellis crudi' from each lan. From Czyżemin near Pabianice, an *urna* of honey was owed from each haul (Długosz notes that in Polish this tribute is called 'pokowe'). He also certifies a levy called 'miodowe' ('honey')<sup>432</sup>. Substantial place is given to descriptions in which bee huts are shown as belonging to ecclesiastical institutions<sup>433</sup>. In the village of Zagórze near Kielce, which is the property of the Kielce collegiate scholasticate, "mellificia" belonging to the manor are attested. In addition, two peasants in this village have bee yards, each of which deposits an urn of honey (for the Kielce collegiate scholastics). They existed in the villages of the Sieciechow abbey and many others. Długosz also mentions beekeeping in the *Annales Piast* appears in the *Annales* as a *mellicida*, i.e. beartender<sup>434</sup>. He was, allegedly, able to produce saponified honey<sup>435</sup>. Długosz mentions in 1393 the *angulum mellificiorum*, i.e. beekeepers' corner, called Jamńska, in Zakrzów near Częstochowa<sup>436</sup>. He also noted a fact contemporary to himself, when the great drought of 1474 struck, many trees and bee hives were destroyed<sup>437</sup>.

Peasants drew construction and firewood from the forest<sup>438</sup>. It certifies that in the village of Brodło (near Kraków) the inhabitants have 'liber-  
tatem scinendi in sylvis et rubetis'. The village of Sadowie (also near Kraków) has special groves in which every full-farmer (*cmetho*), innkeeper

<sup>430</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 607.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 277, 343, 448; Dlb 3, pp. 77, 95, 238, 313.

<sup>432</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 282 283, 286, 288; see A.Kwaśnicka-Janowicz, *Staropolska terminologia bartnicza (na tle porównawczym)*, Kraków 2018.

<sup>433</sup> Dlb 1, p. 449; Dlb 3, p. 279.

<sup>434</sup> Ann. 10, p. 155.

<sup>435</sup> Ann. 1-2, p. 159 ('coxerat autem Pyasth urnam mellis'). Dlugosz altered the account of *Anonymous Gallus*, who wrote about well fermented beer.

<sup>436</sup> Ann. 10, p. 201; Dlb 3, p. 122.

<sup>437</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 322.

<sup>438</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 174, 602.

and crofter 'scidunt ligna pro eorum privata domestica necessitate'. The lists of tributes prove that peasants in some villages produced charcoal, which opens up the question of non-agricultural occupations. An example is the village of Krzyszkowice near Szczyrzyc, about which Długosz wrote that it is situated on barren soils and therefore the peasants produce charcoal<sup>439</sup>.

The blacksmith is mentioned unnamed in the village of Raclawice<sup>440</sup>, this is the only information Długosz has about this craft, which was widespread in the villages at the time. Looking at peasant surnames recorded in the *Liber beneficiorum*, one can see the forms coined from profession ('Snyderynne' – dressmaker's son, 'Czimermann' – carpenter).

#### 'OPPRESSION AND BONDAGE'. UNHAPPINESS AND MISERY

The notion of 'oppression and bondage' that determined the fate of the peasants appears in the views of Długosz's contemporary Jan of Ludzisko. In a speech delivered to welcome King Władysław in 1441, this scholar accused the Polish nobility of oppression and tyranny towards their own peasants<sup>441</sup>. In another speech, in 1447, he said to King Casimir Jagiellon that 'the peasants are oppressed with the heaviest slavery, worse than the sons of Israel in Egypt by Pharaoh, worse than those who were bought or taken in battle and led away into captivity'. He was outraged 'that in Poland, in this rich country, the peasants live in slavery and suffer such oppression [...]' The desire for change that he associates with the person of the king whom the Poles elected to make reforms, formulated that he was to restore the freedom of Christians in the Kingdom of Poland, he concludes by stating that it is clear that the nature of all men has given birth to equal<sup>442</sup>. Długosz undoubtedly witnessed these spectacular speeches. His description of the coronation festivities in 1447 is, however,

<sup>439</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 141, 144.

<sup>440</sup> Dlb 2, p. 364. A picture of crafts in the countryside, which presented H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło wiejskie w Polsce XIV–XVI w.*, Warszawa 1954, requires numerous additions.

<sup>441</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Jan z Ludziska. Uczony i humanista*, in: *Zrodziła ich Ziemia Mogileńska*, ed. C. Łuczak, Poznań 1997, p. 11.

<sup>442</sup> I quote from: *Wybór mów staropolskich*, prep. B. Nadolski, Wrocław 1961, pp. 23–24, 27–30; the speaker's views on the position of the peasantry discussed B. Nadolski, *Rola Jana z Ludziska w polskiem odrodzeniu*, "Pamiętnik Literacki – czasopismo kwartalne poświęcone historii i krytyce literackiej polskiej" 1929, 26, pp. 198–211, especially see J. Wyrozumski, *Jan*, pp. 10–12 (older literature there).

perfunctory, which was certainly influenced by his dislike of the king<sup>443</sup>. He makes no mention of the speech of Jan of Ludzisko, nor of him himself, although he undoubtedly knew him personally. Studying Długosz's plots devoted to the peasantry, however, we see that the myth of freedom and equality spoken of by Jan of Ludzisko appears in Długosz's description of the beginning of the Polish state. Jan of Ludzisko's view is also echoed in a sentence which Długosz includes already in the first book, namely that the Polish nobility is hard on the serfs and people of lower status<sup>444</sup>. I would stress that this short sentence suggests the ordinary-ness of the phenomenon. However, Długosz did not elaborate on this opinion, and since the concept of being hard on someone is quite broad, we do not know what exactly he meant. Direct references documenting the oppression of the nobility against the peasantry are, however, decidedly few in Długosz. There are quite a few references to repression of the peasants during wars, i.e. in emergency situations. I will discuss these later, as manifestations of the misfortunes that befell the peasants. For now, I am interested in the everyday. We can see this ordinary-ness when Długosz, referring to the lawlessness during the reign of Mieszko the Old, attributes to the nobles and knights, as customary ('consuetudinariū et solenne' –! JR), the demolition of peasants' houses and granaries, trampling their fields and robbing their horses<sup>445</sup>.

Strong accusations of oppression and, specifically, the oppression of the nobility against the peasants were also described during the reign of King Casimir the Great. In Długosz's description, the behavior of the nobility towards the peasants is defined by the words *gravis, oppresio, iniuria, violentia*<sup>446</sup>. Although he did not give specific examples, it would be difficult to accuse him of writing falsities, perhaps he hoped that everyone would know what he was talking about. Specific examples are connected with the figure of the nobleman Łukasz from Słupca in Sandomierz Land described in 1459. He committed rape, injustice and lawlessness against peasants from his villages and against his neighbors, as well as against noblemen and people living in the vicinity of his village by plundering the poor. Długosz states that the people oppressed by Ślupecki were too weak to resist him. From the extensive description (not dealing with peasant injustice alone) we learn that he seized herds of oxen, cows, sheep, horses

<sup>443</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 46.

<sup>444</sup> Jana Długosza, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, book 1–2, ed. J. Dąbrowski, transl. S. Gawęda et al., Warszawa 1962 [hereinafter: Rocz. 1–2], p. 167 = Ann. 1–2, p. 108.

<sup>445</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 121.

<sup>446</sup> Ann. 9, pp. 283 and 350.

and other cattle and animals<sup>447</sup>. An example of a bad nobleman is the son of Maciek Borkowic, whom Długosz accuses of *praeda* (plunder) carried out on peasants' property<sup>448</sup>. This case, however, concerns an outlaw, so it is not a typical example for the issue of the nobility's oppression of the peasants. On the other hand, Długosz clearly pointed to certain royal starosts as being guilty of harming the peasants. These officials at the time of King Ludwig, choosing the so-called *poradlne*, forced settlers and peasants of monastic villages to pay the entire tax, despite the fact that the royal decree stated only 2 groschen per field<sup>449</sup>. It is mentioned in 1383 that the starost of Greater Poland, Pielgrzym of Węgieszyn, plundered church property. On this occasion, he robbed peasants near Żnin of their cattle and burnt their houses, and the peasants were too weak to resist<sup>450</sup>. In 1386, royal officials took cattle from peasants (*colonis*) in the land of Gniezno<sup>451</sup>, which ended with their complaint and the spectacular intervention of Queen Jadwiga. King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk's men carried out a cattle drive in 1447 in the villages of the Tyniec Abbey<sup>452</sup>.

Długosz knew about the removal of peasants from their fields by the nobility, but he did not regard it as something reprehensible. I get the impression that it was a normal phenomenon for him. The nobleman 'repellendo kmetones et agros eorum excolando', is supposed to pay tithes from these fields 'in chase'<sup>453</sup> and everything in order. When, in 1435, he reported on a convention in Sieradz, at which the nobility of Lesser Poland acted on the issue of tithes from a field from which a full-farmer had been removed ('agro quo amovetur kmetho')<sup>454</sup>. Długosz was clearly only interested in the issue of tithes, and not in the reasons for the removal of the peasants. We see similar overtones in his account of the Piotrków convention, when he wrote about tithes from fields 'rusticum ex agro amoventi'<sup>455</sup>. As an example of the general removal of peasants, he cited Moldova, where such an act was carried out on the peasants (*veteris colonibus*) who had long been settled there<sup>456</sup>.

It is a pity that Długosz – from whom we learn about the realities of the 15th century – did not reveal his view of the origins of the manor

<sup>447</sup> Rocz. 12/1, pp. 360–361.

<sup>448</sup> Ann. 9, p. 293.

<sup>449</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 50 = Ann. 10, p. 38.

<sup>450</sup> Ann. 10, p. 131.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158.

<sup>452</sup> Rocz. 12/1, p. 53.

<sup>453</sup> Ann. 9, p. 298.

<sup>454</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 153.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 155.

<sup>456</sup> Ann. 11, p. 249.

farm. The manorial fields in the village of Bieńczyce near Kraków were called 'Powabne'<sup>457</sup>, which reveals a close connection with the free labor of peasants in the lord's field. This is the meaning of the nice-sounding old Polish word 'powaba'. The examples I have retrieved from the *Liber beneficiorum* do not, unfortunately, show the manor in *statu nascendi*. We do, however, gain evidence that the manor was evidently expanding by absorbing peasant fields. This is, of course, not a new thesis in historiography. We note the villages of which Długosz wrote that there used to be peasant lans. An instance of such is the village of Chechło (near Olkusz), where the peasant fields were occupied by noblemen who cultivated them<sup>458</sup>. Describing Gromadzice near Jędrzejów, he states that in part of the village, the fields used to be 'full-farmers'<sup>459</sup>. He wrote of the village of Górką (between Kraków and Bochnia), belonging to the monastery in Staniątki, that it was once full of full-farmers and is now 'deserted'<sup>460</sup>. In similar words he described a village called Ruda (south of Radom)<sup>461</sup>. In the large, 66-lans village of Kalina near Miechow, numerous full-farmers (*cmethones*) were dispossessed by the local gentry, who occupied their fields<sup>462</sup>. The village of Michalczowa (between Czchów and Nowy Sącz) had 4 nobleman's granges, which were created after the removal of the peasants<sup>463</sup>. In the village of Witoszyn (near Kazimierz Dolny) there are only 2 full-formers' lans and the remaining fields (their number is not given) were turned into a grange<sup>464</sup>. In Gnojnik (near Czchów) a farmer's field was converted into the fields of a local nobleman's grange<sup>465</sup>. I have given some of the examples in which Długosz wrote explicitly that granges were built at the expense of peasant fields, by removing the full-farmers. It can be assumed that the removal of full-farmers also took place in those villages, which, although Długosz does not mention the removal of peasants, he notes that there are only manors there. In the village of Łomno near Kielce, there were as many as 7 granges of noblemen<sup>466</sup>. Such a village was also Popowice (near Myślenice), where there are many

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<sup>457</sup> Dlb 2, p. 60. I have not found English equivalents for the old Polish words 'powaba' and 'powabne'.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>459</sup> Dlb 1, p. 464.

<sup>460</sup> Dlb 3, p. 285.

<sup>461</sup> Dlb 1, p. 446.

<sup>462</sup> Dlb 2, p. 82: 'plures agros cmethonales occupaverunt milites depositis cmethonibus'.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 243.

<sup>464</sup> Dlb 3, p. 244.

<sup>465</sup> Dlb 1, p. 174.

<sup>466</sup> Dlb 2, p. 463.

noble heirs and few peasants<sup>467</sup>. About the village of Łęg, near Kraków, he stated that there were no full-farmers' lans there, only eight houses<sup>468</sup>. We will also include Bzów, near Kromołów, a village with many noblemen and 3 crofters<sup>469</sup>. The example of the village of Zabawa (near Wieliczka) is noteworthy, as here, exceptionally, the manor gave one lan to a farmer (Jan Wawrowski)<sup>470</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* also gives examples of villages where the peasant fields were taken over not by the nobility but by church institutions. This was Irzmanowice, which belonged to the Holy Cross Abbey, where there used to be full-farmer's lans, but they were all turned into a grange<sup>471</sup>. In Momin, also belonging to this monastery, there used to be full-formers fields, but they have all been turned into a farmstead<sup>472</sup>. In Gruszów, belonging to the abbey in Brzesko, the farmer's field called 'Schadek', located in the middle of the manor fields, attracts attention<sup>473</sup>. Undoubtedly a *residue* of the full-farmer's fields. In Dobrowod, north of Nowy Korczyn, while noting a parson's lan, he notes that it was once a full-farmers lans<sup>474</sup>.

The landlords of the royal villages also carried out the appropriation. In the very large village of Lubochnia (100 lans), the royal manor occupied many fields of deserted full-farmers, and the parson also took one lan<sup>475</sup>. He also mentions 'Brescany' (near Zawichost), where the full-farmer's fields are deserted and turned into meadows. They are usurped by Sandomierz castle<sup>476</sup>. An example of a village where there are no crofters is Skarszyce (near Kromołów), which records 7 crofters with fields<sup>477</sup>. In Kliszów (east of Jędrzejów) there was a full-farmer's lan and a half, but there were also 6 crofters, which have former *lanei cmethonales*<sup>478</sup>. In Bronowice (now Bronowice Wielkie, a part of Kraków) homesteads were established on the village mayor (*scultetus*) fields and there were also homesteaders, who have separate fields from the manorial half<sup>479</sup>. In the village of Jawor (near Jędrzejów), it was an inn that took over

<sup>467</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 184.

<sup>468</sup> Dlb 3, p. 428.

<sup>469</sup> Dlb 2, p. 211.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 106.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 474.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 469.

<sup>473</sup> Dlb 3, p. 78.

<sup>474</sup> Dlb 1, p. 419.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 509.

<sup>476</sup> Dlb 3, p. 317.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 152.

<sup>478</sup> Dlb 1, p. 455.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 475, 534.

the formerly full-farmers' lans<sup>480</sup>. It should be noted that the appropriation also affected the fields belonging to the burghers, as evidenced by the origins of the manor near Zator<sup>481</sup>. In some villages, the large number of manor farms with the still noticeable existence of full-farmers' fields is noteworthy. The village of Niezabitów near the town of Wąwolnica (in the land of Lublin) had 6 full-farmer lans fields and as many as 30 granges<sup>482</sup>. In Sieciechowice (near Kraków) there were 5 granges and 26 lans<sup>483</sup>. It often happens to Długosz that in a given village there is a grange and there are peasant fields (lans), but without giving their number. In the case of the village of Motycz near Lublin, he only states that there is a manor farm with 1 lan belonging to a nobleman and 'there are full-farmers' lans' (without specifying their number)<sup>484</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum* we come across references to deserted villages<sup>485</sup>. He mentioned deserted villages such as Zantkowa in the parish of Kołaczyce (near Jasło)<sup>486</sup>, Koziniec and Szopienice both near Mysłowice<sup>487</sup> and others. There were also villages in which some of the crofts had no farmers. In Targowisko (near Bochnia), which belonged to the monastery in Miechów, 4 lans *sunt deserti*<sup>488</sup>. It is only through detailed research, taking into account sources other than Długosz, that it is possible to deduce what caused this.

Even before Długosz began writing his works, fugitive warfare was a common and frequent form of peasant resistance<sup>489</sup>. Długosz did not address the issue of the peasants' personal freedom or lack thereof<sup>490</sup>.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 475.

<sup>481</sup> Dlb 2, p. 228.

<sup>482</sup> Dlb 3, p. 256.

<sup>483</sup> Dlb 2, p. 38.

<sup>484</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 536; D. Kupisz, A. Obara, K.P. Pękała, *Dzieje Motycza na przestrzeni wieków*, Lublin 2010, p. 41 showed that in Długosz's time 16 new lans were added; see also A. Obara-Pawłowska, *Dzieje parafii w Motyczu do roku 1939*, Lublin 2025.

<sup>485</sup> Desolate fields were not subject to tithes, J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>486</sup> Dlb 2, p. 279.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 204.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114.

<sup>489</sup> F. Sobalski, *op. cit.*, p. 297 stated that fugitives in the Masovian border region of Łęczyca were frequent; see also G. Jawor, *Ekonomiczne i społeczne aspekty zbiegostwa ludności wiejskiej na ziemi lubelskiej w XV w.*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" 1987, 48, pp. 139–151. This issue in relation to the 15th century Kraków and Sandomierz lands has not been investigated. For the later period see A. Kiełbicka, *Zbiegostwo chłopów w województwie krakowskim na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, Kraków 1989.

<sup>490</sup> K. Tymieniecki, *Wolność kmieca na Mazowszu w XV wieku*, Poznań 1921, p. 47; idem, *Zagadnienie niewoli w Polsce u schyłku wieków średnich*, in: *Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*, vol. 7, Poznań 1933, p. 527.

In his *Liber beneficiorum*, he repeatedly mentioned villages where there were no peasants or where the peasants' fields had disappeared. Occasionally, he pointed out the person who had flattened the peasants' fields, but he never addressed the question of departure or absconding. There is little mention of peasant resistance. Długosz described at length under 1037 that the turmoil engulfed all classes, but that servi and rustici, who abandoned their fields and ploughs, played a special role in slaughtering the mighty and the knights, but also in murdering the priests. He concluded his long-winded description with the strong sentence that 'the peasants were turning into rogues'<sup>491</sup>, although he did not reveal his view of what caused the rebellion. The ability of the peasants to resist is shown by the example of Maciek Borkowic's son mentioned above, who was attacked by peasants during the looting at Rozrażewo (near Krotoszyn)<sup>492</sup>. The issue of peasant resistance also includes Długosz's account of Bohemia, where, influenced by Jan Hus ideology, the peasants seized the estates of the nobility<sup>493</sup>. These mentions can be a starting point for considering the issue of crime among peasants. Długosz writes about it only once, namely, under 1334, that for committing robberies the common people, but also the nobility, were sentenced to terrible punishments by King Kazimierz the Great<sup>494</sup>.

Fees, tributes, servants and all the free work that was imposed on the peasants are documented in detail in Długosz's works. Nowhere and never do we see in him the shadow of a reflection that perhaps this is too much, that perhaps it is also a form of oppression. In only one place, in the *Annales*, did he emphasize that caroling was to be voluntary and the rector of the church was to thank for it, not demand it. Długosz also admonished that the parish priest was not allowed to take money from the peasants for performing the Holy Sacraments<sup>495</sup>, in which to see an identity with the views of John of Ludzisko.

Tithing was something that had been settled for centuries<sup>496</sup>. The tithe known as 'w gonitwę' is repeatedly mentioned in *Liber beneficiorum*, which

<sup>491</sup> Ann. 1–2, pp. 317–318, 394–395.

<sup>492</sup> Ann. 9, p. 293.

<sup>493</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 19.

<sup>494</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 228.

<sup>495</sup> Harsh criticism of charging for the Holy Sacraments by Jan z Ludziska, see. J. Wyrozumski, *Jan*, p. 13.

<sup>496</sup> W. Jemielity, *Dziesięciny kościelne w Królestwie Polskim, "Prawo Kanoniczne"* 1997, 40, 3–4, pp. 239–262; P. Plisiecki, *Akt wdzięczności czy zapłata? – z badań nad rozumieniem dziesięciny w Polsce średniowiecznej*, in: *Przestrzeń religijna Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w średniowieczu / Religious space of East-Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, eds. K. Bracha, P. Kras, Warszawa 2010, pp. 181–187.

meant 'a tithe from numerous estates throughout a certain extensive area [...] belonging to one church'. This tithe was 'the opposite of giving a free tithe'<sup>497</sup>. I do not know what the tithe was called 'kopcziszna', which is mentioned in relation to the village of Stróża near Kraśnik and the village of Piasek and Suchinia<sup>498</sup>.

However, it is difficult to suppose that Długosz – the historian of tithes – was unaware of how taxing this tribute was for the peasants. I have come across one passage in which he reveals this burdensomeness. In the description of the village of Filipowice near Nowa Góra, a tithe in grain, i.e. in small grains, is shown. It amounted to 50 measures of rye, wheat and oats each. Długosz wrote that peasants complained about the nuisance of tithes in grain and the sheaf tithe was restored<sup>499</sup>. The understanding of the nuisance complaint is therefore about the type of levy, not the obligation to pay itself. His works are the main source for the history of tithing, which can be considered in several aspects. As part of the tithe, hemp (*decima canapales*) was also given in the form of pure fibres bound together in so-called kits. Długosz very often uses the Polish word 'kita' ('crest')<sup>500</sup>, also uses Latin terms<sup>501</sup>. It recognizes this tribute as a hemp tithe, stating, for example, that it has a dimension of per 4 ierugas alias 'kythy' – example concerns the village of Komorzyn (near Zawichost)<sup>502</sup>, or that 'solvunt per duas kittas' (village of Stadniki)<sup>503</sup>. The parish priest of Brzyska (north of Jasło) collected from each of the 9 crofters 'duas kittas canapi'<sup>504</sup>. The village of Wysznka (near Pajęczno, in the land of Sieradz) consisted of 'decimae canapi per tres ligaturas'<sup>505</sup>.

We are interested in its nuisance in the peasant economy. It was, added to the issue of transport, a very vexatious benefit for peasants<sup>506</sup>.

<sup>497</sup> A.Z. Helcel, *Badania w przedmiocie historii dziesięciny kościelnych w Polsce, szczególnie pod względem tak zwanej dziesięciny swobodnej i dziesięciny oddawanej w goniwie*, Warszawa 1863 pp. 48, 52, 53 where important remarks in the context of Długosz's relations.

<sup>498</sup> Dlb 3, p. 174, 175.

<sup>499</sup> Dlb 1, p. 182, indicated that J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 37; cf. Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Filipowice*, in: SHGK, part 1, issue 4, p. 682.

<sup>500</sup> Dlb 1, p. 214; Dlb 3, p. 407.

<sup>501</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 194, 503; Dlb 3, p. 185.

<sup>502</sup> Dlb 1, p. 194.

<sup>503</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 214. Its dimension depended on the area cultivated, e.g. when cultivated with 4 oxen or 4 horses the dimension was 8 kits, correspondingly less when cultivated with 2 oxen/horse or one draught animal, J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>504</sup> Dlb 3, p. 204.

<sup>505</sup> Dlb 1, p. 502.

<sup>506</sup> J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

With regard to sheaf tithes, he reported in the *Annales* under 1352 that peasants were obliged to take sheaves to places designated by tithe owners<sup>507</sup>, he also showed this with concrete examples in the *Liber beneficiorum*, informing where the granary (horreum) to which the tithes were taken was located<sup>508</sup>. This information is of great value for learning about the arduousness of the peasant economy. For it was the peasants who had to take the sheaves due to the Church to specific places with their own carts. For example, Długosz stated that the peasants from Michałowice near Kraków drove their own carts to the village of Czechy (near Słomniki), a distance of almost 20 km. Długosz showed great care in describing the tithes due<sup>509</sup>.

The first mention of tithes in the *Annales* dates from 1215, and reports sheaf and money tithes from villages (mentioned by name) around Czechy. Długosz added that wine, candles and other things for the cathedral of Kraków were bought from these revenues<sup>510</sup>. In 1215, this was described as a regular occurrence, and similarly, in 1359, it was stated without contradiction that monetary tithes from villagers were to be collected by the village chiefs<sup>511</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum*, the monetary tithe appears many times, and the transition from the sheaf and small-bread tithe to the payment in money is also attested to<sup>512</sup>. Information on the monetary value of tithes paid from a village is very important. These are sometimes very high amounts, e.g. 50, 40, 30, 24 *marcas* (calculated value gathered from the entire village)<sup>513</sup>.

Among the fees, those related to pastoral services come first. The so-called 'missarium' paid to the parson was widespread. It is mentioned several times in the *Liber beneficiorum* also under its Polish name 'meszne/meschne'<sup>514</sup>. It was the predominant levy in the diocese of Kraków, measured in grain and deposited on St Martin's Day<sup>515</sup>. Its size varied. The village of Gumniska, for example, deposited a *missarium* of as much

<sup>507</sup> Ann. 9, p. 266.

<sup>508</sup> Dlb 1, p. 142.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 140–142.

<sup>510</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 222.

<sup>511</sup> Ann. 9, p. 297.

<sup>512</sup> Dlb 1, p. 141. I leave aside the consideration of the question of whether Długosz was indeed reluctant to tithe in money (this is the view propounded by J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 43, 470).

<sup>513</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 32, 222, 237–238.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 62, 64, 98, 131, 140, 200.

<sup>515</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Kołada – meszne – stołowe na ziemiach polskich. Problem rejonizacji*, in: *Kultura średniowiecza i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesiątce lat pracy naukowej*, ed. D. Gawin, Warszawa 1991, pp. 625–638.

as 100 crowns of wheat and as many oats<sup>516</sup>. In the *Liber beneficiorum*, however, we also find references to an older levy than the 'meszne' (collected as early as the 12th century), which was a carol paid to the parish priest in the form of money at Christmas. Długosz mentions it as 'columbatio alias kolyada'<sup>517</sup>, stating, for example, that from one village it was as much as 7 *marcas*<sup>518</sup>, highlighting with some villages that the peasants there do not pay the messuage, but the carol<sup>519</sup>. Among the fees paid to the parson are 'stolowe'<sup>520</sup>, 'bochenkowe'<sup>521</sup>, 'wieprzowe'<sup>522</sup>, *pro caribus*<sup>523</sup>, 'barankowe'<sup>524</sup>, 'obiedne'<sup>525</sup>, while 'szyenne' is the name of the rent instead of hay<sup>526</sup>.

A common charge in grain was the so-called 'osep'<sup>527</sup>. In the Polish wording we read about it as early as 1299<sup>528</sup>. Its dimensions varied greatly, but usually composed in a certain number of measures of oats and rye<sup>529</sup>.

Fees were also paid to the Holy See. Here Długosz provided valuable information, although also known from other sources, that settlers and peasants were to pay "1 denarius per head as a holy levy"<sup>530</sup>. The *Liber beneficiorum* mentions 'the denarius of St Peter'<sup>531</sup>.

He also described in great detail the tributes and peasant fees to the royal treasury. A special place is given to the fee called poradne. Under 1374 he gives the amount of 6 'scottos' paid from a settled field as the poradne tax formerly paid. King Ludwik gave permission for 2 pennies of 'poradne', nevertheless the starosts 'forced settlers and villagers of monastic villages to pay the entire tax'<sup>532</sup>. King Władysław Jagiełło, when approving privileges for the nobility in 1430, confirmed

<sup>516</sup> Dlb 2, p. 264.

<sup>517</sup> Dlb 1, p. 498.

<sup>518</sup> Dlb 2, p. 119.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 159; Dlb 3, p. 323.

<sup>520</sup> Dlb 2, pp. 63, 140.

<sup>521</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 208, 209.

<sup>522</sup> Dlb 1, p. 578.

<sup>523</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 203–204.

<sup>524</sup> Dlb 2, p. 224.

<sup>525</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 275, 277, 450; Dlb 3, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>526</sup> Dlb 1, p. 277.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibidem*, 502; Dlb 3, pp. 83–84.

<sup>528</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 5, issue 8 (32), *Okraszać – Osiadły*, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1969, p. 638.

<sup>529</sup> Dlb 3, p. 7.

<sup>530</sup> Ann. 9, p. 101.

<sup>531</sup> Dlb 1, p. 477.

<sup>532</sup> Rocz. 10, pp. 48–50.

that all peasants on the estates of the nobility were exempt from tolls, levies, carting, chores, work, water trips (horse trips), and the grain tribute called sep except for 2 groszy from each field, which was to be paid from St. Michael to St. Nicholas. Exempted from these 2 pennies are village heads and their servants, millers, innkeepers and homesteaders and those cultivating a field or half a field. Failure to pay will be punished by the requisition of 1 ox<sup>533</sup>. The king and the council in 1455 decided that the 'full-farmers' of the clerical and royal estates should pay 2 quarters of *marca* per field<sup>534</sup>.

Numerous examples of 'poradlne' are provided by *Liber beneficiorum*, noteworthy for its varying amount<sup>535</sup>. About the charge called 'crolestwo alias podymne' Długosz wrote that it was not paid by villages near Lublin and both owned by the Brigidine Monastery, namely Czerniejów and Skrzynice also called Poniatowa<sup>536</sup>. I will also mention fees such as the 'narzaz' deposited in hogs, the hogshed, the caretaker, the obligation of the settlers and full-gormers, to pay for the upkeep of the castle.

Długosz documents several times the existence of benefits from the peasant population for the castle. He relates the existence of this benefit to the time of King Bolesław Chrobry, when the villages surrounding the castle were obliged to supply it with food and to keep watch at night, accompanied by calling out, this was called the 'stróża'<sup>537</sup>. He also wrote that the settlers, or full-farmer, had a duty to contribute to the upkeep of the castle. They allegedly accepted this duty willingly. He also wrote that it persisted also in his time<sup>538</sup>. cultivating a lan, is to give a root of rye and a root of oats in pure grain to the castle. He referred to the times of King Kazimierz the Great with the image of peasants building castles<sup>539</sup>. In *Liber beneficiorum* we find a mention that the full-farmers from the village of 'Czobaków' (probably today's Szczerbakow) in the parish of Stróżysko pay a mound of pennies to the castle in Nowe Miasto Korczyna and carry out some work<sup>540</sup>. I do not know the origin of the rent

<sup>533</sup> Ann. 11, p. 279.

<sup>534</sup> Rocz. 12/1, p. 275.

<sup>535</sup> Dlb 3, pp. 235, 236.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 305 and 306.

<sup>537</sup> Rocz. 1-2, p. 358 = Ann. 1-2, pp. 282-283. The word has no equivalent in English, it derives from doing guard duty.

<sup>538</sup> Rocz. 1-2, p. 361 = Ann. 1-2, p. 285. This benefit can indeed be regarded as a common, see F. Dąbrowski, *Świadczenia fortyfikacyjne ludności pospolitej i rycerstwa w Polsce XIII wieku w źródłach pisanych*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" 2008, 56, 2, pp. 147-168.

<sup>539</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 445.

<sup>540</sup> Dlb 2, p. 435.

called war rent, which was charged to the inhabitants of the Benedictine-owned village of Opatkowice on the Wilga River<sup>541</sup>.

A separate chapter is free works and ministries. In the section of *Liber beneficiorum* that includes descriptions of the monastic estates of all villages in which there was a royal annuity, it is mentioned first. This makes comparisons possible. It can be seen that serfdom was widespread in the villages of the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre<sup>542</sup>. Dlugosz's works also contain information about the archaic free labor of peasants in the fields of the land lord. Very often mentioned is the allure of (Polish term 'powaba')<sup>543</sup>. Phrase 'powaba seu pomocz'<sup>544</sup> allows the two ministries to be identified. He says of the peasants of Skarżysko that 'laborant hyeme zwane pomoczne'<sup>545</sup>. We also read of a "great powaba"<sup>546</sup> and this issue should be investigated further in the future, as should the fact that in Prandocin, which belongs to the Cistercians, the peasants do not make allure, but 'rugowe'<sup>547</sup>. Powaby i.e. helpful days usually included 1 day per year, but we also encounter higher dimensions (e.g. 2 days)<sup>548</sup>. Full-farmers arant 'jutrzyny' – Długosz wrote about many villages<sup>549</sup>. A 'jutrzyna' was the work of the whole bunch in the manor field, and included either all or some seasonal work. We see a definition of "jutrzyna" in the description of Dziekanowice (near Krakow). The peasants are obliged *arare, seminare, 'arpicare et sata in eo metere atque conducere'* – it is called *jutrzyny*<sup>550</sup>. The name 'jutrzyna' also referred to the area of the field to be cultivated as part of the free labor. A very important explanation was given by Długosz with reference to the village of Grodzisko near Zator, in which every full-farmer 'laborant ratione murgi seu jutrzyny sex sulcos alias zagony arat'<sup>551</sup>. The identifica-

<sup>541</sup> Dlb 3, p. 194.

<sup>542</sup> J. Rajman, *Gospodarka w dobrach klasztoru bożogrobców miechowskich w XV–XVI w.*, in: *Klasztor w gospodarce średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*, ed. M. Derwich, Wrocław 2013, pp. 413–431.

<sup>543</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 603, 623; Dlb 2, pp. 141, 143; Dlb 3, pp. 83–84.

<sup>544</sup> Dlb 1, p. 375.

<sup>545</sup> Dlb 3, p. 403.

<sup>546</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 537, 538.

<sup>547</sup> Dlb 3, p. 424.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 427.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>550</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 156–157.

<sup>551</sup> Dlb 3, p. 68.

tion of the 'jutrzyna' with the murga appeared here<sup>552</sup>. We also encounter the identification of 'hyeme jutrzyny'<sup>553</sup>.

If free labor was to be provided 'on foot' (*pedester*), this was clearly stated<sup>554</sup>. A preliminary analysis of the *Liber beneficiorum* indicates that in the 15th century, labor was at an advantage when a peasant had to present himself in the lord's field with his own plough, cart and harness. It was written about explicitly: 'proprio curru aut aratro'<sup>555</sup>, or with Polish words: 'kromye sprząże', 'sprzążą', 'sprzasza', 'coniunctim alias zprząża', 'ducunt stadiionem coniunctim alias sprzansza'<sup>556</sup>. The dimension of serfdom varied, and it was also recorded what was the dimension of serfdom of the peasants and that of the homesteaders. In the village of Wysznka near Pajęczno in the Sieradz region, they work 2 days a year ('pro vere and pro autumno arando')<sup>557</sup>. In Zawada (near Mstow), peasants work by cart 3 days a year<sup>558</sup>, so very little. In Czerniejów (near Lublin), which was the property of the Brigidines of Lublin, there were 10 days of serfdom per year with their own carts<sup>559</sup>.

A great many villages were already burdened with villein service at least once a week or more. It was written about the peasants from the village of Golkowice, which belonged to the monastery in Stary Sącz, that they worked half a day, except on market days<sup>560</sup>. In Opatkowice near Proszowice, farmers work 1 day, but at harvest time as many as 5 days<sup>561</sup>. There are only 3 homesteaders in the village of Podskalany, each making 1 day<sup>562</sup>.

In Zabierzów (near Kraków), which belongs to a Norbertine convent, the peasants work 1 day a week between St John the Baptist and St Michael, and 2 days between St Michael and St John the Baptist<sup>563</sup>. In Modlnica, of the same owner, they work 2 days a week from St John to St Michael's<sup>564</sup>. The same size was in force in the village of Mogiła, belonging to the Cistercian abbey, with the remark that the peasant was to present

<sup>552</sup> Dlb 1, p. 405.

<sup>553</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 615.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 155, 163; Dlb 3, pp. 48, 427.

<sup>555</sup> Dlb 3, p. 53.

<sup>556</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 151, 159, 167, 536, 628.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 502.

<sup>558</sup> Dlb 3, p. 150.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 305.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 340.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212.

<sup>562</sup> Dlb 2, p. 7.

<sup>563</sup> Dlb 3, p. 62.

<sup>564</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

himself with his own cart and plough<sup>565</sup>. In the village of Modrzany, compulsory free labor was provided 3 days a week<sup>566</sup>. In the village of Szarbie, farmers work 1 day, but in the period from St John the Baptist to St Bartholomew 3 days<sup>567</sup>. The village of Tempoczów (near Skalbmierz) has a detailed description of the field work required, distinguishing between solum a mane usque in meridiem<sup>568</sup>. The village of Skrzynica, near Lublin, also has a very detailed description, with an obligatory seminare pro vere unam tunnam alias 'kloda' de avene propria et munda<sup>569</sup>.

There was a group of villages where there was no weekly serfdom and the inventories used in the *Liber beneficiorum* clearly indicated this. In Krzyżanowice (near Szczyrzyc), a village with 30 lans, the peasants did not work a day a week, 'solum ad conducturam roborum' at the construction of the manor and mill<sup>570</sup>. In Rzeczyca near Kraśnik, farmers do not provide weekly serfdom, 'tam pro vere quam pro hyeme'<sup>571</sup>, from the village of Szymanowice near Nowy Sącz, 'they do not do anything or drive'. The peasants there, sitting on 4 fields, do not pay any tribute, they pay a mound of pennies from each field. Serfdom 'when commanded' quando eis mandatur is also recorded<sup>572</sup>. This is how homesteaders in the village had to work Pobiednik and Przewóz (both near Kraków). Mention should be made of the repeatedly recorded obligation to mow the meadows on the manor farm<sup>573</sup>. In the village of Gojców (south of Opatów), listing the weekly free labor, it is written that from each field it is compulsory to appear 'ad laborandum obroky'<sup>574</sup>, i.e. the preparation of animal feed.

Villein service also included transport services. It has already been mentioned that peasants used their own cart to carry sheaves to the granaries in fulfilment of their tithe obligation. In addition to this, the village owners imposed other services on the peasants, for which the use of a cart was necessary. In the village of Krzecin, there is evidence of an obligation to bring 'frumenta decimae' na targ w Krakowie<sup>575</sup>. In the case of the village of Pychowice, the collection point was located in Kraków<sup>576</sup>.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 423.

<sup>566</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 213.

<sup>567</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>568</sup> Dlb 1, p. 533.

<sup>569</sup> Dlb 3, p. 306.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 144.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 174.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 64, 427.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41.

<sup>574</sup> Dlb 1, p. 397.

<sup>575</sup> Dlb 3, p. 66.

<sup>576</sup> Dlb 1, p. 168.

The most frequently attested in the *Liber beneficiorum* is the carrying of wood and hay by the full-farmers<sup>577</sup> The peasants of Krowodrza have to fetch wood for the Spirit Hospital using their own carts<sup>578</sup>. In a detailed description of Benedictine Tyniec, we read that there are no crofts in the village, but there are 14 homesteads, and the peasants who own them work 2 days a week with their own carts, 'ducunt ligna, foenum et alia in Cracoviam'<sup>579</sup>. There were transports over considerable distances. For example, peasants from the village of Złotniki drove their own carts to Wieliczka and Kraków to bring products needed by the Benedictine Abbey in Sieciechów<sup>580</sup>.

In the description of the village of Szulow near Kraśnik, they do not work the day, but "ducturas faciunt" as far as Koprzywnica<sup>581</sup>. From the vineyards belonging to the Cistercian abbey in Wąchock, peasants were obliged to bring the 'wine' to the monastery<sup>582</sup>. Village of Przewody (northeast of Sandomierz) – full-farmers from 17 lans 'ducturas faciunt' to Sandomierz, Zawichost, Koprzywnica and Opatów<sup>583</sup>.

Serfdom, transport services, fees, etc. raise the question of how the average peasant in 15th century Lesser Poland could manage all this<sup>584</sup>. From Długosz's works we will unfortunately not learn whether he thought

<sup>577</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 277, 447; Dlb 3, pp. 41, 94–105, 184.

<sup>578</sup> Dlb 3, p. 42.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 183–184.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269.

<sup>581</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 384.

<sup>582</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 410.

<sup>583</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>584</sup> J. Wroniszewski, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze*, Poznań–Wrocław 2001, p. 15 argues that the dimensions of rent and serfdom are equivalent in nature. Stwierdził, że tam gdzie były wyższe opłaty, tam było mniej obciążen darmowymi pracami. Mając dopiero rozpoczęte systematyczne badania nad *Liber beneficiorum*, nie jestem w stanie powiedzieć na ile ta hipoteza jest prawdziwa. P. Guzowski, *Warunki*, pp. 7–24 agreeing with this statement writes, that average rent for peasants from church estates was 15 pennies per lan (15th century), with a general average of 24.5 pennies. This is based on location privileges. The author had no sources to show whether these figures were sustainable. The author states that only in 5 cases of the 15th century locations there is weekly serfdom, with 1 to 14 days prevailing annually. In order to obtain the rent payment of 48 pennies, the peasant had to produce 8 and a half quarters of oats or more than 5 quarters of wheat. The need to pay rent required not only the production of grain but also its sale, which stimulated the participation of peasant farms in the commodity economy. See also P. Guzowski, *Ile*; G. Jawor, *Służba najemna w gospodarstwach chłopskich w Polsce w późnym średniowieczu (na przykładzie ziemi lubelskiej)*, in: *Księga jubileuszowa profesora Feliksa Kiryka*, eds. A. Jureczko, F. Leśniak, Z. Noga, Kraków 2004 ("Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis", 21, *Studia Historica* 3), pp. 493–500.

that the peasants life in Poland were 'bad' or 'good'<sup>585</sup>. Although he did not give a comprehensive description of the living conditions of the Polish peasants as can be found in 16th century sources, many interesting references can be found in his works. It can be said with certainty that he considered the peasants to be the most vulnerable to natural disasters. Writing about his own contemporaries, he expressed the notable view that the poverty ('inopia') that characterizes servants and plebeians (*servicia et plebes*) is the reason why they cannot endure a famine<sup>586</sup>. In his descriptions there is a motif of distributing grain to peasants suffering from hunger, e.g. in 1362 King Casimir saving the peasants from starvation caused by storms, rains and winds of the royal granaries<sup>587</sup>. In 1391, King Władysław Jagiełło sends grain and food to Lithuania and Lithuanian peasants can sow the fields thanks to the grain sent from Poland<sup>588</sup>. In 1419, peasants in Mazovia receive food from the royal army, as the army had previously destroyed their crops<sup>589</sup>.

Of Długosz's numerous descriptions of natural disasters, I will mention those in which the fate of peasants is depicted. In 1221, he wrote that the sowing of spring crops (*vernalia frumenta*) was prevented by flooding. Because of this, a severe famine oppresses the peasants, cattle and pigs fall<sup>590</sup>. He commented on the effects of various floods in several places showing the mainly destructive actions of the Vistula, such as the great flood of 1270, which destroyed houses, drowned cattle, pigs, pack animals<sup>591</sup>.

The dramatized accounts of the *Annales* are reflected in mentions scattered throughout the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>592</sup>. In the village of Bogoria part of the fields were swallowed up by the Vistula River. Two villages near Sieciechow were submerged by the river. The Vistula engulfed part of the fields of the village of Podłęże near Kraków. Wola Biedrzychowska (near the town of Nowy Korczyn) has become uninhabited for many years due to the floods of the river (the Vistula), to the extent that there

<sup>585</sup> I refer to the article by A. Wyczański, *Czy chłopu było źle w Polsce XVI wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 1978, 85, 3, pp. 627–641.

<sup>586</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 77; see G. Jawor, *Niedobory zboża na przednówku w gospodarstwach chłopskich ziemi lubelskiej w XV i początkach XVI wieku. Problem głodu czy dystrybucji?*, in: *Nędza i dostatek na ziemiach polskich od średniowiecza po wiek XX*, ed. J. Sztetynko, Warszawa 1992, pp. 25–31.

<sup>587</sup> Rocznik 9, p. 392.

<sup>588</sup> Ann. 10, p. 193.

<sup>589</sup> Ann. 11, p. 102.

<sup>590</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 233.

<sup>591</sup> Ann. 7–8, pp. 166–167.

<sup>592</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 176, 329, 424; Dlb 2, p. 135; Dlb 3, pp. 269, 318, 430.

are no traces of its former inhabitants. Smaller rivers also had their toll, such as the Skawa in Zygodowice (near Wadowice), which, although remote, devoured numerous fields in the village. The Dunajec showed its ominous power, destroying fields in Jurków and others, including freshly cleared ones. In 1438, rains destroyed spring crops, which caused prices to rise and a measure of wheat cost a 1 florin<sup>593</sup>. In 1474. In turn, a great drought causes the destruction of many trees and beehives and the loss of spring crops. The animals died because the silt filled their stomachs, because they nibbled on the grass with sand<sup>594</sup>.

In 1334, snow fell in the Kingdom of Poland on St Adalbert's Day (23 April), causing peasants to fear for their sowings<sup>595</sup>. A similar fear prevailed in 1354, when the snowfall came at the end of May and the crops had already sprouted ears. The spectre of famine made all the peasants tremble with fear<sup>596</sup>. In both cases, the snow lingered for 5 days, but did not cause damage, on the contrary, it gave the crops much needed hydration<sup>597</sup>. In 1417, the snow that fell in March caused the destruction of crops and a famine<sup>598</sup>. In 1440, a severe frost set in, causing a famine. People then made bread from fat, mistletoe, bones and plant roots. Nobles and villagers ate old bedding from stables and straw, and cattle and sheep roared with hunger<sup>599</sup>.

He dates the first plague that affected Polish villages to 1298. He wrote that it killed animals and because of the 'lack of working animals and oxen' it was not possible to cultivate the land<sup>600</sup>. The largest epidemic that took place in the Middle Ages was unfortunately treated very superficially, writing under 1349 that the plague affected *oppida et villas*<sup>601</sup>. This is otherwise an important voice in the debate as to whether the 'Black Death' reached Poland. When describing the next plague (1360), Długosz returns to the unfinished thread of 1349 and states that the previous one claimed 'more of the people', while this one (of 1360) claimed more

<sup>593</sup> Rocz. 11–12, p. 214.

<sup>594</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 336.

<sup>595</sup> Ann. 9, p. 183; see M. Grad, *Osobliwe zjawiska przyrodnicze w Rocznikach, czyli kronikach sławnego Królestwa Polskiego przez Jana Długosza opisane*, "Przegląd Geofizyczny" 2020, 65, 3–4, pp. 195–213.

<sup>596</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 340.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>598</sup> Ann. 11, p. 70.

<sup>599</sup> Rocz. 11–12, pp. 245–246.

<sup>600</sup> Rocz. 7–8, p. 384.

<sup>601</sup> Ann. 9, p. 257. On the plague epidemic in Poland in the 14th century see P. Rutkowski, „Czarna śmierć” w Polsce w połowie XIV wieku, "Studia i Materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej" 1975, 26, pp. 3–31.

of the nobility and rich people<sup>602</sup>. Under 1443, a plant blight is described, because in the opinion of the people (*vulgarium opinione*) "snyecz" appears on cereals through it<sup>603</sup>, underneath which is hidden the so-called wheat blight that attacks wheat.

Another theme in Długosz's work that connects with peasant injustice is the depiction of them as victims of war. They suffered at the hands of foreigners as well as their own. He first shows this when Bretislaus invades Poland and takes the peasants captive. He ends by saying that the villages became empty as a result of the destruction of the peasants after Bretislaus' invasion<sup>604</sup>. In 1119, the Polish Duke Boleslaw the Wrymouth (Bolesław Krzywousty) takes captives among the Pomeranians, especially young peasants, in order to later have people to work on the land<sup>605</sup>. This reference is very important, as it shows that one of the aims of wars was the taking of populations from enemy territory. He demonstrates this with many later examples, and in addition, when writing about wars that took place during his lifetime, he shows the desolation of fields and the trampling of crops as a method of attacking the enemy<sup>606</sup>.

The peasants also suffered from Polish troops. He shows this in his accounts of the district wars. Under 1235, he describes the oppression of the peasants during the battles between Henry the Bearded and Conrad of Mazovia, when they left their homes, hid in safer places<sup>607</sup>. In 1259 cattle were looted from the villagers in the land of Kalisz, by Casimir the Kujavian, in retaliation Boleslaw the Pious gathered knights and villagers and attacked the Kujavian. He took back the loot, including cattle, which he gave to the peasants<sup>608</sup>. In 1289, the Polish knights defending the Sącz land from the Germans in the castle of 'Lemiesz' took the opportunity to oppress the peasants (colonos), subjects of the monastery, treating them as enemies<sup>609</sup>.

Several episodes, however, show that the nobility tried to provide protection for the peasants during the war. In the famous legend of Piotr of Krempa, the starost of Sandomierz castle, we read that he gave shelter in his castle 'populum utriusque sexus'<sup>610</sup>. During the wars against

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<sup>602</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 380.

<sup>603</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 289.

<sup>604</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 320; Ann. 3–4, p. 19.

<sup>605</sup> Ann. 3–4, p. 287.

<sup>606</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 183; 12/2, p. 135.

<sup>607</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 273.

<sup>608</sup> Ann. 7–8, pp. 121–122.

<sup>609</sup> VK, p. 271.

<sup>610</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269.

the Brandenburgers in Greater Poland, one of the castles was a refuge for knights and peasants<sup>611</sup>. In 1331, the knights built a 7-mile-long rampart near Zaniemyśl, within which peasants and their cattle were protected<sup>612</sup>.

I would like to emphasize that this phenomenon treating peasants as enemies was not revived until after the death of King Kazimierz the Great. It is a general statement written under 1370 that in Poland the knights of King Louis (Hungarisi) 'abused townsmen and peasants'<sup>613</sup>. In 1383, civilians were raped during a civil war in Greater Poland. Women, both noblewomen and peasant women, matronas vero ingenuas et agrestes, were stripped of their clothes<sup>614</sup>. Again, there is a long silence on the issue of peasant casualties. Under 1454 we read that robberies and rapes of Polish peasants were committed by the army of Greater Poland robbing villages, kidnapping women, raping<sup>615</sup>. In 1474, the nobility, summoned by the king to join the army during the Hungarian attack on Golesz and Pilsen, instead of taking care of the defence against the invaders, removes the peasants (*colonis*) from the church villages and occupies their houses<sup>616</sup>. In the same year, during battles near Wschowa in Great Poland, Polish soldiers committed rape on girls and women 'who were snatched from local villagers'<sup>617</sup>. When 1479 in Prussia, the armies fight among themselves, they have no pay, impose a tax on the 'full-farmers'<sup>618</sup>. All in all, then, in Długosz's book we find for the 13th to 15th centuries only nine cases where the Hops fell victim at the hands of 'their' troops, troops in the service of Polish monarchs.

Definitely more of this aggression is shown when foreign armies invade. From Długosz's references, it is clear that the victims of captivity were mainly peasants. When Prince Vladimir of Halicz invades the land of Przemyśl, he takes the nobility 'and also a number of peasants' captive<sup>619</sup>. A comprehensive account of the Mongol invasion in 1241 begins by mentioning that both the cities of Lublin and Zawichost and the surrounding lands were sacked<sup>620</sup>. Near Sandomierz, many of the people are killed. When the invaders approached Kraków, the peasants hid

<sup>611</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 151.

<sup>612</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 202.

<sup>613</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 31; Ann. 10, p. 24.

<sup>614</sup> Ann. 10, p. 112.

<sup>615</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 210.

<sup>616</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 324.

<sup>617</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 347.

<sup>618</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 455 = Ann. 12/2, p. 440.

<sup>619</sup> Rocz. 5–6, p. 179; Ann. 5–6, p. 179.

<sup>620</sup> Rocz. 7–8, p. 10.

with their belongings in the surrounding forests and swamps<sup>621</sup>. In 1259, the Tartars take peasants under their sword on their march, and near Sandomierz they murder defenceless peasants of both sexes and children<sup>622</sup>. During the Prussian invasion of 1244, peasants were slaughtered in Masovia and the invaders took a plentiful spoil in people and cattle<sup>623</sup>.

He devoted particular space to the peasants as victims of Lithuanian invasions. In 1263, the Lithuanians plundered people and cattle in the castellany of Łowicz<sup>624</sup>. He description of the 1277 invasion of the land of Łęczyca does not mention peasants, but people, old people and children of both sexes. 40,000 were to be abducted along with cattle<sup>625</sup>. In 1282 there was an invasion of the land of Lublin land by Lithuanians and Yotvingians, which resulted in the seizure of people and cattle<sup>626</sup>. A year later, when Lithuanians invaded Lusk there was a massacre and noblemen, townspeople and peasants were abducted into slavery<sup>627</sup>. In 1286, during an attack by Lithuanians and Ruthenians on the Mazovian town of Gostynin, more than 600 of the nobility and peasants were killed<sup>628</sup>. In 1350, God's punishment falls on the 'Polish people' in the form of an invasion of Lesser Poland by the Lithuanian people. The abduction of people and cattle follows<sup>629</sup>. In 1353, the villages and settlements near Zawichost were ravaged by Lithuanians<sup>630</sup>. This is confirmed by the fate of the local village of Tuczyna, deserted because of the wars *hostiles et barbaricas*<sup>631</sup>. One of the last Lithuanian invasions shows the fate of the village of Ocice (south of Sandomierz) suddenly and shamefully destroyed by Duke 'Jogaila' and his Lithuanians<sup>632</sup>.

It does not overlook the fate of the peasant Teutonic subjects. In 1323. The Lithuanians invade the monastic state and abduct numerous peasants<sup>633</sup>. Again in 1354, the Lithuanians also attacked the Teutonic lands, destroying villages and abducting people and cattle<sup>634</sup>. In retaliation,

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<sup>621</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 11 and 16.

<sup>622</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 125.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 48.

<sup>624</sup> Rocz. 7–8, p. 175.

<sup>625</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 198.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 218–219.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 222.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 239.

<sup>629</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 326.

<sup>630</sup> Ann. 9, p. 268.

<sup>631</sup> Dlb 3, p. 315.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 387.

<sup>633</sup> Ann. 9, p. 126.

<sup>634</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 270.

in 1357, the master enters Lithuania and his army is cruel to the peasants. Those wishing to avoid death and plunder wander off with their flocks and cattle into inaccessible forests and swamps<sup>635</sup>. In 1409, during the plundering attack of the Teutonic Knights on the Dobrzyn region, the nobility and peasants living there were cruelly (*ferociter*) slaughtered, and the spoils of war were enormous herds of flocks and cattle<sup>636</sup>. When the Polish retaliation takes place in 1410, peasants are robbed, Teutonic subjects<sup>637</sup>. The peak of the destruction wrought by the Teutonic Knights came in 1431. During their invasion of Kuyavia, the Teutonic Knights burned villages and even established prizes for arsonists. 24 towns and over 1000 villages in Kuyavia were to be burnt<sup>638</sup>. When an expedition of the Polish and Hussite armies against the Teutonic Knights took place, the towns and villages of Pomerania were deserted because everyone hid in fortified towns in fear of the troops. During the battles against the Teutonic Knights-supported Svidrigelo, in the same year, peasants from the Lusatian lands, including Ruthenians, fled from the war. Together with their children, cattle and property, they take refuge on inaccessible islands<sup>639</sup>. In 1461, during the fighting with the Teutonic Knights, the Crown army belongs to Sambia, burns villages and plunders cattle<sup>640</sup>.

In 1436 the villages near Kłobuck were ravaged by Jan Stosz and a detachment composed of Silesian nobles. The peasants were taken away with pigs and horses<sup>641</sup>. In 1475 the army of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, ravages peasant estates in Silesia<sup>642</sup>.

In dramatic terms, Długosz described the fate of the peasants during the Tartar invasions common to him. When the Tatars invaded Podole in 1450, they murdered children and infants *cuislibet condicionis*. They kidnapped cattle and non-horns, There is no mention of peasants here, but it is mainly about them, since he writes that as a result of the invasion, the Podolia nobility were deprived of the peasants in their villages<sup>643</sup>. In 1452 the Tatars invaded Podolia 'burning villages', the same year they invaded the land of Lwów where they 'took the common people like cattle into slavery'<sup>644</sup>. In 1474 the Tatars invaded Podolia and took thousands

<sup>635</sup> *Ibidem*, 9, p. 291.

<sup>636</sup> Ann. 10–11, p. 31; Rocz. 10–11, p. 37; Rocz. 11, p. 58.

<sup>637</sup> Ann. 10–11, p. 139.

<sup>638</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 41.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

<sup>640</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 356.

<sup>641</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 187.

<sup>642</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 354.

<sup>643</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 96.

<sup>644</sup> Rocz. 12/1, pp. 148, 155.

of people of both sexes, not only peasants but also knights, under their sway<sup>645</sup>. The protagonist becomes an unnamed 'Ruthenian peasant', who in 1474, near Zbaraż, was taken captive together with the son of the duke Ivan Nesvizhsky. The peasant freed the lord by killing the Tartar<sup>646</sup>.

On whether the peasants were poor and suffering, Długosz did not make a direct statement. He described the mythical Piast as poor, with the intriguing sentence that he was poor because he was honest<sup>647</sup>. Peasant poverty is shown by several descriptions of Miracles<sup>648</sup>. Under 1435, the death of Tomek from the Greater Poland village of Krynów is described. The brother of the deceased then asks for a prayer to St Stanislaus to resurrect the deceased. He argued that the deceased brother had left underage children and that he was barely able to feed his own. In other note Agnes was described as poor. To assist her in her poverty her brother Siedlec offered her a cow with a calf. An example of the misfortune of being unable to work is shown in the case of Piotr from Barcice, who went blind and had to go from house to house begging for food. I have not come across a description showing the fate of old people in the countryside. Indirectly related to this issue is the reference to the time in March being dangerous for old people<sup>649</sup>.

#### MONARCH TOWARDS PEASANTS

Threads related to the relationship between peasants and the ruler, real or fictionalized episodes, first appear in the description of Polish history in the 11th century. Długosz wrote that the peasants participate in the mourning after the death of King Bolesław Chrobry – 'the colones' abandon their *rure et agricultura*, to see the corpse of the king<sup>650</sup>.

This is probably a reminiscence of much later events. The motif of the king's protection of the peasants, for unspecified reasons, appears in the description of events in Hungary in 1051. When the imperial army entered, Kings Andrew and Bela ordered the peasants to hide with their belongings<sup>651</sup>. Bolesław Szczodry, King of Poland, fighting in Hungary, considered the destruction of the farmers' fields unjust, as they were not

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<sup>645</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 350.

<sup>646</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 336.

<sup>647</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 159.

<sup>648</sup> VS, p. 118, 152; VK, p. 321.

<sup>649</sup> Ann. 9, p. 178 (this remark referred to the illness of King Władysław Łokietek).

<sup>650</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 295.

<sup>651</sup> Ann. 3–4 p. 63: 'cum pecore et omni suppellectii in loca remonciora'.

guilty of anything<sup>652</sup>. During the reign of Mieszko the Old, the picking of the peasants' horses was done to their detriment, and depriving them of their horses resulted in the neglect of work on the land<sup>653</sup>. In addition, ducal officials punished 'both knights and peasants' severely for various offences<sup>654</sup>. He portrayed both of these social classes in 1191 as rejoicing at the return of Prince Casimir the Just to the Kraków throne<sup>655</sup>, which is an obvious fantasy, as no one asked the peasants what kind of ruler they wanted. When describing the reign of Duke Konrad in Mazovia, Długosz goes beyond the motif that the culprits of the teachings were officials and writes that *agrestes et coloni*, on an equal footing, are oppressed with taxes by the ruler<sup>656</sup>.

An example of the close ties that linked some peasants to the ducal court is Maciej Węgier from the village of Myślec (Sącz region), who was described as a *familiarus*, *domesticus* and *servitor* of princess Kinga<sup>657</sup>.

Perhaps counting this as an issue of the relationship between peasants and the monarch is a bit of a stretch, but Długosz showed paesant's curiosity in what had happened at the court of the Duke of Great Poland. Extremely interesting is Długosz's information that peasants were the authors of clumsily arranged folk songs about the death of Duchess Ludgarda, wife of King Przemysł II, strangled allegedly on his orders<sup>658</sup>. For the later period, until 1333, there is no mention in Długosz's work of the monarch's care, or lack thereof, for peasants. He introduces this issue into the arena of history very clearly only in the descriptions summarising the reign of King Casimir the Great. He wrote (under the year 1356) that the king restrained the lords and nobles 'from burdening and unjustly plundering their own peasants'<sup>659</sup>, and, in addition, supported the lowly clergy. Peasants and settlers dependent on the nobility could count on the king's protection. Casimir the Great interceded on their behalf, forbade them to be oppressed<sup>660</sup>. He wrote that even a magnate could be punished for oppressing the peasants, the disgruntled

<sup>652</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108.

<sup>653</sup> Rocz. 5–6, p. 153.

<sup>654</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 126 = Ann. 5–6, p. 100.

<sup>655</sup> Rocz. 5–6, p. 187.

<sup>656</sup> Rocz. 7–8, p. 38; Ann. 7–8, p. 33.

<sup>657</sup> VK, p. 301.

<sup>658</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 238. See J. Rajman, „*Pobiciem nieludzko ciężko poniżona*”. *Akty przemocy Piastów wobec kobiet ze swojej dynastii*, in: *W kręgu rodziny epok dawnych. Przemoc*, eds. B. Popiółek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Gadocha, Kraków 2020, pp. 36–52.

<sup>659</sup> Rocz. 9, pp. 358–359.

<sup>660</sup> *Ibidem*.

nobility calling him 'king of the peasants'<sup>661</sup>. Długosz returned to this theme when describing the king's death (1370), that his ears 'were always attentive to the complaints of villagers, poor people, widows and all the oppressed'<sup>662</sup>.

The reign of Ludwik of Hungary is shown, as is well known, in dark colors painted in contrast to the reign of King Casimir. He also showed this in his attitude to the peasants. He wrote that, in 1381, Duke Władysław Opolczyk, Andegawen's main henchman, collected half a fine from the 'peasants' in the Dobrzyń land, which resulted in a curse being placed on him. In an effort to have the curse lifted, he blamed King Ludwig for the fact that, allegedly, it was the monarch who suggested to him the idea of collecting half a fine from the peasants without granting them any concessions<sup>663</sup>. The decision to choose the so-called stations from the chapter villages in the Gniezno land was made by King Ladislaus Jagiello during his personal visit to Gniezno in 1386. Allegedly, it was suggested to him by some people from his entourage, which resulted in the robbery of the peasants' property and their loud complaint. It is not often that we read of a queen pointing out an error to the king – this was supposed to be the case at the time, and it was Queen Jadwiga who, 'by correcting the error (mistake) of the king returned all the ransom'<sup>664</sup>. A very similar situation to that of 1386 took place, if Długosz is to be believed, in 1447. Then, as before, a royal decree led to robberies in the villages of the Tyniec Abbey. The peasants – unlike in 1386. – did not go to the king with a complaint, but to the bishop. Długosz clearly writes that 'King Casimir began his reign with such wrongs'<sup>665</sup>. Długosz relates a very interesting episode in the career of a certain peasant to the court of the Dukes of Lithuania. In 1382, he describes how Wojdyło, 'a peasant of unknown origin', made a career at the court of Duke Olgierd, first as a bedding and then as a foreman. Then Duke Jogaila gave him his sister Maria as his wife. Wojdyło also exerted influence on Jagiełło by persuading him to conclude an agreement with the Teutonic Order. For Jogaila, this peasant was 'cari familiaris et generi', and assassination of Wojdyła was the cause of Jogaila's revenge<sup>666</sup>.

To the account of the king's decisions favorable to the rural community can be counted the privilege in Jedlnia of 1430, extensively described

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<sup>661</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 444.

<sup>662</sup> Rocz. 10, pp. 19–20; Ann. 10, p. 17.

<sup>663</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 104 = Ann. 10, p. 76.

<sup>664</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 207; Ann. 10, p. 158.

<sup>665</sup> Rocz. 12/1, p. 53.

<sup>666</sup> Rocz. 10, pp. 126 and 133; Ann. 10, pp. 94 and 100.

by Długosz. It should be emphasized that in the heading of this chapter we read that it was a royal 'approval of privileges and rights of all states'<sup>667</sup>. An extensive passage talks about peasants, village mayors, innkeepers and millers – included as a social state for the first time. Peasants on the estates of the nobility were freed 'from all fees, tributes and levies', but full-farmers are obliged to pay 2 pennies per field. This also applies to millers, innkeepers and even crofters, as long as they cultivate one lan of land. In the case of half-lan farms, the fee is halved. The king decrees the deadlines for payment of the levy (St. Michael the Archangel and the period until St. Nicholas), he also decrees that failure to pay the levy will result in the confiscation of an ox, and recidivism two oxen<sup>668</sup>.

In 1434, Długosz depicted the widespread grief, including that of the peasants, when the body of King Ladislaus Jagiello was transported to Kraków: 'there was not a village so miserable that it did not want to mark its heartfelt kindness towards him people came from sometimes distant towns and villages to mourn the death of the king'<sup>669</sup>.

Let me also draw your attention to an interesting aspect of the description of the Battle of Grotniki in 1439: the peasants formed an infantry in the army of Spytek of Melsztyn. This infantry consisted of 'peasants who did not dare to disobey his order'. During the battle, it was broken up by the royal infantry, which started to slaughter the survivors. At that point, King Ladislaus III ordered the peasant infantry to stop immediately, 'as they had taken up arms, having left the village under duress'<sup>670</sup>. It also discusses a decree by King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk in 1455, when the king, after consulting the council, decided that the *cmethones* of the clerical and royal estates should pay 2 wardens per lan<sup>671</sup>.

#### PEASANTS' ATTITUDE TO FAITH AND THE CHURCH

Długosz's accounts of the religiousness of the peasants and their attitude to the Church are scanty<sup>672</sup>, but as there are not many sources on this issue from the 15th century, they are all the more deserving of discussion. Puzzlingly, there is a rumor that the villagers ridiculed St Adalbert<sup>673</sup>,

<sup>667</sup> Rocz. 11, p. 289.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 292–293.

<sup>669</sup> Rocz. 11–12, pp. 133–134.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 227–228.

<sup>671</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 244.

<sup>672</sup> I omit to discuss what Długosz wrote about pagan beliefs in villages, Ann. 1–2, p. 178.

<sup>673</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 213.

but also mention that the people were keen to visit the erem of the Five Brothers<sup>674</sup>. He does not overlook that the rebellion shown at 1037 turned against the Church, that peasants had a hand in the desecration of churches and the murder of priests<sup>675</sup>.

Długosz's fantasies include that peasants and other citizens came to Kraków to assist in the election of Stanislaus as bishop<sup>676</sup>. Our historian left without comment a rumor that the peasants gave the bishop of Kraków, Bodzęta, the nickname Blind, because he had been blind for some time<sup>677</sup>. Bohemian peasants are shown under 1431 as active participants in the Hussite revolution. He emphasizes that they participated in the expulsion of the priests from Bohemia. The peasants were also supposed to inform the Hussite commanders about the mood of Sigismund Luxemburg's army. Thus showing the peasants as pro-Hussite, he mentioned, however, that the Adamite sect perpetrated robberies on them<sup>678</sup>.

On the question of the religiosity of the Polish peasants, we do not find much of an answer in Długosz. About the origin of the name of the village Świętomarz, he wrote that 'Poloni in exordio fidei Beatam Mariam'<sup>679</sup>. According to him, the Polish village owed its salvation from famine in 1354 to the extraordinary protection of the Mother of God<sup>680</sup>, however, we have no arguments to consider this as a statement by the peasants. About the village of Skowieszyn near Kazimierz Dolny, he says that there is a chapel of St John the Baptist, whose cult is extremely strong among the local inhabitants<sup>681</sup>. The descriptions of Miracles are filled with the peasants' sincere faith in the power of St. Kinga and St. Stanislaus; the descriptions are also filled with a poignant fear of the devil<sup>682</sup>. There has already

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<sup>674</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 248.

<sup>675</sup> Rocz. 1–2, p. 395.

<sup>676</sup> VS, p. 16.

<sup>677</sup> Ann. 9, p. 33.

<sup>678</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 19.

<sup>679</sup> Dlb 1, p. 438.

<sup>680</sup> Rocz. 9, p. 340.

<sup>681</sup> Dlb 3, p. 71.

<sup>682</sup> See S. Bylina, *Chrystianizacja wsi polskiej u schyłku średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2002; idem, *Życie religijne ludności wiejskiej regionu świętokrzyskiego u schyłku średniowiecza. Utwarunkowania i przesłanki*, in: *Kościół katolicki w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i we wczesnym okresie nowożytnym*, eds. W. Kowalski, J. Muszyńska, Kielce–Gdańsk 2001, pp. 153–165; idem, *Przestrzenie sakralne mieszkańców wsi u schyłku średniowiecza*, in: *Animarum cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, vol. 1, *Struktury kościelno-publiczne*, eds. H. Manikowska, W. Brojer, Warszawa 2008, pp. 149–190; B. Wojciechowska, *O potworach, demonach wodnych i świętych źródłach w Polsce średniowiecznej*, "Almanach Historyczny" 1999, 1, pp. 31–45.

been mention of the importance of the information that Długosz gives about the cult of the saints evident through the invocation of the parish church. Peasants were reminded of holy days by days taken from the liturgical calendar, acting as dates for levies, tributes and works<sup>683</sup>: Nativity of the Lord, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Feast of Pascha, St Adalbert, St John the Baptist St James, St Margaret, St Bartholomeus, St Peter, Holy Trinity, Feast of the Conversion of St Paul, St Assumption, St Michael and St Martin. Unfortunately, we do not find in Długosz's works any mention of religious brotherhoods at rural parish churches, although it is known that they were established in Polish villages in the 15th century<sup>684</sup>.

### PEASANTS VERSUS BURGHERS

There are many of Długosz's descriptions of noble-peasant relations, clearly less space is devoted to relations between peasants and burghers. In the *Annales*, this theme appears for the first time under 1283, when he writes that peasants and burghers are joint victims of the Lithuanian invasion of Lukow in 1283<sup>685</sup>. In 1312 the peasants were conscripted into the army of Duke Władysław Łokietek in order to defeat the rebellious burghers of Kraków, led by the alderman Albert, alongside the knights ('tam militarium quam agrestium copiis')<sup>686</sup>. In the context of the organisation of the supreme court of German law during the reign of King Casimir the Great, village heads and burghers appear as its meadows, as already mentioned<sup>687</sup>. The nobility the bourgeoisie and the people (*militares, cives aut populares*) were also to participate in the construction of castles under this ruler<sup>688</sup>. In the 15th century, we have one piece of general information in the *Annales*, namely that in 1474, during one of the skirmishes, at Kłobuck, the 'burghers and peasants' ('opidanis et agrestibus') repelled

<sup>683</sup> Dlb 1, pp. 154, 501, 577, 609, 617, 637, 641; Dlb 3, pp. 48, 49, 50, 62, 65, 91, 138, 184, 186, 191, 192, 281, 296, 343, 405, 501.

<sup>684</sup> M. Wyżga, *Raciborowice od XVI do końca XVIII wieku. Studium o społeczności lokalnej*, Kraków 2011, p. 108 found information on the 15th century religious brotherhoods gathering peasants.

<sup>685</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 222.

<sup>686</sup> Ann. 9, p. 82.

<sup>687</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 277–278.

<sup>688</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 350.

an attack by the Duke of Opole<sup>689</sup> and one extremely detailed one, about a peasant from a village near Lublin.

In 1452, he described a dispute whose protagonist was Stanislaw, or Iwanek, 'a man of low birth', 'a peasant by origin' ('humilis sortis et rusticani generis'). He served with the burghers of Lublin Swecz and 'went to the forest adjacent to the town' to cut and collect wood. He loaded his cart with wood and on his way back to quench his thirst stopped at an inn in Matczyna ('Mancina'). There was a fight between the villagers at the inn, one was killed and the blame was placed on the innocent Stanislaw. The latter fled to Lublin, but was caught by the slain man's brother while the corpse was still warm. The court under alderman Mikołaj Tesny sentenced him to be beheaded. He was led outside the walls, but Swecz and other townsmen, the alderman Marek, demanded acquittal and even collected money of 7 fines to give to the slain man's relatives. Stanislaw weeping prays 'All-powerful investigator of mysteries, you know that I die innocently, for I have done nothing of what the slanderous wickedness of my accusers has concocted against me'. During the execution, a Miracle occurs, the executioner's sword stops three times over Stanislaus' neck, the executioner finally drops the sword and flees to the monastery of the brothers and sisters of St. Brigid. Stanislaus, freed, later went to Czestochowa and 'to foreign lands' 'to thank God for his rescue'<sup>690</sup>.

Very important for the study of bourgeois-peasant relations is the *Liber beneficiorum*. I will first draw attention to the data on the extent of parishes whose churches were located in the town. An exception is Oświęcim, where the parish covered the town and 21 villages<sup>691</sup>. For Kraków, the best example is the parish of St Stephen, which includes a part of the city adjacent to the church and 8 villages<sup>692</sup>. St James' parish included part of the town of Kazimierz and a number of villages on the opposite side of the Vistula (practically the entire present-day district of Podgórze)<sup>693</sup>. Generally speaking, starting with Kraków, Sandomierz and Lublin<sup>694</sup>, down to the smallest towns, urban-rural parishes dominated the landscape of Lesser Poland in the 15th century. The parish church became a weekly

<sup>689</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 360 = Ann. 12/2, p. 344.

<sup>690</sup> Rocz. 12/1, p. 168–169 = Ann. 12/1, p. 150. An account probably taken from the autopsy, during Długosz's long stay in Lublin (he writes about this stay P. Dymmel, *Lubelskie lata Jana Długosza*, in: *Memoriae amici et magistri: studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Prof. Wacława Korty*, eds. M. Derwich, W. Mrozowicz, R. Żerelik, Wrocław 2001, pp. 211–219).

<sup>691</sup> Dlb 2, p. 223.

<sup>692</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 14–16.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 221–22.

<sup>694</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 311–316; Dlb 1, pp. 198–199.

meeting place for burghers and peasants. We can also come across numerous references showing burgher and peasant estates in the same village. Biskupie can be mentioned here as a villagium on the suburban of Kraków<sup>695</sup>. In Prądnik (Czerwony) near Kraków, in addition to peasants' fields, there were also 3 granges of the Kraków burghers<sup>696</sup>. The fields in Modlniczka called *niwy* oraz łąki w Pobiedniku were pastures used by the butchers of Kraków<sup>697</sup>. The burghers of the tiny town of Główaczów near Radom had fields in the village of Leżenice<sup>698</sup>. Particularly in suburban villages, town ownership and the private estates of the burghers were adjacent to peasant houses and farms. City-owned villages are specific examples. An example is Łęg owned by the city council of Kraków<sup>699</sup>. We also have examples where individual burghers owned villages, e.g. Bogucice belonged to the Cracovian Sweidniczer and the village of Wojszyn to the mayor of the town of Kazimierz Dolny<sup>700</sup>. Town and country were linked by numerous economic ties. The aforementioned Iwanek was an employee of a burgher from Lublin. The peasants would come to the market in the city with the products of their economy, while the wealthier burgeoisie would set up farms in the villages. On the other hand, I have not encountered in Długosz any information showing the movement of peasants to towns or burgeois-peasant marriages<sup>701</sup>. The common burgeois-peasant pastime is shown by a drastic (in today's terms) example from Bohemia, when the mutilated Klara Zach was shown in towns and villages (*per civitates, vicinas et villas*)<sup>702</sup>.

<sup>695</sup> Dlb 2, p. 16.

<sup>696</sup> Dlb 3, p. 210.

<sup>697</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64; Dlb 1, p. 601.

<sup>698</sup> Dlb 1, p. 346.

<sup>699</sup> Dlb 3, p. 428.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 45, 72.

<sup>701</sup> The modern period is covered in the book M. Wyżga, *Homo movens. Mobilność chłopów w mikroregionie krakowskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2019, pp. 19–22 (there is literature on the modern period); Krakow sources provide great opportunities for research on peasant migration see J. Rajman, *Chłopi śląscy przyjmujący prawo miejskie Krakowa w latach 1392–1506*, in: *Miasto i wieś na przestrzeni dziejów w Europie Środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Górnego Śląska*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice–Zabrze 2023, pp. 88–95.

<sup>702</sup> Ann. 9, p. 151.

## PEASANTS' PARTICIPATION IN WARS

An aspect of the history of peasants in medieval Poland which has not been adequately studied is their participation in wars<sup>703</sup>. Interestingly, Długosz in the pages of the *Annales* very often shows their military service, often as fighting shoulder to shoulder with the knights in the Polish army. He first mentions this under the year 1112, when an invasion of Mazovia by Prussians and Pomeranians was repulsed thanks to Comes Magnus commanding a horde consisting of knights and people<sup>704</sup>. This reference deserves special attention, as in descriptions of earlier wars, of which there was no shortage in the 11th and early 12th centuries, Długosz referred to armed men fighting under the orders of the monarch as 'knights'<sup>705</sup>. On the pages of the *Annales*, the participation of peasants, both compulsory and voluntary, in war is shown in two aspects – defence against invasions of Poland, participation in civil wars (of the period of the division into districts, but also later)<sup>706</sup>.

In 1205, an army from the lands of Kraków, Sandomierz and Mazovia, consisting of knights and peasants, took part in the Polish-Roman battle at Zawichost. The latter would scour the forests for survivors of Roman's army, whom they would murder or take captive<sup>707</sup>. On the occasion of the description of the wedding of Duke Leszek the White and Duchess Grzymisława) mentions that there was a mutual release of captives from the Polish-Russian wars, including peasants<sup>708</sup>. Knights and peasants serve in the army of Władysław Laskonogi in 1214 in battles in Greater Poland against his nephew Władysław Odonic. Their participation in the siege of Kalisz is mentioned<sup>709</sup>. The external enemy appears again in 1244, when the peasants took part in clashes with the Prussians. These first gain a plentiful booty in men and cattle, but in the battle of Ciechanów, when the Mazovian knights were assisted by peasants, the booty is taken

<sup>703</sup> I discuss this issue only in relation to the Polish peasantry. Długosz also provides many examples of peasants being enlisted as soldiers in other countries.

<sup>704</sup> Ann. 3–4, p. 262: 'cum omnium Masoviensium nobilium et popularium manu'.

<sup>705</sup> On the role of peasants ('full-farmer's sons') in the military of the time of the Bolesław Chrobry, writes A. Sterniczuk, *Mieszkańcy wsi w systemie wojskowym monarchii piastowskiej i wczesnojagiellońskiej*, in: "Żywią i bronią". Wieś i chłopi w obronie ojczyzny, eds. J. Gmitruk, P. Matusak, Warszawa 2009, p. 15 (there literature).

<sup>706</sup> Individual documents showing the legal basis for peasants' participation in the army discuss by A. Sterniczuk, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>707</sup> Ann. 5–6, pp. 194–195.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 196; Rocz. 5–6, p. 289. He erroneously describes this wedding under 1220.

<sup>709</sup> Ann. 5–6, p. 221.

away<sup>710</sup>. In 1262 in Mazovia, the knights call up the peasants under arms to fight the Ruthenians and Lithuanians<sup>711</sup>. In 1264, the knights of the land of Sandomierz defend themselves against the invasion of the Duke of Swarno and form a detachment together with the peasants 'to show the Ruthenians a seemingly larger army'<sup>712</sup>. In 1283, a Lithuanian raid on Łuków took place, which also resulted in peasants being taken captive by the Lithuanians. Duke Leszek the Black came to the relief by joining peasants to knights in order to increase the number of troops<sup>713</sup>. Turning over the pages of the *Annales*, we are then again involved in internal fighting. In 1288, Conrad II, Duke of Masovia, attacks the army of the land of Sieradz, in retaliation for the latter's invading and ravaging Masovia on the orders of Leszek the Black. In the army of Conrad II, which was victorious, there were 'a great number of knights and peasants'<sup>714</sup>. Another example of the use of peasants in battles against internal enemies comes from 1312. Having gathered a troop of both knights and peasants ('congregatis tam militarium quam aggressum copiis'), Władysław Łokietek (Eng. the Elbow High) used them to fight the rebellion of the Kraków's town leader Albert<sup>715</sup>.

It was during the reign of Władysław the Elbow-high that peasants took part in the war against the Teutonic Knights for the first time. Długosz apparently draws the peasants into his narrative of relations with the Teutonic Knights. When a lawsuit against the Teutonic Knights was announced in Inowrocław in 1321, it was also read out in Polish, so that the 'whole people' understood this<sup>716</sup>. A peasant, whose name is not known, served as a guide and showed the royal army the ford on the Drwęca River in 1330<sup>717</sup>. Długosz describes the following year that the knights, in order to defend themselves against the Teutonic Knights, built a rampart with a moat 7 miles long, within which knights and peasants with cattle were sheltered. The culmination of these efforts was the battle fought in 1331 at Zaniemyśl, near Środa Wielkopolska. Peasants reinforced the squads of knights and fought the Teutonic Knights

<sup>710</sup> Ann. 7–8, p. 48.

<sup>711</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 136.

<sup>712</sup> Rocz. 7–8, pp. 184–185.

<sup>713</sup> Ann. 7–8, pp. 222–223.

<sup>714</sup> Rocz. 7–8, p. 317 = Ann. 7–8, p. 250.

<sup>715</sup> Ann. 9, p. 82.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

<sup>717</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147.

fiercely. Długosz reports that the enraged peasants did not want to take anyone captive<sup>718</sup>.

As for the times of King Casimir the Great, there are no references in Długosz's work to peasants in the army, although there was no shortage of wars, e.g. in Ruthenia. Only in 1370 is the aggression of the Brandenburgers shown, and the battle for the Polish Santok defended by a handful of defenders, 'most of whom were made up of peasants'<sup>719</sup>.

Two episodes refer to the time of King Ludwig and the interregnum after him. In 1375, Duke Władysław the White forces 'the inhabitants of Gniewkowo, the surrounding villages and all the young people' to take up arms in order to use them to besiege Inowrocław, defended by King Ludwik's men<sup>720</sup>. During the civil war in Greater Poland in 1383, 'the peasants of Żnin' and 'Nakło', led by Domarat of Pierzchno, set off against Arnold of Waldowo. Arnold later took revenge on the peasants by ravaging villages near Żnin<sup>721</sup>.

I would like to remind the findings, which have been known for years, that there are no peasants in Długosz's description of the Battle of Grunwald. The question of the peasant infantry's participation has been long debated, and its alleged attack on the Grand Master's banner has been perpetuated by fiction and art and film. It should be stressed, however, that in Długosz's richly detailed descriptions of the wars against the Teutonic Knights, the participation of peasant troops is mentioned all too often. *Servitores et agrestes* are those who, in 1414 at Lidzbark, cut off the pennywhispers of the fallen Teutonic Knights and put them in their mouths<sup>722</sup>. In 1422, he wrote that villagers from near Łęczyca were murdering Teutonic Order survivors<sup>723</sup>. The picture of knightly-peasant brotherhood of arms in the face of the Teutonic threat culminates in the events of 1431. First, the Teutonic Knights, during their invasion of Kuyavia, set fire to villages and even established prizes for arsonists<sup>724</sup>. 24 towns and more than 1,000 villages in Kuyavia suffered from the war fire<sup>725</sup>. Długosz even used the expression 'peasants from such burnt lands'

<sup>718</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 162 = Rocz. 9, p. 202 about the Battle of Zaniemyśl see T.M. Nowak, *Władysław Łokietek – polityk i dowódca*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 212–213; A. Sterniczuk, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>719</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 12; Ann. 10, p. 11.

<sup>720</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 55 = '[...] et quamlibet imbellem etatem', Ann. 10, p. 41.

<sup>721</sup> Rocz. 10, p. 170 = Ann. 10, p. 129.

<sup>722</sup> Ann. 11, p. 36 The translation omits the source term peasants replacing 'servants and simple people' Rocz. 11, p. 36.

<sup>723</sup> Ann. 11, p. 179; Rocz. 11–12, p. 188.

<sup>724</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 40.

<sup>725</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41.

('rustici ex terris taliter vastatis')<sup>726</sup>. The Teutonic fury provoked a natural desire for retaliation. The peasants, moved by the 'great number of wrongs', were even prepared to fight the Teutonic Knights with their bare hands<sup>727</sup>. First, they gather together to form 'a kind of real army', ready to fight the Order. The commanders are Polish knights. Długosz expresses the undoubtedly accurate opinion that 'an army composed only of peasants, although very large in numbers, was defenceless in terms of strength and training and unaccustomed to armed combat'<sup>728</sup>. Knights Jan Jarogniewski, Bartosz Wissemburg and Dobrogost Olinski having gathered a peasant troop ('feroces assumpta rusticorum manu')<sup>729</sup> caught up with the Teutonic army near Nakło and struck at them in the fields of the village of Dąbki. The attack was preceded by the singing of the *Bogurodzica* (the Mother of God) by a peasant army led by knights. The battle ends in defeat and the slaughter of the Teutonic forces. The villagers fiercely pursued the fleeing men, encouraging each other to extinguish the fires of their villages with the blood of their enemies. The survivors wandered into the woods and were caught there by the villagers. The news of the victory at Dąbki reached King Władysław. In Kraków, bells were rung and the city was illuminated<sup>730</sup>. The capital of the Kingdom therefore expressed joy in the same way as after the victory at Grunwald. In Długosz, under 1431, we then read that 'the great mass of the people' ('omni parte populi') joined the royal army going against Świdrygiello and the Teutonic Knights allied with him<sup>731</sup>.

A ominous episode showing aspects of peasant participation in the civil war is the Battle of Grotniki (Lesser Poland) in 1439. Spytek of Melsztyn ordered the peasants on his estate ('kmethonibus omnium villarum') to participate in the army as infantry. During the battle they succumbed to the royal infantry, but were spared on the king's orders.

In the second half of the 15th century, the period when the *Annales* become most detailed, there is unfortunately less information about peasant participation in the war than before. In 1453, during the Tatar invasion of Podole, Jan Łaszcz of the Pomian coat of arms assembles troops, including 'a small detachment of peasants, on horseback and on foot' ('collecta exigua equitum et peditum agresti'). Near Ostrog, on the river

<sup>726</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40.

<sup>727</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>728</sup> Rocz. 11–12, pp. 50–51.

<sup>729</sup> Ann. 11–12, p. 42.

<sup>730</sup> Rocz. 11–12, pp. 50–51.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31, Ann. 11–12, p. 25.

Sucz, he inflicted defeat on the invaders<sup>732</sup>, and this account shows peasant cavalry for the first time. In 1457, peasants in Bartłomiej Buczacki's army resisting the Tatars in Podole fled the army before the Tatars attacked<sup>733</sup>.

Peasants took part in the Thirteen Years' War. In 1457 an army of 400 from the land of Dobrzyń, most of them peasants ('maior pars agrestium'), was defeated by a Teutonic army that was twice as numerous<sup>734</sup>. In the same year, during the building of fortifications around Gdańsk by Prandota Lubieszowski, 'incolis et aliis agrestibus bring everything they need in the form of wood and food to the races'<sup>735</sup>. In 1462, near Chelmno, 'a great host of peasants with scythes' was attached to the army. The peasants were given a task they knew well, namely to mow down the Teutonic Knights' grain so that there would be no food for their enemies<sup>736</sup>. In 1463, Długosz wrote that peasants going to succour the demands of the rebel Michał Czartoryski threw the Bug River with cut tree trunks in order to impede the passage of the royal army going against the rebels<sup>737</sup>.

## SUMMARY

Studying the works of Długosz, we come to the conclusion that, although it is difficult to call him a historiographer of peasants, he captured many characteristic phenomena that will be fully illuminated in later sources. In his works we see all the issues that interest researchers, namely living conditions, poverty and misery, but also financial opportunities. The *Annales* provided a lot of information about the peasants' enlistment in the army and their participation in wars. Of particular note is the description of the Battle of Dąbki in 1431. In passing, Długosz revealed a great deal of information about the relations between peasants and the monarch, nobility and burghers. There is relatively little information about their religiosity, but relevance to church institutions on an economic level appears on every page of the *Liber beneficiorum*. His works are an invaluable source for many issues in the history of villages and peasants. Długosz is our most important informant when it comes to the burdens imposed on peasants in the form of free labor

<sup>732</sup> Rocz. 12/1, pp. 174–175 = Ann. 12/1, p. 155.

<sup>733</sup> Ann. 12/1, p. 287.

<sup>734</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 324 = Ann. 12/1, p. 288.

<sup>735</sup> Rocz. 12/1, p. 326 = Ann. 12/1, p. 290.

<sup>736</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 37; Ann. 12/2, p. 34.

<sup>737</sup> Rocz. 12/2, p. 70; Ann. 12/2, p. 64.

and compulsory payments. In a cross-sectional, even statistical manner, the *Liber beneficiorum* shows the categories of rural population and their numbers, mills, inns and numerous other facilities in the countryside. It brings a lot of information about the peasant family and its problems, about the occupations of the rural population, not only agriculture and breeding, but also fishing, bee-keeping, winemaking, and even about the metallurgy and mining which were already developing at that time. He has very little information on rural crafts. By noting the existence of a manor farm, he introduces us to the problems of rural relations in the Lesser Poland at a time of great change.

Długosz also included a general characterisation of the Polish peasants. According to him, rural people are prone to drunkenness, quarrels, insults and murders<sup>738</sup>. The physical characteristics of the peasants are light and dark hair and a dewy height. He characterizes them as mischievous, greedy for novelties, cunning, bold, violent and greedy for others'. At the same time, he emphasizes that the Polish peasant does not shy away from any work, whether in frost or hunger<sup>739</sup>. Hard-working were already the ancestors of the Polish ploughmen, 'Lechici'<sup>740</sup>. I aim to try to answer the question of what was Jan Długosz's personal attitude to the peasants, whether they were a valuable social condition for him, whether they deserved recognition or disapproval or even contempt. There is no point in toiling over the insoluble question of who Piast was. Długosz portrays Piast as a model of modesty, humility and concern for the poor<sup>741</sup>. In all the numerous descriptions of peasants that Długosz included in his *Annales*, there is no reference to the virtues of the Piast. Suffice it to say that if from him – whether a ploughman walking in bark sandals, a beaver or anyone doing peasant work<sup>742</sup> – originated from hereditary kings, on the surface this could look like an ennoblement of peasants<sup>743</sup>. The effect was achieved by accident, and the intention was to allude to the popular myth that kings descend from one who produced food and shared it with others<sup>744</sup>.

<sup>738</sup> See also J. Szymański, *Jak powstał wiersz o chłopach, którzy chytrze bydlą z pany*, in: *Ludzie, wierzenia, kościół. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej (średniowiecze – wcześniejsza epoka nowożytnej)*, eds. W. Iwańczak, S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 2001, pp. 553–558.

<sup>739</sup> Ann. 1–2, p. 108.

<sup>740</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>741</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 159–162.

<sup>742</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158.

<sup>743</sup> Rocznik 10, p. 205.

<sup>744</sup> Ann. 9, p. 153.

Did our great historian and canon of the Kraków cathedral chapter disparage the peasants? A sign of this disregard can be seen, for example, in his use of the term *agrestes*. When writing repeatedly about the conscription of peasants into the army, he did not use terms indicating his personal attitude to this phenomenon. When he wanted to deepen his negative opinion of Duke Basarad, he compared him to an ox-driver who would be dragged out of his cottage.

The neutral, objective meaning is his statement that peasants have poor clothing (*mendicum se habitu*)<sup>745</sup>. This is a circulating opinion. Emphasizing a person's peasant background, which he does in a number of places, plays the same role in his narrative as pointing to an origin in the nobility or the bourgeoisie. Writing about Kyiv Bishop Clement, he contrasted lowly origins with the virtue of righteousness ('vir quidem obscura et plebei generis, sed note probitatis')<sup>746</sup>. He used the word *col-luvio* only once, intending to express the opinion that the army is tainted by the participation of peasants in it. This sentence clearly has pejorative overtones<sup>747</sup>, but we must take into account that Długosz believed that the natural occupation of peasants was farming and breeding, not war. In this context, his opinion about the joy of the harvest being shared equally by nobles and peasants is very important. This is a state of affairs that Długosz clearly applauds.

One might be tempted to conclude that, although Jan Długosz did not write a single chapter devoted exclusively to peasants, it is nevertheless possible to pick out from his works a multitude of colorful and detailed episodes that make up the picture of the peasantry of the Polish Middle Ages.

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<sup>745</sup> Ann. 11, p. 166.

<sup>746</sup> Ann. 12/2, p. 306.

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#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jerzy Rajman – full professor, his academic interests focus on the history of cities, the bourgeoisie of Kraków, the relations between Upper Silesia and Lesser Poland, and the history of the Catholic Church, with particular emphasis on religious orders and their impact on society. He conducts research on spirituality as seen through the invocations and cults of saints. A prominent group in his oeuvre are articles on the medieval history of Miechów, as well as those devoted to early organ construction. He is the author of over 230 studies, including 8 books and the *Encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages*.

#### NOTA O AUTORZE

Jerzy Rajman – prof. dr hab., jego zainteresowania naukowe autora koncentrują się wokół problematyki dziejów miast, mieszkańców Krakowa, relacji Górnego Śląska z Małopolską i historii Kościoła katolickiego, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem zakonów i ich oddziaływaniami na społeczeństwo. Podejmuje badania naukowe nad duchowością widzianą poprzez wezwania i kulty świętych. Wybijającą się grupę w jego dorobku zajmują artykuły o średniowiecznej historii Miechowa, a także poświęcone dawnemu budownictwu organowemu. Jest autorem ponad 230 opracowań w tym 8 książek i *Encyklopedii średniowiecza*.

