

The Society of the Polish-Ruthenian Borderland in Times of Change (in the Example of the Fifteenth-Century Nobility of the Hrubieszów County in Chełm Land)

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to look at the changes that took place in Red Ruthenia in the context of social assimilation and acculturation and the interdependencies between them. These two types of integration considered by anthropological and sociological models of assimilation to be particularly relevant from the point of view of social change are the starting point for an analysis of the changes that took place in Red Ruthenia as a result of the clash of different ethnic groups formed within different legal systems, religions and cultural patterns. The changes were exemplified by the example of the upper social strata (boyars and nobility) living in the territory of the Hrubieszów district in the Chełm region. It will be important to examine to what extent the representatives of Orthodox Rusyns underwent integration processes under the influence of currents coming from outside in the form of Polish law, administration and cultural patterns. Structural assimilation will in this case be understood as the entry of boyars into new structures of state and social organizations. Acculturation, on the other hand, occurred in the adoption of cultural elements such as language, religion and customs or traditions. Thus, the relationship between structural assimilation and acculturation will be shown. The article will apply a view of the transformations taking place from the point of view of the society living in these areas, using the example of a group of boyars/nobles. Based on an analysis of the sources, an attempt will be made to determine to what extent the changes that took place were the initiative of the local population (Ruthenians), and to what extent they were imposed by external factors in the form of state power or external population (immigration). It will also be important to consider the tendency of the population to stick to the old established system.

KEYWORDS: Polish-Ruthenian borderland, occidentalization, structural assimilation, acculturation, boyars, nobility, ethnicity, Orthodoxy, Catholicism

Declaration on Possible Conflicts of Interest

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Introduction

The Polish-Ruthenian borderland in the late medieval period was not so much an area where different state organisms came into contact, but rather an area of competition between Poland, Hungary and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for influence and power over areas of the Ruthenian lands. The accession of a representative of the Angevin dynasty to the throne in Poland and her subsequent marriage to Grand Duke Jagiełło of Lithuania led to the consolidation of Polish influence in the area, and the long-standing rivalry ended with the incorporation of Red Ruthenia into the Polish state. This gave rise to significant administrative, social, economic, and cultural changes in these territories. This does not, of course, mean that there were no earlier interactions resulting from various socio-economic contacts and migrations. However, their extent was not significant and did not have a major impact on the life of the population living in these areas.

The Polish-Russian borderland was an area where two separate worlds collided. They were formed on the basis of a division within Christianity into the Greek and Latin churches. The border between these two worlds was shaped by the choices made during the Christianization of individual countries and their decision to belong to Western Christianity, which recognized Rome and the authority of the Pope, or Eastern Christianity, which was subordinate to Constantinople. In the case of northern and eastern Europe, where both rites entered territories that had only recently been Christianized and evangelized, there was a clear distinction between the two denominations. This largely coincided with the borders of the state centers that had adopted one or the other of the rites. When Poland adopted Latin Christianity, it joined the community of Western European countries, which based their identity on religious, cultural and legal models derived from the Carolingian Empire.¹ This community was born as a result of contact with peoples of distinct religious beliefs (Muslims, pagans) and other social structures, traditions and customs (e.g., the Scandinavian countries and Baltic tribes).² Its distinctiveness was based on Latin Christianity, a social and legal structure based on feudal relations, and a culture derived from the Carolingian Renaissance. Rus, on the other hand, which was baptized in the Eastern rite, developed on the basis of cultural patterns originating in Constantinople, which had a lesser influence on legal and social structures.

The incorporation of Ruthenian lands into Polish rule led to a break in this division into two separate worlds and disrupted their previous development. This gave impetus to intensify the transformation, with a clearly visible preference for patterns emanating from areas of the Polish state, supported by state and church authorities. To a certain extent, the situation that arose can be like-

1 ROBERT BARTLETT: *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350*, London 1994, p. 270.

2 ROBERT HOBSON: *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*, Cambridge 2004, p. 112; JOHN HOLTON: *Globalization and the Nation-State*, London 1998, p. 3.

ned to a clash between two patterns of civilization and culture. Throughout the fifteenth century, these lands would be an area of mutual interpenetration of legal, administrative and socio-economic patterns shaped during the existence of the Ruthenian principalities, with new trends coming from the West. This was complemented by the diversity resulting from these areas being under the influence of the two different cultures and religions of Latin Europe with its Catholic faith and Eastern Europe with its Orthodox faith. This would result in these areas becoming a kind of melting pot over the course of the century, with the penetration of Western patterns, which is referred to in the literature as Europeanization³ or Occidentalization.⁴

This was not, however, a process that took place in the same way in all areas. Its intensification varied and the paths of inflow of new currents were different. The Europeanization that took place in the Ruthenian lands under Polish influence, despite their military conquest by Poland, was not identical to the conquests of the Franks and the spread of their own culture. It is more reminiscent of the transformation of regions under Western European influence without foreign intervention or military pressure (e.g., Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary). It was a long process, spanning centuries. Furthermore, it was only to a small extent influenced by external factors imposing top-down solutions; much more often it was the result of the voluntary adoption of certain patterns by the local population, especially the social elites and the boyars.⁵ Nor did it mean the

3 BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 269–270.

4 WOJCIECH IWAŃCZAK: Rola i znaczenie dwóch kręgów cywilizacyjnych: *Slavia occidentalis* i *Slavia orientalis* w dziejach Europy Środkowowschodniej (okcydentalizacja i bizantynizacja regionu) [The Role and Significance of Two Civilizational Circles: *Slavia Occidentalis* and *Slavia Orientalis* in the History of Central and Eastern Europe (the Occidentalization and Byzantinization of the Region)], in: KRZYSZTOF BACZKOWSKI, JANUSZ SMOLUCHA (eds.): *Europa Środkowowschodnia od X do XVIII wieku—jedność czy różnorodność?*, Kraków 2005, pp. 96–101; ANDRZEJ JANECEK: *Między sobą: Polacy i Rusini na wspólnym pograniczu w XIV–XV w.* [Among Themselves: Poles and Ruthenians on the Common Borderland in the 14th–15th Centuries], in: TERESA CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, NATALIA JAKOWENKO (eds.): *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, Lublin 2000, pp. 37–55; GRZEGORZ JAWOR, RYSZARD SZCZYGIEL: *Pogranicze Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej i wschodniej w późnym średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych* [The Borderland between Western and Eastern Slavic Cultures in the Late Middle Ages and Modern Times], in: HENRYK MARUSZCZAK, ZDZISŁAW MICHALCZYK (eds.): *Geograficzne problemy pogranicza Europy zachodniej i wschodniej*, Lublin 2004, pp. 61–72; JAN ORZECZOWSKI: *Okcydentalizacja Rusi Koronnej w XIV, XV i XVI w.* [The Occidentalization of Crown Rus in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries], in: ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR, SŁAWOMIR GAWLAS (eds.): *Państwo, naród, stany w świadomości wieków średnich: Pamięci Benedykta Zientary 1929–1983*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 215–243, here p. 215.

5 ANDRZEJ PLESZCZYŃSKI: *Gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus—Dual Identity of the Elites of the Polish-Lithuanian State in the Late Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Times*, in: *Res Historica* 57 (2024), pp. 317–346, here p. 321; ANDRZEJ MARZEC: *Kariery polityczne na Rusi za panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego* [Political Careers in Ruthenia during the Reign of Casimir the Great], in: *Sotsiium: Al'manakh sotsial'noi istorii* 4 (2004),

complete elimination of old solutions and established patterns, but rather led to their reciprocal coexistence. All this meant that the changes varied in intensity in different areas of Red Ruthenia and exhibited many local differences.

Purpose and Scope

The main objective of the article will be to look at the changes taking place in Red Ruthenia in the context of social assimilation and acculturation and the interdependencies between them. These two types of integration considered by anthropological and sociological models of assimilation to be particularly relevant from the point of view of social change⁶ will become the starting point for an analysis of the changes taking place in Red Ruthenia as a result of the clash of different ethnic groups formed within different legal systems, confessions, and cultural patterns. In this case, it should be emphasized that there was a confrontation between representatives of ethnic groups that had developed over several centuries of separate statehood. They had clearly distinct elements characteristic of medieval ethnic identification and identity in the form of a common past, culture, traditions, laws, customs, and languages.⁷ Furthermore,

pp. 9–18, here pp. 16–17; MACIEJ WILAMOWSKI: Magnate Territories in Red Ruthenia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Origin, Development and Social Impact, in: THOMAS WÜNSCH, ANDRZEJ JANECZEK (eds.): *On the Frontier of Latin Europe: Integration and Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350–1600*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 81–118.

- 6 MILTON M. GORDON: *Toward a General Theory of Facial and Ethnic Group Relations*, in: NATHAN GLAZER, DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN (eds.): *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 84–110; ELLIOTT R. BARKAN: *Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity—from Contact to Assimilation*, in: *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995), 2, pp. 38–76; FRIEDRICH HECKMANN: *Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation: Soziologie inter-ethnischer Beziehungen*, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 176–180.
- 7 JÜRGEN HEYDE: *Migration and Ethnicity in Medieval Poland: “Ethnic Markers” in a Historical Perspective*, in: YVONNE KLEINMANN, JÜRGEN HEYDE et al. (eds.): *Imaginations and Configurations of Polish Society from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century*, Göttingen 2017, pp. 85–108; ROBERT R. DAVIES: *Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400. I: Identities*, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series* 4 (1994), pp. 1–20; ROBERT R. DAVIES: *Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400. II: Names, Boundaries and Regnal Solidarities*, *ibid.* 5 (1995), pp. 1–20; ROBERT R. DAVIES: *Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400. III: Laws and Customs*, *ibid.* 6 (1996), pp. 1–23; ROBERT R. DAVIES: *Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400. IV: Language and Historical Mythology*, *ibid.* 7 (1997), pp. 1–24; ROBERT BARTLETT: *Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity*, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001), pp. 39–56, here pp. 47–49; ROBERT BARTLETT: *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, Stroud 2006, p. 155; ROBERT BARTLETT: *Illustrating Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, in: MIRIAM ELIAV-FELDON, BENJAMIN ISAAC et al. (eds.): *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 132–156; MARC BLOCH: *Feudal Society*, vol. 2, Chicago 1964, pp. 432–437; FRAN-

religious differences played an important role in shaping distinctiveness in this case. Although religion is not a determinant of ethnic distinctiveness, in the Middle Ages its close connection with state structures and identification through the prism of religion made it an important criterion for belonging to a particular ethnic group.⁸

In view of the above, it will be important to determine to what extent the representatives of the upper social strata of the Orthodox Ruthenian underwent integration processes under the influence of currents coming from outside in the form of Polish law, administration and cultural patterns. Structural assimilation will in this case be understood as the entry of boyars into new structures of state and social organizations. Acculturation, on the other hand, occurred in the adoption of cultural elements such as language, religion, and customs/traditions.⁹ It will be particularly important to show whether there was a correlation between structural assimilation and acculturation. To what extent is Milton M. Gordon's concept of the decisive role of social assimilation on which further integration processes depend¹⁰ compatible for the society under study—in other words, whether assimilation and social advancement within the new social structures was possible in Red Ruthenia without acculturation? To what extent did belonging to a particular ethnic, religious and cultural group determine an individual's place in society?

In this text, it will also be important to frame the changes taking place from the point of view of the population living in these areas, using the example of a group of boyars/nobility. We will be less interested in the process of the changes and more in the attitude of the population towards them. A key question to ask is to what extent the changes taking place were the initiative of the local population (Ruthenians), and to what extent they were imposed by external factors in the form of state power or external population (migration). It will also be essential to note the tendency of the population to stick to the old established system. We will also look at the extent to which Western patterns at various levels (administrative, legal, economic, social, and cultural) were influential.

Such a research program may prove difficult to implement for the entire borderland area due to the variety of factors influencing the intensification of transformations, which include the geographical location, natural environment, ownership structure, density, and development of the settlement network and other local factors. Consequently, the issue under discussion will be presented

TISEK GRAUS: *Lebendige Vergangenheit: Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in den Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter*, Köln et al. 1975, pp. 226–229.

8 GERALDINE HENG: *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages. I: Race Studies, Modernity, and the Middle Ages*, in: *Literature Compass* 8 (2011), 5, pp. 315–331, here p. 325.

9 MILTON M. GORDON: *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origin*, New York 1964, pp. 70–78.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

using the example of Hrubieszów County located in Chełm Land. The choice of this territory is not accidental. Its location in close proximity to the border with the Kingdom of Poland determined the interactions and contacts that took place there, even before its incorporation into the Polish state,¹¹ which took place in 1366.¹² However, the most significant changes for this territory occurred with the conclusion of the Polish-Lithuanian Union in the 1380s. In 1387 or at the beginning of 1388, Władysław Jagiełło granted Belz Land to Siemowit IV, Duke of Masovia. The granted area also included Hrubieszów, as evidenced by the appearance of *oppidum Rubyeshow* in a list of territorial claims made by the Duke's sons from 1427.¹³ The endowment made by the king was successively reduced by the removal of further areas in subsequent years.

As a result of these actions, before 1395 Hrubieszów and its district were detached from the rule of Siemowit IV and incorporated into Chełm Land, which was under Polish rule.¹⁴ This contributed to the creation of Hrubieszów County, which was an enclave separating the Horodło and Grabowiec volosts (administrative unit in the former Ruthenian state) still in the hands of the Duke of Mazovia. The policy of Władysław Jagiełło towards Siemowit IV increased the ruler's interest in the development of the area and intensified Polish influence. This was manifested not only in the placing of the location under German law of Hrubieszów on 28 September 1400 and building a castle there,¹⁵ but also in the assumption by this settlement of central functions in the royal territorial administration. The administrative importance of this center was further strengthened by the establishment of a separate judicial district in it, which ap-

11 DARIUSZ STAŃCZYK: Pogranicze polsko-ruskie odcinka nadbużańskiego w świetle źródeł ruskich XII–XIV wieku i w historiografii [The Polish-Ruthenian Borderland of the Bug River Region in Light of Ruthenian Sources from the 12th–14th Centuries and in Historiography], in: MICHAŁ PARCZEWSKI (ed.): Początki sąsiedztwa: Pogranicze polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu, Rzeszów 1996, pp. 215–220.

12 ALEKSANDER SWIEŻAWSKI: Ziemia bełska: Zarys dziejów politycznych do roku 1462 [Bełsk Land: An Outline of Political History until 1462], Częstochowa 1990, pp. 73–75; JANUSZ KURTYKA: Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 r. [Podolian Repertory: Documents up to 1430], in: Rocznik Przemyski 40 (2004), 4, pp. 127–169, here pp. 143–145.

13 SWIEŻAWSKI, pp. 135–142; ANDRZEJ JANECEK: Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego: Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w [Settlement of the Polish-Ruthenian Borderland: The Bełsk Province from the End of the 14th to the Beginning of the 17th Century], Wrocław 1991, pp. 25–27.

14 SWIEŻAWSKI, pp. 96–97, argues that this occurred in 1393, while JANECEK, Osadnictwo pogranicza, p. 25, believes that it must have occurred before 1395.

15 RYSZARD SZCZYGIEL: Lokacja miasta na prawie niemieckim i jego dzieje do końca XV wieku [The Location of the Town under German Law and its History until the End of the 15th Century], in: RYSZARD SZCZYGIEL (ed.): Dzieje Hrubieszowa. Vol. 1: Od praprzędów do 1918 roku, Hrubieszów 2006, pp. 88–90.

pears in the sources in 1428 on the occasion of the foundation of the village of Pukarzów.¹⁶

Moreover, Hrubieszów County, like the rest of Chełm Land, was subjected to a system and social and economic solutions based on Polish law much earlier than the rest of Galicia-Volhynia Ruthenia (1434). This was first pointed out by Kazimierz Sochaniewicz.¹⁷ This assertion was reiterated by Ryszard Szczygieł based on an analysis of the Chełm foundation document of 1425.¹⁸ Initially, it raised some doubts.¹⁹ Nevertheless, further research work confirmed its validity. Areas of Chełm Land were subjected much earlier to influences and transformations coming from the West in many areas of life. Anna Sochacka subjects this issue to a thorough analysis. In her opinion, the correctness of the views presented is supported by the appearance of the land clerical hierarchy in Chełm Land in the 1520s, as well as the lack of participation of representatives of this land at the congresses in Halicz (1427) and Mościska (1439), where the nobility of the other Ruthenian areas confirmed the rights of the Jagiellonians to the Crown at the price of granting it Polish law.²⁰

What supported the choice of this area for analysis, however, was primarily the fact that the extant source material makes it possible to observe these transformations in a very early period. The basis for the analysis will be the records of court sessions in Hrubieszów from the years 1429–1465. In the case of other areas of Chełm Land, records have survived only from 1443 on, and in the case

16 Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie w skutek fundacyi śp. Aleksandra hr. Stadnickiego [Municipal and Land Records from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the So-Called Bernardine Archives in Lviv, Donated by the Late Count Aleksander Stadnicki] (AGZ), vol. 6, Lviv 1876, no. 15; GRZEGORZ JAWOR: Zaplecze osadnicze miasta w późnym średniowieczu [The Settlement Infrastructure of the Town in the Late Middle Ages], in: SZCZYGIEL, p. 112.

17 KAZIMIERZ SOCHANIEWICZ: Sitańscy h. Nałęcz na pograniczu chełmsko-belskim w XV i XVI wieku [The Sitański Family of the Nałęcz Coat of Arms on the Chełm-Belsk Borderland in the 15th and 16th Centuries], in: Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie 6 (1921–1923), pp. 146–157, here p. 150.

18 RYSZARD SZCZYGIEL: Etapy lokacji miast nadbużańskich w XIV–XV w.: Jedna czy dwie lokacje Chełma na prawie niemieckim [Stages of the Location of Towns on the Bug River in the 14th and 15th Centuries: One or Two Locations of Chełm under German Law], in: JACEK CHROBACZYŃSKI, ANDRZEJ JURECZKO et al. (eds.): Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza: Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin, Kraków 1993, pp. 125–130, here pp. 129–130.

19 JANUSZ KURTYKA: Z dziejów walki szlachty ruskiej o równouprawnienie: represje lat 1426–1427 i sejmiki roku 1439 [From the History of the Struggle of the Ruthenian Nobility for Equal Rights: Repressions of 1426–1427 and the Regional Councils of 1439], in: Rocznik Historyczny 66 (2000), pp. 83–120, here p. 84, footnote 6.

20 ANNA SOCHACKA: Powiązania lubelskiej i chełmskiej hierarchii urzędniczej w XV wieku [Connections between the Lublin and Chełm Bureaucratic Hierarchies in the 15th Century], in: ANNA OBARA-PAWŁOWSKA, DARIUSZ WRÓBEL (eds.): Regimen dominium societas nobelium: Z dziejów gospodarki, administracji i polityki w Lubelskiem w średniowieczu, Lublin 2014, pp. 247–260, here pp. 252–253.

of neighboring Belz Land only from the beginning of the sixteenth century.²¹ As a result, for this territory we have the oldest source material that allows us to observe the transformations that took place and shows its full spectrum. Thus, the sources allow us to look at a society that stands at the threshold of change and undergoes gradual evolution and transformation.

Medieval records of the court operating in fifteenth-century Hrubieszów are preserved in three units of the archival collection “Księgi ziemskie chełmskie,” the series “Zapisy” (Records) (reference numbers 1 and 2) and “Wyroki” (Judgments) (reference number 53) deposited in the State Archives in Lublin.²² Most of the records are in the book with reference number 1, formerly called “Księga ziemi hrubieszowskiej” [Hrubieszów Land Book]. A source edition covering the entirety of this material has recently been published, where the source itself, as well as its history and state of preservation, has been more closely characterized.²³

Based on the information found in the records produced by this judicial body, we will try to put the issues raised above into perspective. However, this is not material that will provide direct answers, but requires thorough analysis and searching for answers in indirect information. The attitude of the local population to the changes being introduced will be shown through the prism of the participation of a group of Hrubieszów boyars in the changes, as well as observations of how much of this was passive adaptation to the changes taking place, and how much was active action or even the initiation of changes. Due to the specific nature of court records focusing on specific individual cases, methods based on numerical data and their comparison are difficult to carry out. It will be necessary to look at the residents of the Hrubieszów County by analyzing specific cases and unitary information. The process of acculturation of the community, which is barely reflected in the extant source material, will be presented in the context of an analysis of the scale and intensity of contact with foreign elements, as well as indirect information indicating the possibility of penetration of foreign elements of religion, language and customs.

21 Księgi grodzkie grabowieckie [Grabowiec Municipal Books], sign. 1, in: Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (APL); Księgi ziemskie horodelskie [Horodlo Land Books], sign. 1, in: APL.

22 Księgi ziemskie chełmskie [Chelm Lands Books] (KZCH), in: APL, sign. 1–2, 53.

23 GRZEGORZ JAWOR, MAŁGORZATA KOŁACZ-CHMIEL et al. (eds.): *Zapisy sesji sądowych w Hrubieszowie z lat 1429–1470* [Records of Court Sessions in Hrubieszów 1429–1470], Lublin 2023.

Social Assimilation of the Ruthenian Boyars: Legal Aspects and Real Possibilities

The policy of the Polish rulers toward the Ruthenian boyars was characterized by great prudence and a certain tolerance. As early as the reign of Casimir the Great, the boyars were guaranteed the right to remain *in eorum ritibus, iuribus et consuetudinibus*.²⁴ This policy was continued by his successors, including Władysław Jagiełło. This guaranteed them the inviolability of their previous rights, including the right to ownership of their possessions.²⁵ As a result, there were no instances in the area under study of boyars being deprived of their estates, which would have led to the degradation of this social stratum. Leaving populations that differed in terms of religion or ethnicity with their legal distinctiveness intact was a practice known in Western Europe.²⁶ This led to legal pluralism within a single state. According to Robert Bartlett, in the case of conquest, it could also be an element of policy towards the defeated, allowing them to more easily accept their fate.²⁷ In the case of the Ruthenian lands, this was a deliberate policy of the Polish rulers, who sought to secure the support of the local elite in ruling their new territorial acquisitions. A completely different situation can be observed in neighboring Belz Land, which was ruled by Siemowit IV. The Mazovian prince recognized himself as the owner of all the estates in the area granted to him. With this one move, he abolished the previous ownership structure. This led to the disappearance of the boyar population in the territory as a result of declassification or migration and its replacement by an immigrant population.²⁸

Respect for the ancient laws and customs of the boyars by the Polish rulers, however, did not mean that they were given the rights and privileges that the nobility had in the Polish lands, especially in the areas of the judiciary, military

24 IRENA SUŁKOWSKA-KURAŚ, STANISŁAW KURAŚ (eds.): *Bullarium Poloniae*. Vol. I: 1000–1342, Roma 1982, no. 1913.

25 JURIJ ZAZULIAK: *Veri et perpetui terrarum Russie heredes: Shliakhy lehitymatsii prav na zemel'nu vlasnist' sered rus'koi shliachty v ser. 15 st.* [Ways of Legitimizing Land Ownership Rights among the Ruthenian Nobility in the Mid-15th Century], in: *Visnyk L'vivs'koho uniwersytetu, serija istorychna* 34 (1999), pp. 95–108.

26 Similar solutions were used in the Czech lands, Pomerania, Prussia, Hungary, as well as in the Kingdom of Castile and Leon and the Kingdom of Aragon. See: BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 204–211; DANIEL BAGI: *The So-Called Cuman Law in Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, in: PRZEMYSŁAW WISZEWSKI (ed.): *Legal Norms and Political Action in Multi-Ethnic Societies*, Turnhout 2023, pp. 121–129.

27 BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, p. 208.

28 ANDRZEJ JANEK: *Udział szlachty w kolonizacji Rusi Koronnej: Migracje rodów i ich nowa własność (XIV–XV w.). Próba ujęcia syntetycznego* [The Participation of the Nobility in the Colonization of Crown Ruthenia: Migration of Families and Their New Property (14th–15th Centuries). An Attempt at a Summary], in: WIOLETTA ZAWITKOWSKA, ANNA POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ (eds.): *Rody na Śląsku, Rusi Czerwonej i w Małopolsce: średniowiecze i czasy nowożytne*, Rzeszów 2010, pp. 59–91, here pp. 65, 83; JANEK, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 81–95.

and tax burdens.²⁹ This generated a certain dissonance in the position of both social groups. In addition, the situation became even more complicated when representatives of the Polish nobility received estates in Red Ruthenia.³⁰ The newcomers perceived some disadvantage in their position in the areas associated with the new endowments, which gave rise to aspirations for equality of rights. They were expressed by all nobles and boyars living in the areas of the Ruthenian lands belonging to the Polish state. This occurred gradually, although in Chełm Land this process progressed faster than in the other Ruthenian areas due to the influence of the nobility migrating from the Polish areas and the plans to incorporate Chełm Land into the Chełm Bishopric and move the capital of the diocese to Lublin.³¹ As a result of shared interests, social integration developed within both social groups: migrants and indigenous people, who outwardly appear to have functioned as a community, expressing their aspirations and endeavors (e.g., at meetings with the monarch).

However, what had the greatest impact on the social assimilation of the Ruthenian nobility was the creation of a separate administrative unit in the form of Hrubieszów County. This happened due to top-down decisions of the ruler in 1428.³² As a result, Hrubieszów became the center of the administrative unit, where meetings of the judicial organs of the land and royal courts as well as conventions of the nobility of the entire Chełm Land were held. The activity of the judicial bodies in this town contributed to the social integration of a group of incoming nobility associated with the district, as well as representatives of the local boyars who settled their matters concerning their estates at regular meetings.

Nevertheless, it seems that the boyar group was not fully integrated into the activities of this body, which is evident in the function of the court assessor. In the early period of its activity (1429–1434), when its structures were not yet fully formed, we can observe that alongside the district governor of Chełm (Lat. *capitaneus*; Pol. *starosta*) there were representatives of the local boyars in this role, e.g. Mikołaj from Masłomęcz, Iwaszko and Paweł Czuprykowicz, Klisza

29 STANISŁAW KUTRZEBA: Przywilej jedleński z 1430 r. i nadanie prawa polskiego Rusi [The Jedlno Privilege of 1430 and the Granting of Polish Law to Ruthenia], Kraków 1911, pp. 271–301; KURTYKA, Z dziejów walki, p. 84.

30 In Chełm Land, and especially in the Hrubieszów County, the migration from neighboring Lublin Land was particularly intense: ANNA SOCHACKA: Ziemia lubelska pomostem migracji szlachty polskiej na Ruś w późnym średniowieczu [The Lublin Land as a Bridge for the Migration of Polish Nobility to Ruthenia in the Late Middle Ages], in: OBARA-PAWŁOWSKA/WRÓBEL, pp. 223–246; ANNA SOCHACKA: Związki rodzinne szlachty lubelskiej ze szlachtą ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu [Family Ties between the Nobility of Lublin and the Nobility of Chełm in the Late Middle Ages], in: WALDEMAR BUKOWSKI, TOMASZ JUREK (eds.): Narodziny Rzeczypospolitej: Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i wczesnych czasów nowożytnych, Kraków 2013, pp. 497–518.

31 JAN DRABINA: Papieństwo—Polska w latach 1384–1434 [The Papacy and Poland in 1384–1434], Kraków 2003, p. 144.

32 AGZ, vol. 6, no. 15; JAWOR, p. 112.

of Mieniany, Iwanko of Pudoresy, and Wasko Skoruta. In addition to them, there were also individuals involved in ushering in new economic solutions, most of them originating from nobility arriving from neighboring areas, e.g. Maciej the Voivode (*palatinus*, *capitaneus*; *wojewoda*) of Hrubieszów, Jan the Voivode of Hrubieszów, Janusz the village mayor (*scultetus*; *soltys*) of Brodzica, Wawrzyniec Strączek the village mayor of Ślepcze, Woś the Chełm judge (*iudex*; *sędzia*) and his nephew Dzierśław, Strączek and Piotr the mayor (*advocatus*; *wójt*) of Hrubieszów, representatives of the Catholic clergy (Jan Biskupiec, bishop of Chełm, Piotr the prior of the Hrubieszów monastery) and persons most likely from outside the nobility and boyars (Piotr the falconer of Czerniczyn, Stefan the burgher of Hrubieszów).³³

This indicates that in the early days there was a certain amount of chaos and a lack of rules regarding the appointment of people to this function due to the lack of established patterns: The assessors included people from outside the nobility and boyars, but associated with new trends coming from the West (village mayors, burghers, clergy). The local boyars were also among this group, but not very numerous. In the following years, the situation changed dramatically, as the function of the court assessor was now dominated by those holding state and land offices, and representatives of the nobility from outside the Hrubieszów County, some of whom did not even own property in the area. Exceptions included Jakusz/Jakub of Pudoresy, who regularly sat in court as assessor in 1450–1453.³⁴ This may have been influenced by his kinship with Gniewosz of Klesztów, who held the office of judge of Chełm Land, which entitled him to enter the local elite.³⁵ Another example is Waśko Skoruta of Moniatycze, a representative of a mighty boyar family of the Korczak coat of arms. His incumbency among the assessors was a consequence of his high position outside the Hrubieszów County. For a number of years he held the office of *podstoli* (*subdapifer*) (1436–1455) and *stolnik* (*dapifer*) of Chełm (1456–1474). His ties to the royal court are evidenced by the fact that in 1472 he obtained from Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk a bequest of 100 florins on the royal village of Bogucice in the Hrubieszów County.³⁶ In addition, at an unspecified time he also received the royal village of Dobromierzyce, thus creating a compact estate complex consisting of Mołodiatycze, Bogucice and Dobromierzyce. In addition, he also had property outside the County in the form of the village of Śniatycze near Zamość.³⁷ These two exceptions indicate that the position of assessor in the later period became available only to those who were part of Chełm Land's elite.

33 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 2–6, 87.

34 Ibid., pp. 30, 33, 39, 45, 46, 48, 52, 60–61, 68, 76.

35 Ibid., p. 73.

36 *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1905, no. 12696.

37 Ibid., no. 10770; HENRYK STARMIŃSKI: *Powiat horodelski do roku 1472* [Horodło County until 1472], Hrubieszów 1958, p. 15.

The question of the reasons for the very limited presence of local boyars among the court assessors remains open. This is because no restrictions were applied to representatives of the Ruthenian boyars in terms of holding official positions and participating in judicial bodies.³⁸ The participation of boyars in the role of assessors was also evident in the first records of the Chełm Land Court in the nomenclature used: *Termini assignati et celebrati [...] per nobiles alias boyari*.³⁹ Thus, their absence was not the result of ethnic or religious affiliation. It may have been the result of this group's weak position in the local community, or a lack of interest on the part of its representatives. Issues of limited cultural assimilation may also have played a role, as will be described in more detail.

The social integration of the local boyars may also have been fostered by meetings with the king and state dignitaries arriving in the Hrubieszów County area, but also the capitals of other countys in Chełm Land: those of Chełm, Luboml, or Krasnystaw.⁴⁰ Royal courts (*regis tribunal*) were also held on such occasions, attended not only by the most important dignitaries of the land, but also by the minor nobility and boyars, who came to settle their own affairs or accompany the dignitaries.⁴¹ Representatives of the Ruthenian nobility of the Hrubieszów County were also noticed at meetings with the king held outside Chełm Land. For example, in one such meeting in Parczew (Lublin Land), the delegation of Chełm nobility, led by Jan Biskupiec Bishop of Chełm, included the aforementioned Mikula Masłomęcki, and Olesko falconer, perhaps hailing from Czerniczyn, where members of this population group (falconers) lived.⁴²

The function of integrating local noble society was performed by the conventions of the nobility of the whole land, which were the predecessors of the later land sejms (*conventio terre; sejmik ziemski*). Over the course of the first half of the fifteenth century, they were transformed from passive executors of the orders of state authorities into bodies that participated in state policy, co-created local laws and constituted a manifestation of the self-government of a given territory.⁴³ The nobility and boyars of Chełm Land also joined this trend by organizing their own conventions. The first such assembly (*prima conven-*

38 ANDRZEJ JANECZEK: Zróżnicowanie etniczne wobec integracji państwowej i stanowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce [Ethnic Diversity in Relation to National and State Integration in Late Medieval Poland], in: SŁAWOMIR GAWLAS (ed.): Historia społeczna polskiego średniowiecza: Nowe badania, Warszawa 2011, pp. 359–385, here pp. 372–375, 383–384.

39 KZCH, sign. 1-w, sheet 1.

40 ANTONI GAŚSIOROWSKI: Itinerarium Władysława Jagiełły [The Itinerary of Władysław Jagiełło], Warszawa 2015, pp. 34, 38, 40, 42, 53, 58, 60–61, 64, 66–67, 73, 83–85.

41 ANNA SOCHACKA: Początki sejmiku chełmskiego [The Beginnings of the Chełm Regional Council], in: OBARA-PAWŁOWSKA/WRÓBEL, pp. 279–292, here p. 284.

42 Ibid., p. 283.

43 SŁAWOMIR GAWLAS: Badania nad społeczeństwem polskim późnego średniowiecza [Research on Polish Society in the Late Middle Ages], in: GAWLAS, pp. 63–106, here pp. 102–104.

cioni) took place on 6–14 January 1431 in Hrubieszów.⁴⁴ It set a date for further assemblies for the settlement of unfinished cases, to be held at the same place on the Thursday after Pentecost (24 May 1431). From then on, assemblies were held regularly around the aforementioned holiday in Chełm, Krasnystaw or Hrubieszów.⁴⁵ The subject of these meetings were the resolution of disputes and issues related to improving internal security. Anna Sochacka suggests that their powers also included identifying candidates for land offices to the king, as was the case in the Kingdom of Poland.⁴⁶ The conventions were attended by *omnibus et singulis terrigenes Chelmensibus*⁴⁷ indicating the participation of representatives of the nobility and boyars of the entire land. It should be assumed that the nobility of Hrubieszów also participated, regardless of ethnicity or religion. The location of the first conventions in the County capital may have been a factor in increasing the likelihood that representatives of the local community would attend.

However, as in the case of judicial bodies, the participation of most representatives at the conventions may have been limited to passive participation, and only a few took part in the decision-making process. Nevertheless, the very fact of their participation was a factor in the integration of this estate group. It probably also provided an opportunity for a sense of identity and identification that transcended ethnic and denominational divisions. The conventions fostered a sense of community in the interest of the entire group, despite the limited participation of some of its representatives. It should be noted, however, that most representatives of the local boyars did not become beneficiaries of the changes taking place: They were not promoted within the emerging local clerical hierarchy, did not sit in courts as assessors, and did not receive royal *tenutas* (estate leaseholds) or endowments. However, this was not the result of their ethnicity, since at the same time representatives of this population group pursued clerical careers and achieved high positions among the local elite (Waśko Skoruta, Jakusz of Pudoresy).

Population Migrations and Their Significance in the Context of the Formation of a Multi-Ethnic Society

When nobles from Polish lands, as well as other areas of Chełm Land, arrived in Hrubieszów County, it influenced the social shape of the territory under study. The confrontation with ethnic, religious and cultural dissimilarity put the hitherto homogeneous community in a position to have to take a stance on what was foreign. Such a confrontation can give rise to various reactions in a society. On the one hand, it can foster an attitude of openness and tolerance toward what is new and unknown. As a result, it promotes mutual interaction and integration

44 KZCH, sign. 1, p. 6.

45 SOCHACKA, Początki sejmiku chełmskiego, p. 288.

46 Ibid.

47 KZCH, sign. 2, k. 398–398v.

at various levels. On the other hand, however, it can lead to a sense of threat to one's own identity, which can cause isolationism and even hostility. Another scenario is that the two groups exist alongside each other without conflict, though lacking integration and maintaining separateness in almost all spheres of life. In the micro-society under study, it is important to observe how mutual relations developed between migrants and natives. This will determine whether the immigrant population acted as a bridge via which new social, economic and cultural patterns flowed into the region.

In Hrubieszów County, the migration of Polish nobility was not as large as in the rest of Chełm Land, especially in comparison with Krasnystaw County located on the border with Lublin Land.⁴⁸ The estates belonging to Siemovit of Mazovia, situated in the Belz Land, created a buffer zone, which isolated the Hrubieszów County from the dominant migration movements coming from the Kingdom of Poland. The political situation and ownership structure probably also played an important role; the most common way for nobles from outside the region to acquire land was through royal endowments, but the amount of royal property here was limited. In turn, the strained relations between Władysław Jagiełło and Siemowit in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries may have influenced the ruler's reluctance to divest himself of dominions in the area. Despite this reluctance, however, the king did sometimes make endowments to the nobility. Individuals and families closely associated with the royal court did possess villages in Hrubieszów County. These include the brothers Dzierśław and Jan Rytwiański, to whom the village of Świerszczów belonged. Both made careers at the royal court of Władysław III Warneńczyk and Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk and held numerous state and land offices.⁴⁹ Dzierśław was the governor of Chełm in 1439–1441, and the endowment of Świerszczów may date from that time. This is probably also when the Rytwiański brothers got to know the local elite. In a way, they possibly felt connected with this community since Jan Rytwiański spoke out against King Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk at the Sejm in Piotrków, when the latter ordered the imprisonment of deputies to the Sejm from Chełm Land.⁵⁰ However, the in-

48 MAŁGORZATA KOŁACZ-CHMIEL: *Spółeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu* [Peasant Communities of Chełm Land in the Late Middle Ages], Lublin 2009, pp. 32–34.

49 BOŻENA CZWOJDRAK: *Jastrzębce w ziemi krakowskiej i sandomierskiej do połowy XV wieku* [Jastrzębce in the Krakow and Sandomierz Lands until the mid-15th Century], Kraków 2007, pp. 120–121; BOŻENA CZWOJDRAK: *Koligacje małżeńskie Dzierśława i Jana Rytwiańskich herbu Jastrzębiec. Przyczynek do genealogii możnowładztwa małopolskiego w XV wieku* [Marital Connections Between Dzierśław and Jan Rytwiański of the Jastrzębiec Coat of Arms: A Contribution to the Genealogy of the Magnates of Lesser Poland in the 15th Century], in: *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 1 (1999), pp. 190–203, here pp. 202–203.

50 WOJCIECH FAŁKOWSKI: *Rok trzech sejmów* [The Year of Three Sejms], in: HALINA MANIKOWSKA, AGNIESZKA BARTOSZEWICZ et al. (eds.): *Aetas media, aetas moderna:*

fluence of the Rytwiański family on the social environment in Hrubieszów County should not be overestimated, as it is unlikely that they often resided in the area due to their numerous duties related to other functions in the Kingdom of Poland.⁵¹ This probably influenced the decision to sell the village in 1450 to Rusbartosz of Ostrów, most likely a representative of the local boyars.⁵²

Another noble family that owned estates in Hrubieszów County were the Ciołeks, who hailed from the Lublin area and also remained in the circle of the Jagiellonian court. Its representative, Stanisław Ciołek, held the position of subchancellor (*vicecancellarius; podkanclerzy*), while Leon of Kłodnica was royal scribe (*notarius regis; pisarz królewski*).⁵³ Another representative of this family, Jan Ciołek was associated with the Hrubieszów County. He was the owner of Uników, located within borders of this county.⁵⁴ He received the village from the king as a pledge for a loan of 200 grzywnas.⁵⁵ Unlike the Rytwiański family, the Ciołeks were permanently connected with the Chełm Land area. The aforementioned Jan was burgrave (*burggravius; burgrabia*) of Chełm in 1431 and in the years 1450/51 appears as sword-bearer (*gladifer; miecznik*) of Chełm.⁵⁶ Uników remained in the hands of representatives of this

Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin, Warszawa 2000, pp. 425–438, here p. 433.

51 Dzierżaw of Rytwiany of Jastrzębiec coat of arms, canon of Gniezno (1431), confederate of Spytek of Melsztyn (1439), castellan (*castellanus; kasztelan*) of Rytwiany (1453–1455), voivode of Sieradz (1455–1460), Sandomierz (1460–1472), Krakow (1472–1477), castellan of Krakow (1477–1478), governor of Chełm (1439–1441) and Sandomierz (1442–1478), died 1478: ANTONI GAŚSIOROWSKI (ed.): *Urzędnicy łęczyccy, sieradzcy i wieluńscy XIII–XV wieku: Spisy* [Officials of Łęczyca, Sieradz and Wieluń in the 13th–15th Centuries: Lists], Wrocław 1985, no. B22, B290; ANTONI GAŚSIOROWSKI (ed.): *Urzędnicy województwa bełskiego i ziemi chełmskiej XIV–XVIII wieku: Spisy* [Officials of the Belz Province and Chełm Land in the 14th–18th Centuries: Lists], Kórnik 1992, no. 1408; ANTONI GAŚSIOROWSKI (ed.): *Urzędnicy małopolscy XII–XV wieku: Spisy* [Officials of Lesser Poland in the 12th–15th Centuries: Lists], Wrocław 1990, no. 146, 474, 990, 1392; appendix, pp. 77, 101; CZWOJDRAK, *Jastrzębce*, pp. 120–121. – Jan Rytwiański canon of Gniezno (1434–1445), starost of Sandomierz (1442–1478), marshal of the crown (*Marsalcus Regni Poloniae; marszałek koronny*) (1462–1477), governor of Lublin (1462–1470), castellan of Sandomierz (1474–1478), voivode of Krakow (1477–1478): GAŚSIOROWSKI, *Urzędnicy małopolscy XII–XV wieku*, no. 475, 763, 1321 1392; *Uzup.*, pp. 86, 92; GRZEGORZ JAWOR, MAŁGORZATA KOŁACZ-CHMIEL (eds.): *Księgi wójtowsko-ławnicze miasta Lublina z XV wieku* [The Books of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Lublin from the 15th Century], Lublin 2012, no. 779; CZWOJDRAK, *Jastrzębce*, pp. 121–123.

52 KZCH, sign. 1, p. 31.

53 SOCHACKA, *Powiązania lubelskiej*, p. 257.

54 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 15, 20, 27–28, 35, 42, 46, 48, 55.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

56 *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 35, 55.

family at least until the mid-1460s, while around 1470, in unknown circumstances, the village became the property of the Tęczyński family.⁵⁷

Certain patterns may also have been introduced into the region through the nobility who settled in Krasnystaw County. An example is the Strączek family, who owned Bzowiec.⁵⁸ With the participation of representatives of this family, villages were founded under German law. Mikołaj Strączek alias Bzowski appears in the sources from 1460 as the owner of the village of Oburkowa in Hrubieszów County, where he had also inherited a mayority (*scultetia*; *solectwo*).⁵⁹ It can be assumed that he or his relative was the lokator (the person who organizes the foundation of a village—*collocator*; *zasadźca*) of this settlement. However, there is no doubt in the case of Wawrzyniec Strączek, who carried out the foundation of the villages of Ślepcze and Kosmów, which belonged to the Chełm *władyka* (a high dignitary in the Orthodox Church—*episcopus Ruthenicus*; *władyka*), in 1425.⁶⁰ It can be assumed that the representatives of this family were involved in organizing the foundation of settlements, treating this as a form of income. Both Mikołaj and Wawrzyniec Strączek sold the mayoralities that belonged to them. Wawrzyniec handed it over to the boyar Mikołaj called Braha before February 1434.⁶¹ Mikołaj Strączek sold his mayorality in Oburków in 1463 to his sister Beata, wife of Jan of Nowosiedlce.⁶² The family was of Catholic faith (Wawrzyniec in 1419, as the owner of Bzowiec, donated, with other representatives of the nobility, the church in Chłaniów in Chełm Land).⁶³

Most of the settlements, however, belonged to Ruthenian boyars (e.g., Kozodawy, Masłomęcz, Metelin, Pudoresy, Pobereżany, Ubrudowice, and Wilków). Some of the property of these families was fragmented and consisted of small plots in individual villages, formed as a result of family divisions. Such villages included, for example, Masłomęcz. In the middle of the fifteenth century there were at least six owners—Maria, wife of Ihnatek; Uliana, wife of Paweł of Ubrudowice, Uliana, widow of Siemek, sister of the previously mentioned Uliana; Paweł with his wife Matiuchna, and Riczko, son of Ihnatek and Sieńko.

57 JANUSZ KURTYKA: Tęczyńscy: Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu [The Tęczyński Family: A Study of the History of the Polish Aristocracy in the Middle Ages], Kraków 1997, p. 449.

58 IRENA SUŁKOWSKA-KURAŚ, STANISŁAW KURAŚ (eds.): Zbiór Dokumentów Małopolskich [Collection of Documents from Małopolska] (ZDM), vol. 5, Wrocław et al. 1970, no. 1312; KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 110, 117–118.

59 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 120–121, 123–124.

60 Akty Vilenskoj arkheograficheskoi komissii [Records of the Vilnius Archaeological Commission]. Vol. 19: Akty, odnosiaschiesia k istorii byvshei Kholmsskoj eparkhii [Records Relating to the History of the Former Chełm Eparchy] (AVAK), Vil'na 1892, pp. 51–54; ANDRZEJ GIL: Prawosławna eparchia chełmska do 1596 roku [The Orthodox Eparchy of Chełm until 1596], Lublin—Chełm 1999, p. 77.

61 ZDM, vol. 7, Wrocław et al. 1975, no. 2158.

62 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 120–121.

63 ZDM 5, no. 1312.

Most of them were linked by ties of kinship or affinity.⁶⁴ The situation was similar in Wilków. Although the boyars retained their property rights, there was a change in the ownership pattern and an influx of migrants. This happened as a result of sales transactions or marriages with nobles and boyars from outside the county's borders. Such a situation occurred in Kozodawy, where in 1429, Bakun Zubowicz and Chodor appear in the records as owners. However, in 1447, Jan of Siennica of the Bończa coat of arms, a sword-bearer, judge (*iudex; sędzia*) and subjudge (*subiudex; podsędek*) of Chełm⁶⁵ who was related to the influential Gorajski family (his daughter Małgorzata married Mikołaj, son of Jan of Goraj).⁶⁶ However, from 1457, Klemens Piądko, who held the position of bailiff (*camerarius; komornik*) of Chełm in 1463–1465,⁶⁷ appears as the heir of this settlement. Within a few decades, this village was taken over by representatives of the Polish nobility.

From the information presented above, a picture emerges of a territory where the local boyar stratum did not disappear, but coexisted with migrants to form the structures of a new social group. Their coexistence shows a certain lack of integration. This was influenced not only by the religious and cultural differences of the newcomers, but mainly by their higher social status and membership in not only a local, but even a state-level elite class. The marginalization of the boyars was probably influenced to some extent by the fact that the study area belonged to Siemowit of Masovia's dominion, and later by the geographical isolation of this area from the rest of Chełm Land, which made integration difficult. Probably the main factor was the economic weakness of this stratum, whose property was constantly fragmented by family divisions. This greatly limited the possibility of entering into family relationships, as well as the possibility of participating in socio-political life.

Nobility and Boyars in the Face of New Socio-Economic Solutions

The entry of these areas into the orbit of Western influence brought with it the knowledge of new socio-economic solutions based on the introduction of German law. These new legal solutions did not result in an influx of ethnically diverse populations in Hrubieszów County. It was a transfer of laws applicable in Western Europe to the population inhabiting the Ruthenian lands and was part of the Europeanization of this population group.⁶⁸ In this context, the question arises as to whether the nobility and boyars who owned rural settlements

64 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 53, 62–63, 66–67, 91, 94, 107–108, 113–114, 121, 146, 157.

65 Ibid., pp. 9, 11, 14–17, 19–20, 24, 26, 28, 30; sign. 2, p. 42; GĄSIOROWSKI, Urzędniccy województwa bełskiego i ziemi chełmskiej, no. 1290.

66 Księgi ziemskie lubelskie [Lublin Land Books] (KZL), in: APL, sign. 1, p. 374.

67 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 78, 81, 99, 114, 120, 125–126, 130–131, 133, 135–136, 141, 144, 149, 151–152.

68 BARTLETT, The Making of Europe, pp. 218–219.

in the area were interested in introducing new economic practices on their estates. Analyzing source testimonies on the legal execution of the foundations and the occurrence of elements associated with German law in the settlements, and comparing them with the property structure, leads to very interesting conclusions. Most of the villages that were founded under German law or where we find elements characteristic of this system (a village mayor, rent, measured fields) belonged to the royal domain. The exceptions were Ślepcze and Kosmów, which were owned by the Chełm vladyka.⁶⁹

In privately owned settlements, the penetration of the Western model occurred only in a few cases (two villages). The initiator of the changes was the Catholic nobility, which was an incoming element in Hrubieszów County. We have a surviving foundation document for the village of Putnowice, which serves as an example. The recipients of the royal privilege of 1427 were Anna, Walkosz's widow, and her son Stanisław.⁷⁰ The naming of the owners, but above all the inclusion of the *exceptis schismaticis*⁷¹ clause, indicate that they were of the Catholic faith. Indeed, the use of this formula meant that the Orthodox population was excluded from benefiting from the newly introduced law even if they converted to Catholicism.⁷² This implies that at the time of the foundation, the settlement was inhabited by people of the Catholic faith, and only they were to be covered by the new law. This suggests indirectly that the owners of the village were connected with the Polish lands, from where they had the possibility to attract settlers.

There are no doubts as to the origin of the owner of Oborków, which was founded under German law. He was the aforementioned Mikołaj Bzowski, also known as Strączek, who came from the neighboring Krasnystaw County. The Strączek was involved in the reception of the new law in the Ruthenian lands, as mentioned above.

On the other hand, with the former village system based on Ruthenian law, which was characterized by the occurrence of multi-family farms with an unmeasured area of arable land (*dworzyszcz*) and based on the peasants' obligations in the form of labor and tributes, the villages belonging to the local boyars remained. An example is the village of Masłomęcz, owned by numerous representatives of this social group. It is uncertain whether the lack of traces of

69 GRZEGORZ JAWOR, MAŁGORZATA KOŁACZ-CHMIEL: Between Stagnation and Modernisation: Economic and Social Transformations of Countryside in the Polish-Ruthenian Border in the Late Middle Ages (Example of Hrubieszów County), in: *Res Historica* 51 (2021), pp. 145–168, here pp. 151–158.

70 AVAK, pp. 51–54; GIL, p. 77.

71 “prout in suis metis et graniciis longe, late et circumferencialiter est distincta ab antiqui et limitata, de iure Polonico, Ruthenico et qiovis alio in ius Theutonicum, quiod Maidemburgense dicitur, transferimus perpetuo” (ZDM 7, no. 2007).

72 ANDRZEJ JANEK: “Exceptis schismaticis”: Upośledzenie Rusinów w przywilejach prawa niemieckiego Władysława Jagiełły [“Exceptis schismaticis”: Disadvantages of Ruthenians in the Privileges of German Law of Władysław Jagiełło], in: *Przegląd Historyczny* 75 (1984), 3, pp. 527–542, here p. 536.

modernization in this settlement was only due to its ownership fragmentation, which made the process of founding it under German law very difficult. This was probably not helped either by the numerous disputes over divisions in the village between individual owners. In addition, the mentality of this social stratum may have had some influence on the situation. In the light of former studies by Ludwik Wyrostek and Przemysław Dąbkowski, the poorer nobility in the regions of Podkarpacie were characterized by deep conservatism, striving to maintain their existing lifestyle, the maintaining of social ties, and an aversion to strangers and their way of life.⁷³

Certainly, the reasons for the consolidation of an economy based on Ruthenian law in Ubrudowice were different. Although the owners of the village belonged to the local boyars, it is difficult to speak of their conservatism, in light of the involvement of their representatives Iwaszek and Paszek (Paweł) Czuprykowicz in the activities of the local court authority and their participation in the first conventions of the nobility in Hrubieszów.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the court records show a tendency to polonize names (Paszko-Paweł, Hustian/Ustian-Sebastian, Matuszka-Maria), which may be evidence of their succumbing to the influence of Latin culture. The situation was similar in the case of Wilków, whose owners participated in the activities of the administrative and judicial apparatus. Jurkowicz from the same village was even appointed by King Władysław Jagiełło to the court which was to consider disputes concerning the patrimony of the nobility and landowners of Chełm.⁷⁵ In both villages, on the other hand, we also see the continuation of the old economic model based on *dworzyszcze* throughout the fifteenth century. It is difficult to say what influenced the owners' decision. It is possible that they did not see the benefits of the changes, which required, at least in the beginning, some financial investment (bringing in a person to carry out the work of founding the new settlement and the measurement of fields).

The lack of involvement of the Ruthenian boyars in the economic changes of the villages is confirmed by the case of Waśko Skoruta. Despite the fact that he received *tenutas* in the royal villages of Bogucin and Dobromierzycze, which operated under German law, there is no trace that he attempted to make similar changes in the hereditary Mołodiatycze.

In conclusion, we can observe a lack of interest among the local boyars in transforming the economic model of the village. This happened even in cases where representatives of this stratum became involved in the functioning of the local administration and judiciary. At the same time, on the other hand, one can observe the activity of the representatives of the Catholic nobility involved in

73 LUDWIK WYROSTEK: Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej [The Drag-Sas Family in Hungary and Halych Rus], in: Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego 11 (1931), pp. 1–191, here pp. 126, 136–139; PRZEMYSŁAW DĄBKOWSKI: Szlachta zaściankowa w Korczynie i Kruszelnicy nad Stryjem [The Provincial Nobility in Korczyn and Kruszelnica on the Stryj River], Lwów 1936.

74 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 4, 6, 16, 87.

75 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 20–21.

introducing German law. It is difficult to unequivocally identify the reasons for this situation. They can be traced back to the fragmentation of divisions and the economic weakness of the boyars. The inability to bring in new settlers and the reluctance of the local peasantry to introduce changes should not be ruled out either. Thus, in the fifteenth century, the introduction of a new economic model in private villages in this area was to a large extent co-dependent on the ethnic origin of their owner.

Acculturation—an Attempt to Assess the Scale of the Phenomenon

In order to assess the overall social changes taking place in Hrubieszów County and the attitude of the local boyars towards them, it is still necessary to look at the processes of acculturation. These take place on many levels, including integration within such areas as religion, language, customs and tradition. This phenomenon is not easy to observe in the source material, as the progress of these transformations was not of interest to the judicial bodies whose legacy is available to us. This does not mean that the attempt to look at and assess changes in this area is completely destined to fail.

In the case of the society under observation in this study, who were living in the areas of the Ruthenian lands incorporated into the Polish state, we encounter the phenomenon of a clash between two different cultural patterns that came about due to the division of the Christian denomination in 1054 into Catholics and Orthodox. These changes were not only followed by religious consequences, but by the emergence of two distinct sets of cultural patterns and traditions. As a result, acculturation was closely linked to the Europeanization of these areas. The emergence in the West of a universal European civilization based on Latin Christianity and elements of culture derived from the Carolingian Renaissance led to unification processes that went beyond the boundaries of individual states and social structures.⁷⁶ The spread of this model to areas beyond the Frankish Empire was a long, heterogeneous process that took place at different times.⁷⁷ Individual areas were influenced by Western culture throughout the Middle Ages. This process did not end in the thirteenth century, as is commonly accepted in the literature.⁷⁸ An example of Europeanization in the later period was Lithuania, which adopted Western models only at the end

76 BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 269–270.

77 MARIAN DYGO: *West-Ost-Gefälle? Krise und Blüte in Europa im 14. Jahrhundert*, in: MARC LÖWENER (ed.): *Die "Blüte" der Staaten des östlichen Europa im 14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 285–302; PETER MORAW: *Über Entwicklungsunterschiede und Entwicklungsausgleich im deutschen und europäischen Mittelalter: Ein Versuch*, in: UWE BESTMANN, FRANZ IRSIGLER et al. (eds.): *Hochfinanz, Wirtschaftsräume, Innovationen: Festschrift für Wolfgang von Stromer*, vol. 1, Trier 1987, pp. 583–622.

78 BENEDYKT ZIENTARA: *Świt narodów europejskich [The Dawn of the European Nations]*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 156–176; BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 269–270.

of the Middle Ages.⁷⁹ It covered not only the center of Europe, but also its broadly understood peripheries, from the Scandinavian countries to Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Rus, and Lithuania.⁸⁰ In the late Middle Ages, the transformation within the universal culture of Western Europe took place on many levels and simultaneously with significant changes within this model. These included the consolidation of the estates,⁸¹ the development and dynamism of local government in towns and villages,⁸² religious changes, the growing importance of the written word, and the development of universities.⁸³ Moreover, it went beyond the elite and gained an increasingly wide social reach, like the participation of the masses in the Crusades and pilgrimages, access to education and the written word, and the spread of chivalric culture.⁸⁴ It was the knight-hood or nobility and the bourgeoisie that became the vehicle for the transmission of Western European cultural patterns to the border areas.

In the case of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland, cultural confrontation took place between societies shaped by common Christian roots. However, this did not mean that the unification and integration of both groups was easy or quick. The lack of interference by the Polish state in the cultural differences of the population living in the Ruthenian lands left the changes to be dealt with by

79 EDVARDAS GUDAVIČIUS: *Geneza polskiego fenomenu kulturowego na Litwie* [The Origins of the Polish Cultural Phenomenon in Lithuania], in: KATARZYNA KORZENIEWSKA, VLADAS SIRUTAVIČIUS (eds.): *Pozostawione historii: Litwini o Polsce i Polakach*, Kraków 1999, pp. 26–35; EDVARDAS GUDAVIČIUS: *Lietuvos europėjimo keliais: Istorinės studijos* [Lithuania's Europeanization: Historical Studies], Vilnius 2002.

80 MARC BLOCH: *Toward a Comparative History of European Societies*, in: FREDERICK C. LAND, JELLE C. RIEMERSMA (eds.): *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History*, London 1953, pp. 494–520; REINHARD WOLFGANG: *Geschichte der Staatsgewalt: Eine vergleichende Verfassungsgeschichte Europas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, München 1999, pp. 132–140.

81 WIM A. BLOCKMANS: *A Typology of Representative Institutions in Late Medieval Europe*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978), pp. 189–215; ROMAN CZAJA: *Die Entwicklung der ständischen Versammlungen in Livland, Preußen und Polen im Spätmittelalter*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 58 (2009), 3, pp. 311–328.

82 HEINER LÜCK: *Sachsenspiegel und Magdeburger Recht: Europäische Dimensionen zweier mitteldeutscher Rechtsquellen*, Hamburg 1998.

83 ULRICH NONN: *Mönche, Schreiber und Gelehrte: Bildung und Wissenschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2012; BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 283–291.

84 KARL-HEINZ SPIESS: *Europa heiratet: Kommunikation und Kulturtransfer im Kontext europäischer Königsheiraten des Spätmittelalters*, in: RAINER C. SCHWINGES, CHRISTIAN HESSE et al. (eds.): *Europa im späten Mittelalter: Politik—Gesellschaft—Kultur*, München 2006, pp. 435–464; PETER BURKE: *Did Europe Exist before 1700?*, in: *History of European Ideas* 1 (1980), 1, pp. 21–29; RUDOLF HIESTAND: *“Europa” im Mittelalter—vom geographischen Begriff zur politischen Idee*, in: HANS HECKER (ed.): *Europa—Begriff und Idee: Historische Streiflichter*, Bonn 1991, pp. 33–48; KLAUS OSCHENMA: *Der Europa-Begriff im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, in: *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* 2 (2001), pp. 191–235.

society itself.⁸⁵ In this case, the intermingling of both cultures took place as a result of mutual contacts and interactions. The intensity of these contacts and interactions determined the extent to which Western European cultural models were accepted by the community inhabiting the Ruthenian lands.

Therefore, the fundamental question is how boyars reacted to contact with an alien cultural community and the consequence of this clash for the population living in the border areas. However, this phenomenon should not be treated as a cultural shock caused by contact with a completely unknown and alien cultural pattern. Border territories have always been an area of interaction and contact between culturally heterogeneous social groups. In this case, rather, there was an intensification of the interpenetration of two patterns that had hitherto existed side by side. The abolition of the state border, the introduction of Polish law and administration, as well as the migration of the population contributed to the disruption of this situation and forced an intensification of mutual contacts. It is significant that Western cultural patterns were at least partly imposed from above with the introduction of law and state administration. They also flowed with the migrant group, which settled in a hitherto culturally homogeneous area. However, it is not insignificant for the changes that took place that they found themselves in the midst of a society steeped in a different culture, which was the dominating group in the area in terms of numbers. It is interesting to note how the process of mingling of the two cultures and the progress of social integration developed.

To begin with, we will look at the issue of religious differences. The close relationship between religion, culture, and ethnicity in these areas is beyond doubt. Conversion was closely linked to acculturation and assimilation into a religious group.⁸⁶ Denomination, in this case, was very much linked to ethnicity and was the biggest obstacle to community integration.⁸⁷ In view of the above statements, it is reasonable to ask whether there were conversions of boyars to Catholicism in the area under study, which could have been a manifestation of their deep acculturation. Unfortunately, the sources do not give us

85 Such behavior was not unusual in Europe at that time, even in non-Christian communities. See the attitude of the Árpád dynasty towards the non-Christian population living in Hungary: NORA BEREND: *How Many Medieval Europes? The "Pagans" of Hungary and Regional Diversity in Christendom*, in: PETER LINEHAN, JANET L. NELSON (eds.): *The Medieval World*, London 2001, pp. 77–92; NORA BEREND: *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000 – c. 1301*, Cambridge 2001. Similarly, the conquest of Wales did not mean the integration of its population with England (ROBERT R. DAVIES: *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063–1415*, Oxford 1987, pp. 391–398).

86 ANDRZEJ JANECEK: *Ethnicity, Religious Disparity and the Formation of the Multicultural Society of Red Ruthenia in the Late Middle Ages*, in: WÜNSCH/JANECEK, pp. 15–45, here pp. 28–29; ZDZISŁAW BUDZYŃSKI: *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku [The Population of the Polish-Russian Borderland in the Second Half of the 18th Century]*, vol. 1, Przemyśl—Rzeszów 1999, p. 337.

87 JANECEK, *Zróżnicowanie etniczne*, pp. 369–370.

a direct answer to this question. There are, however, some indications that may put this problem into perspective. The fact that the majority of the Hrubieszów County boyars remained Orthodox in the fifteenth century may be indicated by the lack of development of the parish network of the Catholic Church. Only two parishes had been established—both at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The church founded in Hrubieszów was closely connected with the gord functions of this center and the later town foundation.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the parish in the village of Czernięcin, founded by the ruler, may have correlated with the attempt to introduce a Western economic model in this settlement and the planned recruitment of settlers from outside. After this, there was no foundation activity within the district until the 1630s. There is also no record of boyar families participating in the endowment of parishes in other areas of Chełm Land (such as Wawrzyniec Strączek). However, the lack of development of the parish network of the Catholic Church cannot be an argument for the lack of conversion to Catholicism of the local boyars, especially in the context of the (small) number of Orthodox churches. Outside of Hrubieszów, their occurrence is attested in only three villages: Modryń, Mołodiatyczne, and Putnowice.⁸⁹

One indication of a change of religion may be the use of double names. In the case of conversion, there would be a second baptism and a new name was given.⁹⁰ Although the criterion of the use of name-giving to study ethnic and religious images of society has been criticised in the literature⁹¹ and remains unreliable, its application in some cases is justified.⁹² The occurrence of double names may be indicative of conversion to Catholicism in the case where an individual uses two names referring to two different cultural circles, “Polish-Catholic” and “Ruthenian-Orthodox.” In the material studied, there are only a few examples of the use of double names. One of them is the case of Sebastian, also called Ustian Czuprykowicz, from the village of Ubrodowice. It is interesting to note that he appears under the name Sebastian only in the years 1450–1457.⁹³ At the same time, he appears repeatedly under another anthroponym,

88 WŁODZIMIERZ CZARNECKI: *Rozwój sieci parafialnej kościoła łacińskiego w ziemi chełmskiej do początków XVII w.* [The Development of the Parish Network of the Latin Church in Chełm Land until the Beginning of the 17th Century], in: *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 48 (2000), 2, pp. 29–90, here pp. 36–37.

89 GIL, pp. 150–151.

90 PETER CRAMER: *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1993, p. 127.

91 JANEČZEK, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 601; JURIY ZAZULIAK: *Rebaptizatio ruthenorum: Podviyni imena ta konfesiyno-kul’turna identychist’ shliakhty rus’koho pokhodzhennia v Halyczyni XV st.* [Double Names and Religious and Cultural Identity of the Ruthenian Nobility], in: *Ruthenica* 6 (2007), pp. 275–298, here pp. 280–283.

92 ZAZULIAK, *Rebaptizatio*, pp. 284–287.

93 KZCH, sign. 1, pp. 34, 65–66, 77.

Ustian,⁹⁴ which he continues to use exclusively after 1457.⁹⁵ This takes on more significance in the broader context that the cessation of the use of the name Sebastian coincided with the death of his brother Paweł/Paszek, who, during his lifetime, appears in the sources only under the first anthroponym; only after his death is he referred to as Paszek in a single record of a case concerning his purchase of property attested by Ustian.⁹⁶

These data do not explicitly attest to the conversion to Catholicism of the two brothers, although they may indicate it. On the other hand, the use of anthroponyms by the brothers clearly indicates a tendency to use one of them rather than the other. Ustian's apparent departure from the Latin anthroponym Sebastian after his brother's death suggests his attachment to his old Ruthenian name, which is also reflected in his calling his deceased brother Paszek in one of the records. In the case of Paweł, on the other hand, the consistent use of the Latin form of the name indicates the opposite. One of his daughters also appears under a double name, as Maria/Matuszka.⁹⁷ This indicates, if not religious conversion, at least the influence of Latin culture on the heirs of Ubrudowice. Another example of the use of a double name is Miško/Ivan of Wilków. This case is complicated by the fact that the person concerned protested to the court when he was sued by Chodek, from the same village, under the name Miško. He disputed the legitimacy of the lawsuit, claiming that his proper name was Ivan. Chodek, on the other hand, denied this, citing that he had been called Miško for three years and was recorded as such in the court book.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, we do not know the court's decision in this case. What we do know, however, is that the anthroponym Miško appeared in the records of subsequent cases between them, indicating that this name was considered appropriate by the court. This record suggests a change of name by Ivan and specifies precisely the time of it (three years ago). This precision may indicate its formalized nature, perhaps as a result of the conversion. If so, it would also explain the consistent adherence of the court to the name given at the Catholic baptism, despite the protests of the very person concerned. It is not clear, however, whether the invocation of the former name on Ivan/Miško's part was an expression of a return to Orthodoxy or his attachment to this tradition, or merely a procedural ploy intended to serve to dismiss Chodko's lawsuit.

In the light of the cases presented, we are not sure whether the use of double names indicates conversion to Catholicism.⁹⁹ However, it probably speaks in favor of the penetration of certain influences of Latin culture into some of the boyar families. At the same time, a very strong attachment to the old names

94 Ibid., pp. 36, 69, 74–75.

95 Ibid., pp. 81–82, 91, 94, 96, 98–99, 105–110, 122, 133–134, 149.

96 Ibid., p. 91.

97 Ibid., pp. 94, 99, 106–107.

98 Ibid., pp. 136–137.

99 On the connection between naming conventions and specific cultural circles and the use of names of saints in the Roman Catholic Church as a manifestation of the spread of Western European culture, see: BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 270–280.

and the culture associated with them is also evident in the context of these cases. But it should be stressed that the occurrence of double anthroponyms was not a frequent phenomenon. This indicates the lack of Europeanization among the Ruthenian boyars in this area.

In the light of the analysis to date, it appears that in the area under study the phenomenon of conversion of Ruthenian families to Catholicism did not occur at all, or only on a very small scale. This does not mean, however, that the entry of these territories into the orbit of Polish influence did not have consequences in terms of the penetration of elements associated with the Catholic faith and Latin culture into the local population. This seems to have been largely influenced by the judiciary, which not only brought with it new legal elements, but had also been shaped in a religiously and culturally alien environment. Consequently, it became a vehicle for certain foreign elements. One example is the use of the oath on the cross when giving evidence at a trial, which stood in contrast to the Ruthenian tradition, in which oaths were sworn in the Orthodox church on “spikes” or a wheel at the door.¹⁰⁰ The first mention of the use of the oath on the cross in the Hrubieszów court dates from 1445, but it was taken by representatives of the nobility who were of Catholic faith from Krasnystaw County.¹⁰¹ It was quite common for oaths to be invoked in court during a trial, including for Ruthenians. However, we are not sure whether in such a case they would be sworn in an Orthodox church or on the cross in court. The validity of an oath was based on its connection with the faith professed by the person taking it. Religious differences could be a reason for accepting an oath in a form recognized by a given tradition. This solution is known in the case of the Jewish people, who took a different form of oath than Christians.¹⁰² Some indication that the Ruthenians took a different form of oath is provided by the records relating to the punishment of two peasants from Uprodowice, Maksym and Chilek, for not taking an oath properly.¹⁰³ We do not know, however, whether this is a form of oath or a confirmation of untruth by oath. However, even when only Catholics took an oath on the cross, it was a foreign element with which Ruthenians became familiar when attending court.

Another way in which foreign cultural elements entered the society through judicial bodies was in the use of dates in judgments according to the holidays of the Catholic calendar. In this case, the denomination of the litigants was irrelevant; the dates of debt payments and adjournments were recorded with reference to the feasts of the Catholic liturgical year, also for people of Ortho-

100 WITOLD HEJNOSZ: Fragmenty “Iuris Ruthenici” na Rusi Czerwonej pod koniec średniowiecza [Excerpts from “Iuris Ruthenici” in Red Ruthenia at the End of the Middle Ages], in: *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Władysława Abrahama*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1931, pp. 279–295; AGZ, vol. 13, Lviv 1888, no. 6899.

101 KZCH, sign. 53, fol. 9v.

102 BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 204–205.

103 KZCH, sign. 1, p. 107.

dox faith.¹⁰⁴ This forced the Ruthenian population to become familiar with the dates of the major Catholic holidays in order to keep their obligations or appear before the court at the right time.

The intermingling of cultures was linked not only to religion, but also to language. In view of the above, it is reasonable to ask in which language the state administration and the judiciary functioned, and which was the predominant language at the congresses of the nobility. The fact that the Ruthenian element was clearly dominant in the county does not mean that Old Ruthenian language was dominant in court sessions held in Hrubieszów. This is because, in the early stages, the composition of assessors was very different and included, apart from the starost, people of Polish origin and sometimes even dignitaries of the Catholic Church. The fact that the Polish language was used is further supported by the occurrence of single Polish words in the Latin records of cases. Of course, this may be a consequence of the writer's origin. However, it must be assumed that either he also knew Old Ruthenian, or the proceedings were conducted in his native Polish. Otherwise, he would not have been able to make entries in the book.

It seems that it was the court sessions where the greatest linguistic integration took place. The need to communicate with an ethnically diverse composition of judges, assessors, and litigants necessitated knowledge of a basic vocabulary in both languages or the use of an interpreter.¹⁰⁵ The former seems to have been the more practical solution, and coexistence over time led to bilingualism among the upper classes. Initially, however, the multi-lingual proceedings may have posed a problem. Perhaps the language barrier was one reason why boyars tended to not hold land offices or act as assessors. The situation may have been somewhat different in the case of the conventions of the nobility, where representatives of this stratum from all over the land gathered. Here, the prevalence of the Ruthenian ethnos may have meant that the deliberations were held in Old Ruthenian. However, it should not be ruled out that these meetings may have been bilingual.

Cultural changes also affected lifestyle and manifested themselves in such aspects as hairstyles,¹⁰⁶ clothing,¹⁰⁷ and leisure activities. In the Middle Ages, there were no significant differences between the Polish and Ruthenian nobility in terms of their clothing.¹⁰⁸ There were also no differences in hairstyles. However, certain differences in leisure activities can be assumed. Although, in this

104 For example: *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 107–108, 119, 141, 149, 153, 243, 247, 249, 259, 270, 287–288.

105 The use of multiple languages in courts in border areas or the use of interpreters during trials proceedings has been noted by: BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 212–214.

106 TOMASZ JUREK: *Fryzura narodowa średniowiecznych Polaków* [The National Hairstyle of Medieval Poles], in: DANUTA ZYDOREK (ed.): *Scriptura custos memoriae: Prace historyczne*, Poznań 2001, pp. 635–651.

107 MARGARET F. ROSENTHAL: *Cultures of Clothing in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009), 3, pp. 459–481.

108 PLESZCZYŃSKI, p. 331.

case, common features should also be sought. Hunting was a popular pastime among the nobility of both ethnic groups. It was not only fun, but also an important part of the economy, providing the noble family with meat and skins. However, there are no traces of elements of Western European knightly culture (the knightly ethos, tournaments, courtly love) entering the Ruthenian lands in the late Middle Ages. This is not surprising in the context of its limited progress in Poland, where its influence was largely confined to the western regions (especially Silesia) and the royal and princely courts.¹⁰⁹ It was even less widespread among the petty boyars living in Hrubieszów County.

Conclusions

The above analysis of the socio-cultural transformation of the noble micro-society in Hrubieszów County following its incorporation into the Polish state allows for several insightful conclusions. The observations made indicate a certain separateness of the territory not only in relation to other Polish lands, but also to other areas of Chełm Land, of which the county was a part. To some extent this was influenced by its geographical location, as it was largely surrounded by estates given as a fief to Siemowit IV and, as a result, was deprived of direct contact with the other areas of Chełm Land. Thus, it is clear that there was very limited migration of Polish nobility into this area. This explains which the limited influence this group had on the local community and the lack of Europeanization among the local population in general. The vehicle of change was to be, above all, the administrative and judicial structures of the new state being formed in the County. The formation of the roots of the nobility's self-government in the form of assemblies, which later transformed into regional assemblies, would be conducive to the entry of the boyars into the new social structures and their integration into noble society as a whole.

The ongoing structural assimilation of the Ruthenian boyars of Hrubieszów County-proceeded in a slightly different way to other areas of Red Ruthenia that were incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland, despite the fact that the same legal structures were in place. Although these boyars were granted access to offices and the right to participate in public life on an equal footing with the Polish nobility, it is noticeable that it made little use of these rights. Even at the local level, one can see the dominance of the Ruthenian nobility arriving from other districts of Chełm Land or migrants of Polish origin. This situation was the result of several factors. It was probably partly due to the economic weakness of the Ruthenian boyars of Hrubieszów County and the depletion of their estates as a result of family divisions. However, the almost complete absence of traces of cultural assimilation, observed even in other Ruthenian lands,¹¹⁰ probably influenced the lack of participation among the Ruthenian nobility in the structures of power and local self-government. Here, there is a clear link

109 URSZULA ŚWIDERSKA: *Kultura rycerska w średniowiecznej Polsce* [Chivalry in Medieval Poland], Zielona Góra 2001, p. 106.

110 JANECEK, *Zróżnicowanie etniczne*, p. 375.

between the adoption of the Catholic religion and culture and the social advancement of the nobility of Ruthenian origin. Indeed, in the case of the medieval society of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland, where there is a strong link between state power and the structures of the Catholic Church, the advancement of the individual largely depended on his or her religious affiliation. The strong influence of the clergy and their negative opinions about schismatics on the social elite greatly hindered the social advancement of representatives of orthodox confessions. It must therefore be assumed that there could be no possibility of assimilation of social groups without their at least partial acculturation. In this case, the Polish-Ruthenian border area differed from Mediterranean countries, where Catholic and Orthodox communities have coexisted since the schism in Christianity. In the Mediterranean, there appears to have been a broader acceptance of religious differences, and these did not obstruct opportunities for social mobility.¹¹¹

111 BARTLETT, *The Making Europe*, pp. 269–270.

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