

# Character and Appearance of Ruthenian and Wallachian Settlement in Eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages

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As being best known the ethnic group called "Rutheni" in contemporary sources played an important role in the ethnic, socio-legal and religious structure of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. In the territory of Slovakia it was mainly in the east that many districts acquired a special ethnic and religious character as a result of the Ruthenian penetration, and they have kept it until today. Above all, it is necessary to state that in relation to the local Slovak population, the Ruthenians differed in two very basic ways: ethnic origin and membership of the Eastern Christian rite. It was only later, in the course of the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that the Ruthenians came to be characterized by a specific socio-legal position, originally held by people of Rumanian nationality in the Kingdom of Hungary. However, the Rumanian ethnic group had a very minimal involvement in settlement of the territory of Slovakia, and the Ruthenians became the main bearers of Wallachian law in our territory. They had adopted this socio-legal system very early in their original homes in Galicia and present-day Trans-Carpathian Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> The Ruthenians in our territory shifted the originally ethnic meaning of the word *valachus* towards a socio-legal classification. However, the actual principles of Wallachian law underwent a special development in the territory of Slovakia and were strongly influenced by the older Ger-

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<sup>1</sup> B. Varsik, *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny III*. [Settlement of the Košice Basin] Bratislava 1977, 371-384. P. Ratkoš, "Problematika kolonizácie na valašskom práve na území Slovenska," [The problem of colonization according to Wallachian Law in the territory of Slovakia] *Historické štúdie* 24 (1980), 181-222. J. Žudel, "Vývoj osídlenia Slovenska od počiatkov valašskej kolonizácie do konca stredoveku," [The development of settlement in Slovakia from the beginning of the Wallachian colonization to the end of the Middle Ages] *Archaeologia historica* 13 (1988), 7-15. J. Beňko, "Doosídľovania južných [slovenských] karpatských svahov valachmi a ich etnicita," [The settlement of the southern (Slovak) slopes of the Carpathians by Wallachians and their ethnicity] in *Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu*, ed. S. Czopek, Rzeszów 1996, 279-289. F. Uličný, "Začiatky Rusínov na Slovensku," [The beginnings of the Ruthenians in Slovakia] in *Pogranicze etniczne polsko*, 229-232.

man law,<sup>2</sup> according to which dozens of communities were established in eastern Slovakia. This was most significantly expressed in the names of some of the organizational units of the Wallachians, especially where there was an equivalent in German law. For example, the original name *kenez* for the hereditary mayor of a Wallachian village soon faded away, although it survived as a personal name. Already in the Middle Ages it was replaced by the term *scultetus* borrowed from German law. However, as we will see, this also had its settlement justification, because it is no accident that the settlement area of the Wallachian population in eastern Slovakia initially coincided to a large extent with the territory settled earlier according to German law. Wallachian settlement took advantage of the decline of German settlement in the fifteenth century and only later expanded into new settlements in new areas.

It is necessary to emphasize at the beginning that the non-autochthonous origin of the Ruthenian inhabitants of eastern Slovakia was already described reliably and in detail in the existing literature. Evidence of it is already found in the oldest Hungarian chronicles, which describe eastern Slovakia as the frontier district with Poland and *Ruthenia*,<sup>3</sup> which is already not only a territorial, but also an ethnic definition, as can also be seen in fourteenth-century documents. For example, the territory of the Lordship of Makovica in north-eastern Šariš is still mentioned in 1367 as lying "*in confinibus Rutenicalibus, ubi pridem... lustra et saltus existerant*" and the population penetrating from that region is described as new and following a "pagan rite."<sup>4</sup> Place name evidence is even more reliable. It points to the increased concentration of ethnic names of the type "Ruská Ves" (Russian Village) in eastern Slovakia, mostly dated before the thirteenth century. Such evidence is reliable because such names could only arise in a region where another linguistic and ethnic group, in this case the Slovaks, prevailed. Settlements are recorded of the Russian Varjags (so called in Slavic language) doing guard service for the Hungarian monarchs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This was the origin of the surviving village names of Ruská, Ruskov, Veľký and Malý Rus-

<sup>2</sup> Karel Kadlec already pointed to this in *Valaši a valašské právo*. [The Wallachians and Wallachian Law] Praha 1916, 261 et passim.

<sup>3</sup> *Anonymi Belae regis Hungariae notarii Hungarorum*. Cap. 8, 11, 12; in *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*. Vol. 1, ed. A. F. Gombos, Budapestini 1937, 233–236. *Chronicon Hungarico-Polonicum*, ed. J. Deér, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* (henceforth SRH) Vol. 2, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapestini 1938, 310–311. Most recently compare: F. Uličný, "Podiel Rusov, Rusínov na doosídľovaní Slovenska v stredoveku," [The share of the Russians or Ruthenians in the settlement of Slovakia in the Middle Ages] *Slavica Slovaca* 28:1–2 (1993), 21–27. M. Homza, "K vzniku stredovekej hranice Uhorska a Spiša a k historiografii vzťahov Spiša a Malopoľska," [On the origin of the medieval frontier of Hungary and Spiš and on the historiography of relations between Spiš and Little Poland] *Historický zborník* 8 (1998), 13–14.

<sup>4</sup> Magyar Őrszágos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (henceforth Dl.) 24482: "*propter... gentis novelle ritum paganisimum... de tenutis castris eorundem Makouycha vocati et possessionis Kuryma nuncupate in confinibus Rutenicalibus, ubi pridem... lustra et saltus existerant.*"

kov, established in the Slovak linguistic environment, and of the present village of Göncruszka in Hungary. In areas with continuous ethnic Hungarian or Magyar settlement in the tenth–twelfth centuries, village names such as Oroszi appeared.<sup>5</sup> However, our study will not devote attention to such villages, but to more detailed consideration of the Ruthenian inhabitants, who penetrated into the territory of eastern Slovakia in large numbers only from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and whose settlement already had a different character and legal basis. The territory of the County of Užhorod, where the properties of the lords of Michalovce were concentrated, was the natural starting point for the penetration of Ruthenians into eastern Slovakia, so it is not surprising that we find the oldest evidence of this ethnic group precisely here, although the Ruthenians settled in the central part of Šariš at almost the same time. The initial penetration of the Ruthenians into the territory of the County of Užhorod was a result of the remarkable land improvement activities and extensive reorganization of the lands of the lords of Michalovce. Its moving force starting about the beginning of the fourteenth century, was the German population of Michalovce, which we find in the old settlements of the County of Užhorod, namely Tibava, Trnava nad Laborcom and Vinné, and at the village of Staré in Zemplín. In their surroundings, settlements administered by German law and with inhabitants classified as guests (*hospites*) were gradually formed. However, the whole improvement movement required a larger population, so as the process continued, Magyars and Ruthenians as well as local Slovaks and apparently all who fulfilled the economic and legal conditions, were accepted into the socio-legal group of guests.<sup>6</sup> The mandate of Queen Elizabeth from 1343 already provides reliable evidence of this increased demographic movement. At the request of Laurence son of Andrew of Tibava, Queen Elizabeth authorized any free person to move to his property in the counties of Užhorod, Zemplín and Szatmár, and gain being free from all duties during the three years-time from this.<sup>7</sup> In 1358, when the Chapter of Eger distinguished a filial quarter for Euphrosine daughter of John of Micha-

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<sup>5</sup> B. Varsik, *Z osídlenia západného a stredného Slovenska v stredoveku*. [From the settlement of western and central Slovakia in the Middle Ages] Bratislava 1984, 152–154. Uličný, Ref. 3, 24–27. V. Sedlák, “Zásahy do etnického zloženia staroslovenského historického areálu,” [Interventions in the ethnic composition of the old Slovak historical area] in *XII. Medzinárodný zjazd slavistov v Krakove. Príspevky slovenských slavistov*. Bratislava 1998, 253–255. Gy. Györffy, *István király és műve*. Budapest 2000, 313–314, 511, 513. M. Marek, *Cudzie etnika na stredovekom Slovensku*. [Foreign ethnic groups in medieval Slovakia] Martin 2006, 226–254. Gy. Kristó, *Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon*. [Non-Magyar population in medieval Kingdom of Hungary] Budapest 2003, 81–120, 191–218.

<sup>6</sup> V. Rábik, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku*. (Šarišská župa a slovenské časti žúp Abovskej, Zemplínskej a Užskej) [German settlement in the territory of eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages. County of Šariš and the Slovak parts of the counties of Abov, Užhorod and Zemplín] Bratislava 2006, 346–348.

<sup>7</sup> Gy. Nagy, ed. *A nagymihályi és sztárai gróf Sztáray család oklevéltára* [henceforth Sztáray okl.] Vol. 1, 1234–1396, Budapest 1887, 167, no. 88.

lovce, as an extensive lordship composed of 20 villages in the counties of Zemplín and Užhorod with inhabitants classified as guests. They included the villages of Vinné, \*Greča, Jasenov and Trnava nad Laborcom, where we also find individuals of Ruthenian nationality at an early date. When the lords of Michalovce divided their property in Vinné in 1337, we learn that there were guests here of Ruthenian nationality, including a certain *Ozyph Rutenus*, although other names of guests point more to local Slovak origin of their bearers.<sup>8</sup> Similarly in the village of \*Greča, which later merged with Michalovce, guests of Ruthenian origin were also mentioned when the filial quarter was assigned to Euphrosine in 1358. They included "*Johannes Oruz*" (= Russian or Ruthenian) and Dymith (= *Dimitrij* from Greek *Demetrios*).<sup>9</sup> According to all indications, Ruthenians also penetrated to Jasenov in the fourteenth century, as is shown by the protest of George and Ladislav of Tibava to John of Michalovce in 1356. John had attacked their village of Jasenov and had one of the local inhabitants, a man named *Makzey* (= Maxim), whipped.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, in the case of Jasenov it is necessary to suppose that its establishment according to German law occurred not only with the participation of Slovak, but also of Ruthenian inhabitants, as happened in other villages of the lords of Michalovce, and especially in the neighboring village with the clearly ethnic name of Ruskovce. Individuals of Ruthenian nationality also penetrated into Trnava nad Laborcom, as is shown by a list of inhabitants produced by the monastery of Leles in 1449 on the occasion of a division of the lordship. Therefore, it is not surprising that we already find individual Ruthenians in the centre of the lordship - Michalovce - in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

The above mentioned Ruskovce appears in written sources for the first time only in 1418 and 1419,<sup>12</sup> but there is no doubt that it was founded almost exclu-

<sup>8</sup> Sztáray okl. 1: 123-138, no.74: "*Ozyph [= Josiph] Ruteni hospitis de eadem Vynna... hospitum Chernuch et Peter vocatorum... Kochk et Mike hospitum de eadem.*"

<sup>9</sup> Sztáray okl. 1: 299-303, no. 163: "*in ... possessione Geredche Johannem Oruz et Dymith hospites... inter sessiones Michaelis dicti Baynuk et Stephani fyellatoris.*"

<sup>10</sup> Sztáray okl. 1: 255-256, no. 148. F. Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Užskej župy*. [History of the settlement of the County of Užhorod] Prešov 1995, 309, also supposes the presence of Wallachian population in Jasenov on the basis of information from a document from 1348 [Sztáray okl. 1: 209-210, no. 112], which mentions a Wallachian named Michal, apparently from Jasenov. However, this Wallachian only dealt with some unspecified business of his landlord in Jasenov, and when he left that village, he was attacked on the public highway by John son of Jakov [James] of Michalovce and imprisoned. A mandate from King Louis I entrusted Spiš Chapter with investigating the incident, but it is said that Michal the Wallachian came from Michalovce and the attack happened there. It is worth mentioning that the King appointed as his representative to investigate the case "*Ladislaus filius Kenez*", that is the son of a Wallachian hereditary mayor undoubtedly from the native village of Michal the Wallachian, which in this period could only be Koromľa.

<sup>11</sup> Sztáray okl. 1: 442-443, no. 315: Michalovce ("*Jacobus dictus Oroz... Georgius Oroz*"): Trnava nad Laborcom: ("*Stephanus Oroz, Boryzmikon, Wazyl, Boryz Hredel*").

<sup>12</sup> Sztáray okl. 2: 200-212, no. 50, 152 (1418), no. 153 (1419): "*Ruzkoch*". Uličný, Ref. 10, 200.

sively by Ruthenian inhabitants, as a result of which it was named after the nationality of its population in an environment with a Slovak ethnic and linguistic character. The settlement must have been founded according to German law, as is shown mainly by the fact that in 1427 it was listed among the taxed villages of the County of Užhorod.<sup>13</sup> However, in 1576, the Ruthenian population fled from the village to the Ruthenians (perhaps meaning Polish Galicia) because of the murder of two servants of Stephen of Humenné, and so the decimial-collector of the County of Užhorod found only an abandoned village in which only the hereditary mayor remained.<sup>14</sup> The vanished village of \**Orozfalw*, which lay outside the properties of the lords of Michalovce in the southern part of the County of Užhorod, must have had a similar origin. It is first mentioned in a document of the monastery of Leles from 1400, according to which it lay near Lekárovce and the Drugeth family exchanged it and Močiar with the prior of Leles for part of Veľké Kapušany.<sup>15</sup> In 1419, Paul and Thomas, guests from Orozfalw, were among the witnesses in the case of an attack on Matthew Zelek a canon of Eger by Martin, parish priest of Pavlovce nad Uhom and his accomplices, guests from Ruská.<sup>16</sup> According to the portal register from 1427 there were 14 farm grounds in the village in 1427,<sup>17</sup> but the protest of the prior of Leles from 1478 about its unauthorized collection by the Dóob family from Ruská, is already the last known record of its existence.<sup>18</sup> But let us return to the properties of the lords of Michalovce, where Koromľa must also be regarded as an originally Ruthenian village, also originally founded according to German law in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The surviving epentetic 'r' in the name of the village is evidence of the Ruthenian origin of the original population,<sup>19</sup> while its original foundation under German law in the context of the improvement programme of the lords of Michalovce is shown by the position of the inhabitants in the socio-legal position

<sup>13</sup> Dl.32382: "Rwzkoch," D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. Vol. 1, [Historical geography of Hungarian kingdom under the rule of the Hunyadis] Budapest 1890, 298. Uličný, Ref. 10, 200.

<sup>14</sup> MOL, Kamara, E 158, A 2669, *Connumeratio portarum comitatus Ung*, fol. 372: "Ruskoch: Nullus, nec colonus nec inquilinus praeter unum scultetum... tota possessio est deserta, nam coloni propter homicidium, eo quod duos servitores Stephani Homonnay occiderunt, ad Rutenos fugerunt."

<sup>15</sup> E. Mályusz, ed. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (henceforth ZsO) Vol. II/1, 1400-1405, Budapest 1956, 84-85, no. 728: "*Orozfalw*." Csánki, Ref. 13, 395. Varsik, Ref. 1, Vol. 3: 371. Uličný, Ref. 10, 168.

<sup>16</sup> Dl.43431: "ex scitu retulerunt... Paulus et Thomas hospites de villa Oruzfalu, vicini et commetanei predicti villa Ruzka..." 1419-1420. ed. I. Borsa. Budapest 2001, ZsO VII, 55, no. 99.

<sup>17</sup> Dl.32382: "*Orozfalu prepositi de Leles [porte] 14*." Uličný, Ref. 10, 168.

<sup>18</sup> Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archive - henceforth SNA) Bratislava, Leleský konvent, Private Archive, 15th century, No. 453. Uličný, Ref. 10, 168.

<sup>19</sup> J. Stanislav, *Slovenský juh v stredoveku*. Vol. 1. [The Slovak south in the Middle Ages] Bratislava 1999, 399; II. Turčiansky Sv. Martin 1948, p. 284. L. Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára*. [Etymological vocabulary of the geographical names] 2 vols., Budapest 1997-1998, I, 781.

of guests in 1373<sup>20</sup> and information from 1454 about the original mill of the former hereditary mayor (*scultetus*).<sup>21</sup> However, Koromľa is mainly known in literature as the village associated with the oldest record of the penetration of Wallachians, still meaning people of Rumanian nationality, into our territory. At the joint assembly of the counties of Užhorod, Bereg and Szabolcs in 1337, Jakov (James) son of Andrew and Ladislav son of Jakov of Michalovce protested against the fact that the deputy sheriff of the County of Užhorod and Villerm Drugeth's castellan magister *Gwd* from Nevický Castle had settled Wallachians in the territory of Koromľa. This led to a dispute lasting several decades.<sup>22</sup> However, the mandate of the Palatine Villerm Drugeth from 8 August 1337 also provides evidence of the existence of Koromľa before the settlement of the Rumanian Wallachians. On the basis of the above mentioned protest of the lords of Michalovce, this mandate ordered the Chapter of Eger to define, on the basis of oaths by the parties to the dispute, the boundary between the Nevický lordship of the Drugeth family and the Tibava lordship of the lords of Michalovce, who were the first to found a settlement, as the document emphasizes, on the disputed land by the Orechovský potok stream, where the Wallachians were settled.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the Wallachian element is a secondary phenomenon in Koromľa. However, it is clear from the documentary evidence that precisely the development of the property situation at Koromľa was especially important for the further penetration of the Wallachian population towards the west. We learn from a document of Louis I from 1365 about the complaints of George of Michalovce, according to which the Wallachians from the part of Koromľa occupied by the Drugeth family, namely John known as *Stroya*, *Dragomer* son of *Roman*, *Kalyman*, *Buna* and *Kalym*, whose names point to Rumanian origins, attacked Tibava, from which they drove away a herd of pigs. They left behind three better pigs and repeated the attack a week later.<sup>24</sup> Already earlier, in 1363, the assembly of the nobility of the County of

<sup>20</sup> Sztáray okl. 1: 396–405, no. 241.

<sup>21</sup> Sztáray okl. 2: 513–532, no. 340.

<sup>22</sup> Sztáray okl. 1: 120–121, no.72: "*in quodam territorio Koromlya vocato ad possessionem ipsorum Tyba vocatam pertinenti... olahos descendere fecisset*". R. O. Halaga, *Slovanské osídlenie Potisia a východo-slovenskí gréckokatolíci*. [The Slavonic settlement of the Tisa region and the east Slovak Greek Catholics] Košice 1947, 79. Ratkoš, Ref. 1, 207. J. Žudel, "Zmeny v štruktúre osídlenia Východoslovenskej nížiny od začiatku 15. storočia do konca stredoveku," [Changes in the structure of settlement of East Slovak plain from the beginning of 15th century until the end of the Middle Ages] *Geografický časopis* 42:1 (1990), 78. Uličný, Ref. 1, 230. Beňko, Ref. 1, 280.

<sup>23</sup> Sztáray okl. I, 138–140, no.75: "*quod cum iidem nobiles primitiales in sua fundati existant possessione,... in qua [terra litigiosa] nunc per vos [i.e., by the Palatine] olahii essent locate.*"

<sup>24</sup> Sztáray okl. I, p. 344–345, no. 197: "*Johannes dictus Stroya, Dragomer, filius Romani de Korumle cum Kalyman, Buna et Kalym olachis*". In 1366, the monastery of Leles again investigated the complaint according to which the Druget family had taken 15 cattle and 60 sheep „*ratione collecte in iobagionibus suis Korumlyaiensibus*“, certainly as Wallachian duties. Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic, Štátny archív (State Archive - henceforth SA) Prešov, Archive of the Druget family from Humenné (henceforth Druget-H), I-97 (sign. A-11), no. 61.

Užhorod charged various criminals including a certain Ladislaus known as "Olah" or by another name "Vayas" but also Dragomer son of the Wallachian duke<sup>25</sup> Stanislav and Michael, also called "Olah". Their origin also needs to be sought in the environment of Koromľa, and a Rumanian element is also involved.<sup>26</sup> Only the verdict of the Palatine Imrich from 1373 definitively granted the lords of Michalovce possession of the whole of Koromľa, which became a permanent part of the lordship of Tibava. This made Koromľa the first village with Wallachian organization of the life of the inhabitants in the properties of the lords of Michalovce. It was also a stimulus for the origin of further similar villages in the lordship. Up to the end of the fourteenth century, the villages of Koňuš, Beňatina, Podhorod', Priekopa and Chořkovce in the lordship of Tibava and of Vyšná Rybnica in the lordship of Jasenov originated according to Wallachian law. In the fifteenth century, Wallachian inhabitants also penetrated into other older villages in the lordships of Tibava and Jasenov, as will be mentioned in detail.

In Koromľa itself, the Wallachian, but actually already Ruthenian population gradually became the dominant national and socio-legal element, when the original population was supplemented with settlement of guests. In 1437, when the monastery of Leles divided the lordship of Tibava between the sons of Edmund of Tibava and Albert of Michalovce on the orders of the land judge, Koromľa had 31 inhabited households and the monastery also recorded the names of the heads of the families. According to the list of names, Koromľa was a mainly Ruthenian village headed by Wallachian hereditary mayor or Kenez called Zan. The village also had a Ruthenian, that is Orthodox priest.<sup>27</sup>

Vyšné Remety was originally founded sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century according to German law and with the participation of German inhabitants. It first appears in the sources in 1400,<sup>28</sup> but when the lordship of Tibava was divided in 1437, 28 of the 65 households in Vyšné Remety were abandoned and some of the inhabitants still had German names.<sup>29</sup> However, there was already a strong presence of the Ruthenian element, which probably penetrated to Vyšné Remety from nearby Vyšná Rybnica, which was actually founded according to Wallachian law. Indirect evidence of the penetration of the

<sup>25</sup> The special expression 'vojvod[a]' [translated as duke] in medieval charters relating the life of wallachian inhabitants cannot be considered as being a noble dignity, but it only represents the officer of their special administrative. The descent of this verb comes from Slavonian language and means, in fact, someone who leads.

<sup>26</sup> Sztáray okl. I, 330-332, no. 186: "*Ladislaum dictum Olah... Dragomer, filium voyvode Zanyzlai... Michaellem dictum Olah.*"

<sup>27</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 336-343, no. 237: "*curia sacerdotis Rutenorum.*" The house of the Ruthenian priest in Koromľa is also mentioned in 1454. Sztáray okl. 2: 513-530, no. 360: "*cum domo sacerdotis Ruthenorum.*"

<sup>28</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 27, no. 22: "Remethe." Uličný, Ref. 10, 285.

<sup>29</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 336-343, no. 237. The Wallachian origin of the majority of the population is also documented by the portal list from 1427, in which Wallachians are not recorded, so that only six farm grounds were finally taxed. Dl.32382: "Remethe." Uličný, Ref. 10, 285.

Wallachian and ethnic Ruthenian population is provided by the mandate of the land judge Simon of Rozhanovce for the monastery of Leles in 1413. The mandate ordered investigation of the complaint of Peter of Michalovce, according to which the Wallachians Nicholas and John Drugeth from Humenné, living in the province of *Gyepüelve*, that is in the boundary area within the lordship of Humenné, raided the Vyšné Remety forest with the agreement of their landlords and took away 442 sheep belonging to the local inhabitants and to the inhabitants of Úbrež, but when their servants of Peter of Michalovce caught them at Pichne, the Wallachian dukes Stephen and Stan Drugeth prevented the return of the herd of stolen sheep.<sup>30</sup> At Vyšné Remety, the Wallachian and ethnic Ruthenian element later prevailed over the original Slovak and German inhabitants, and in 1449 the village appeared under the name "*Olahremethe*" (Valašské Remety).<sup>31</sup> Secondary Wallachian population similarly penetrated into Porúbka, a village recorded for the first time in 1412, with its name clearly indicating a settlement founded under German law in a Slovak linguistic environment.<sup>32</sup> At the time of the division of the lordship of Tibava in 1437, 18 of the 35 households in this village were abandoned,<sup>33</sup> and according to a document from the monastery of Leles from 1454, the mill of the local hereditary mayor had also been abandoned and burnt.<sup>34</sup> This documents the rapid decline of Porúbka, which the landlords endeavored to reverse by settlement of new inhabitants with a different, Wallachian socio-legal organization and Ruthenian nationality. The Wallachian element in Porúbka gradually prevailed, as was reflected in its late medieval name of "*Olahporubka*" (Valašské Porúbka), already recorded in 1497.<sup>35</sup> The village of Hliník, now part of Hlivíšť and Úbrež were undoubtedly also founded according to German law. The portal registers from the sixteenth century record the institution of hereditary mayors,<sup>36</sup> but the Wallachian and ethnic Ruthenian element already penetrated here during the fifteenth century. However, their original foundation according to German law is shown by the fact that in 1427 both villages were recorded among the taxed settlements of the County of Užhorod,<sup>37</sup> which would not have

<sup>30</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 125–126, no. 101. J. Beňko, *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*. [Settlement of northern Slovakia] Košice 1985, 266. Žudel, Ref. 22, 78. Ratkoš, Ref. 1, 208. Also compare the report of the Monastery of Leles from the same year. SNA Bratislava, Leles HM, Acta anni 1413, no. 54.

<sup>31</sup> Sztáray okl. 2: 438–449, no. 315. For further documents compare: Žudel, Ref. 22, 78. Uličný, Ref. 10, 285.

<sup>32</sup> SNA Bratislava, Metals comitatus de Ung, no. 43. Csánki, Ref. 13, 399. Uličný, Ref. 10, 187.

<sup>33</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 336–343, no. 237.

<sup>34</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 513–532, no. 360.

<sup>35</sup> SNA Bratislava, Archív Hodnoverného miesta pri Leleskom konvente [Archive of the authentic place at the Monastery of Leles – henceforth Leles HM], Acta anni 1497, no. 31. Žudel, Ref. 22, 78.

<sup>36</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2669, fol. 95, 364, 671, 848 [Hlynyk / Hliník scultetus, from 1571, 1576, 1582, 1588], 139, 182, 360–361, 671, 853 [Wbrys scultetus; from 1571, 1572, 1576, 1582, 1588].

<sup>37</sup> DL.32382: 'Hlynyk;' 'Vbres.' Csánki, Ref. 13, 391, 399. Uličný, Ref. 10, 80, 244.

happened in the case of Wallachian villages. The penetration of Wallachian inhabitants into Úbrež is indirectly documented by the above mentioned complaint of Peter of Tibava from 1413 about the theft of pigs in the forest of Vyšné Remety by the Wallachians of the Drugeth family.<sup>38</sup> The portal registers from 1567 and 1588 document both villages as mainly Ruthenian and the register from 1588 records a Wallachian hereditary mayor called a *kenez* at Hliník.<sup>39</sup> It was typical of Wallachian villages that up to the middle of the sixteenth century they were not taxed according to the usual laws of the state,<sup>40</sup> and so the Wallachian villages in the County of Užhorod were not recorded in the oldest portal register, that from 1427, which is an important sign of their distinction from the villages based on German law, since their foundation documents are not preserved. However, there is also further evidence of the Wallachian origin of such villages in the territory of the County of Užhorod. In 1414, the county officer and deputy sheriff of the County of Užhorod investigated the destruction of the newly built village of Koňuš by the Wallachians of the Drugeth family from Ubľa with accomplices from Porhorod'.<sup>41</sup> Koňuš itself must have been built by Wallachians, although the medieval records are very limited. However, reliable records from the first half of the sixteenth century indicate the presence of Ruthenians and Wallachians in the village.<sup>42</sup>

The Wallachian hereditary mayor called a *kenez* is already recorded in writing at Podhorod in 1476, when the villains of Master Imrich drove away 14 of his cattle. The landlord Simon of Tibava protested against this.<sup>43</sup> There was still a Wallachian *kenez* here at the time of collection of the portal tax in 1588.<sup>44</sup> The origin of Beňatina is directly connected with the origin of Podhorod. It already appears in the oldest documents with Podhorod as the second village below Tibava Castle (in 1418: *utramque Waralya*), so it is also necessary to suppose the Wallachian origin of its population, to which its ethnic development as a Ruthenian village also corresponds.<sup>45</sup> A Wallachian *kenez* named *Nyeg* is known from Choňkovce in

<sup>38</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 125–126, no. 101. SNA Bratislava, Leles HM, Acta anni 1413, no. 54.

<sup>39</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2669, fols. 56, 58, 848, 853–854: "Hlinnyk: Petrus *kenez scultetus*"; "Ubrys... domus sunt combustae per Ruthenos!" [from 1567]. The expression "*kenez*" means a hereditary mayor of Wallachian village.

<sup>40</sup> *Decreta regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns*. Vol. I, 1301–1457. ed. F. Dóry, G. Bónis, V. Bácskai. Budapest 1976, 381, legal article 9 from 1454; Vol. 2: 1458–1490, 111, 115, legal article 6 and 20 from 1459: "Rutheni, Wolachi et Scavi [fidem Wolachorum tenentes], qui alias lucrum camere solvere non consueverunt, ad solutionem eiusdem lucri camere non compellantur."

<sup>41</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 142–143, no. 112. Uličný, Ref. 10, 181, 120.

<sup>42</sup> Uličný, Ref. 10, 120, according to data from the urbarium from 1549. The portal registers from 1578 describe the inhabitants of Koňuš as Ruthenians. MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2669, fol. 315: "Konyus Ruteni"

<sup>43</sup> SNA Bratislava, Leles HM, Acta anni 1476, no. 21: "cuiusdam *kenezy* in... possessione... *Waralya commorantis*." Žudel, Ref. 22, 78.

<sup>44</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2669, fol. 843: "Warallia: Stephanus *kenez scultetus* [!]."

<sup>45</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2669, fol. 59, 843 [from 1567 and 1588]. Compare also Uličný, Ref. 10, 31–32.

1409, when together with Laurence son of Berchen he testified about a quarrel and struggle of the inhabitants of Choňkovce Benedict, Andrew and Stanislav son of Balka with Matthew a villain of Peter of Tibava. This record is also the first written mention of the existence of the village.<sup>46</sup> The village of Priekopa is also of Wallachian origin. It appears in the sources for the first time only in 1418 and 1419,<sup>47</sup> but at the time of the division in 1437, there was already a numerous Ruthenian population and the monastery of Leles also recorded the name of the local Wallachian hereditary mayor – *Blasius kenez*.<sup>48</sup> Therefore it does not appear in the portal register of the County of Užhorod from 1427. The villages of Jovsa and Vyšná Rybnica in the territory of the lordship of Jasenov, first mentioned in writing only in 1418 and 1419,<sup>49</sup> must also be identified as being of Wallachian origin, as is indirectly shown by their absence from the portal register of 1427. The portal register from 1588 recorded the existence of Wallachian hereditary mayors called *kenez* in both villages.<sup>50</sup> All the above mentioned Wallachian villages in the territory of the Slovak part of the County of Užhorod had mainly Ruthenian populations according to the portal registers from 1567 and 1588, so it is remarkable that in the course of modern history the Slovak element prevailed in them. Already according to the official dictionary of settlements from 1773, no language other than Slovak was spoken in any of them.<sup>51</sup> In the territory of the County of Zemplín, the beginnings of the settlement of Ruthenians were also associated with the widespread movement of settlement according to German law, for which the nearby Galician and Polish regions were available as a natural source of population. Therefore, it is not surprising that already in 1361 we have specific information about the arrival of such population, in the form of a mandate from Louis I. At the request of Ladislav and Laurence of Rozhanovce, the monarch forbade his castellans and officials to charge tolls on people coming to settle in the lands of these noblemen. The document explicitly emphasized that this included settlers from Poland and Galicia.<sup>52</sup> This especially involved the territory of the lordship of Čičava with its centre in Vranov, where there was an intensive, directed and systematic settlement program from the middle of the fourteenth century.

When the lordship of Čičava was divided between the lords of Rozhanovce in 1363, the properties included the village with the ethnic name Ruský Kazimír.

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<sup>46</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 58–59, no. 49: “*ad possessionem Hunkolch... presente Nyegh kenezius.*”

<sup>47</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 200–212, nos. 150, 152 and 153.

<sup>48</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 336–343, no. 237.

<sup>49</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 200–212, no. 150, 152 and 153. Uličný, Ref. 10, 108, 282.

<sup>50</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2669, fol. 850–851 [*Kis Rybnicze: Stephanus kenezyk! scultetus!*], 855–856, [*Josza: Roman kenez scultetus!*].

<sup>51</sup> *Lexicon locorum regni Hungariae populorum officiose confectum*. Budapestini 1920 (henceforth: *Lexicon 1773*) 288–290.

<sup>52</sup> DI.5061: “*possessiones... populorum numerositate et multitudine decorate intendamus... mandamus, quatenus ab omnibus populis et iobagionibus... de partibus Polonie et Rutenie... commorandi causa ad eorum possessiones venire volentibus nullum tributum... petere et exigere... pre-sumpnatis.*”

Among the newly built villages in the valley of the Ondava, where the duration of being free from all duties for inhabitants living in it still applied, the village of \**Urusuagasa* (meaning as Russian worked out place) appears, a name also reflecting the Ruthenian origin of the population.<sup>53</sup> However, \**Ruská Voľa* does not appear in further sources. It soon disappeared, like some other villages mentioned as newly built in 1363, and so its site cannot be reliably identified with the present settlement of *Ruská Voľa* in the vicinity of Lomné, although the geographical context does not exclude it.<sup>54</sup> *Ruský* (today *Vyšný*) *Kazimír* remained a permanent part of the lordship and the name of the founder of the village – *Kazimír* points to a Polish – Galician context.<sup>55</sup> However, *Zemplín* also contained an older village with the name *Kazimír* situated south-west of *Trebišov*. After the building of the new village in the Ondava valley by the Ruthenians, it received the ethnic name of *Maďarský Kazimír* (in 1773: *Magyar Kazmer*).<sup>56</sup> However, the village of *Ruský Kazimír* preserved its ethnic character in modern times. This was also under the influence of a new influx of Ruthenians in the mid fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century, who did not have the characteristic duties of Wallachians, but had the position of free men, who performed services in the *Vranov* noble curia, as recorded by the portal register from 1567 and the *urbarium* from 1585, which describe it as an old obligation.<sup>57</sup> In the settlement area of the Ondava valley, where Ruthenian population was mainly concentrated as we have seen, the village of *Bžany* was established according to German law sometime after 1363. It is first documented in writing in 1372,<sup>58</sup> and it must have been a village settled by Ruthenians from the beginning. However, *Bžany* almost perished during the Hungarian – Polish war of 1491–1492, since in 1493 four of the five farms here were abandoned, and the only inhabited farm belonged to the hereditary mayor of the place *Ignath*, whose name reliably documents the older Ruthenian ethnic environment of the village.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Dl.5191: "*Kazmer Rutinicalis... novis villis sub libertatibus adhuc gavisis... Urusuagas.*"

<sup>54</sup> Beňko, Ref. 30, 256. It is necessary to observe that the present settlement of *Ruska Voľa* is a more recent settlement, about which we have information only from the official lexicon of settlements from 1773, but it was also a village in which the population spoke Ruthenian. See: *Lexicon 1773*, 301.

<sup>55</sup> For documents compare: F. Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Zemplínskej župy*. [History of Zemplín county's settlement] Michalovce 2001, 443.

<sup>56</sup> *Lexicon 1773*, Ref. 51, 299.

<sup>57</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2677, fol. 25: "*Kazmir... omnes sunt libertini inquilini et... laborant in curia Varanoviensi a temporibus multis.*" Compare also the data in Uličný, Ref. 55, 443. According to an *urbarium* from 1648, there was some amendment of settlement conditions (certainly as a result of colonization) by Sebastian of *Rozhanovce* (died 1461) around the middle of the fifteenth century. The free position of the people of *Kazimír* and their duties were apparently fixed then and recorded in a document, which still existed in 1648. A. Hidegpataki, Antal, ed. "*Adalékok Csicsva vára és tartozékai történetéhez. A vár és tartozékai 1585-i [magyarnyelvű] urbáriuma,*" *Adalékok Zemplén-vármegyé Történetéhez* 10 (1904), 308.

<sup>58</sup> Dl.5999: "*Bozpaták.*"

<sup>59</sup> Dl.19963: "*Bozvas... una sessione populosa... Ignath solthez.*"

A settlement called "Palyon" is also recorded in 1372 among the new villages in the lordship.<sup>60</sup> We have no later information about it, but it is probable that, as a result of its soft structure, this name is of East Slavonic origin and so this was also a Ruthenian village, which corresponds to the fact that it is mentioned together with Ruský Kazimír in the 1372 document and could have been situated close to it in the valley of the Ondava.

The origin of the village of Nižná Oľšava, which can also be reliably identified as a Ruthenian settlement, can also be placed in this context, while the older village of Vyšná Oľšava had only Slovak inhabitants at first. This Vyšná Oľšava is already mentioned in 1382 and only one settlement with the name „Oľšava“ existed here.<sup>61</sup> However, Ruthenians must soon have begun to settle in its territory, and they built a new village, already recorded in 1391.<sup>62</sup> Such ethnic correlation of the two settlements is also illustrated by a document from the Chapter of Buda in 1493, according to which Vyšná Oľšava already had only three inhabited farms and one of them was occupied by a certain Blasius Pethryk, undoubtedly of Slovak origin, while in Nižná Oľšava, the representatives of the chapter similarly recorded only three inhabited farms, one of them inhabited by a certain Alexius, whose name was already Ruthenian.<sup>63</sup> Thus, only Ruthenian and Wallachian inhabitants penetrated into both abandoned Oľšavas in the first half of the sixteenth century, but the *urbarium* from 1585 recorded a tradition that the village of Vyšná Oľšava was originally Slovak. The writer emphasized that this village originally had a Slovak population and the Ruthenians only came later, while Nižná Oľšava was always a Ruthenian village.<sup>64</sup> As can be seen from the cases of Vyšná and Nižná Oľšava, the Polish invasion of eastern Slovakia in 1491–1492<sup>65</sup> significantly influenced the further development of the settlement and demographic situation. This significantly complicates the problem of researching the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of the settlements in the lordship of Čičava in the Middle Ages. However, it is from precisely this lordship that we have the most detailed data about the results of this war, because in 1493, the Chapter of Buda had a register compiled for the purpose of determining the filial quarter in the

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<sup>60</sup> Dl.5999: "Palyon, Kazmer."

<sup>61</sup> Dl.6962: "Olcwa."

<sup>62</sup> Dl.7661: "inferior Olswa."

<sup>63</sup> Dl.19963: "Item in villa Felsewolchwa... Blasius Pethryk resideret... Item in villa Alsoolchwa... Alexius resideret."

<sup>64</sup> Hidegpataki, Ref. 57, 307: "Also Olswa... mert az oroz faluk [!] ... Ez az Felseö Olsva előszeör thott falu volt es totok laktanak benne. Immar orozok szallottak rea." Vyšná Oľšava was also recorded as a Ruthenian village in a tithe register from 1571. MOL E 159, X. 4214, part 17, Regesta decimarum – Districtus Waranno et Ztropko: "Felseö Olsua Rutteni."

<sup>65</sup> F. Uličný, "Poľské vpády na Slovensku v druhej polovici 15. storočia," [The Polish invasions of Slovakia in the second half of the 15th century] *Historické štúdie* 15 (1970), 259–264. K. Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry w latach 1490–1492. Z dziejów rywalizacji habsbursko-jagiellońskiej w basenie środkowego Dunaju*. [The War for Hungary of 1490–1492. From the history of the Habsburg – Jagiello rivalry in the Middle Danube Basin] Krakow 1995, 98–104, 117–133.

property of the whole lordship. This record shows that more than 54% of the total number of farms were abandoned.<sup>66</sup> However, it is important for the further development of ethnic relations, that if we compare the document from 1493 with the ethnically Ruthenian villages of the lordship of Čičava as we know them from the sixteenth century, we come to the reliable conclusion that sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Wallachian and Ruthenian population penetrated exclusively into the villages that were most depopulated. The *urbarium* from 1585 records the following as Wallachian villages with mainly Ruthenian populations: Valkov, Bžany, (Ruský) Kručov, Lomné, Benkovce, Dobrá nad Ondava, Vyšná and Nižná Oľšava, Ruský Kazimír, Davidov, Banské and Rudlov. It was only sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century that they built a new village of Jusková Voľa.<sup>67</sup>

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However, the Polish invasion of eastern Slovakia had a similarly strong impact on the lordship of Stropkov, which appears in the mid sixteenth century as a territory much settled by Ruthenian inhabitants. It is necessary to say that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the surroundings of Stropkov were a strong area for the foundation of villages according to German law. When King Sigismund granted the lordship to Imrich of Perín in 1408, it included 30 villages, at least ten of them with names recorded in connection with this settlement movement.<sup>68</sup> Thus, earlier and more permanent settlement of Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants in the territory of the lordship of Stropkov cannot be securely documented from medieval sources, rather the opposite. In 1442, the magistrate of Stropkov complained to Bardejov about the Wallachians from the neighboring Lordship of Makovica, who were freely and without restraint moving in the territory of the Lordship of Stropkov and causing damage there.<sup>69</sup>

However, in spite of the absence of medieval documents, it can be considered almost certain that the Ruthenians also came here as secondary settlers in older settlements sometime in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, as is indirectly

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<sup>66</sup> Dl.19963. The document is analysed in detail in: P. Ratkoš, "O osídlení Čičvanského hradného panstva koncom 15. storočia," [On the settlement of the Lordship of Čičava at the end of the 15th century] *Nové obzory* 6 (1964), 109-112.

<sup>67</sup> Hidegpataki, Ref. 57, 299-320. However, there was also Ruthenian population at Remeniny and Matiaška, and Orthodox priests were active in them in 1601. MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2677, fol. 748. The document of the Chapter of Buda from 1493 shows the following situation in the villages where we find Ruthenian and Wallachian inhabitants in the sixteenth century: Valkov - 2 [occupied farms] / 5 [abandoned farms]; Bžany - 1/4; Kručov - 1/7; Lomné - only generally mentioned; Benkovce - 5/3; Dobrá nad Ondava - 8/5; Vyšná Oľšava - 3/8; Nižná Oľšava - 3/5; Ruský Kazimír - 3/3; Davidov - not mentioned; Banské - 2/7; Rudlov - 1/14; Veľký Remenín - 5/6; Malý Remenín - 3/7; Matiaška - not mentioned. The villages mentioned only generally or not at all in the list were undoubtedly entirely abandoned. Dl.19963.

<sup>68</sup> Dl.9404/1-6. Beňko, Ref. 30, 258, 273. Rábik, Ref. 6, 306-317.

<sup>69</sup> B. Iványi, Béla, ed. *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára*. [The archive of the free royal town Bardejov]. Vol. 1, 1319-1526, Budapest 1910, 69, no. 386.

shown by the case of the village of Staškovce, already documented in 1408 as *Staskenhaw* and in 1430 as *Staswagasa*.<sup>70</sup> From the earliest times, possession of Staškovce was divided with the western part of the village, also called Veľké Staškovce belonging to the neighboring Lordship of Makovica, where it appears in the sources from 1414 as "*Staskwagasa*",<sup>71</sup> while the eastern part - Malé Staškovce remained the property of the lordship of Stropkov. Especially in the Makovica part of Staškovce we can see clearly that the village underwent gradual ethnic and social change, and sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century it was settled by Ruthenian and Wallachian inhabitants. We know specifically that the *urbarium* of the lordship of Makovica from 1507, which actually describes the situation before 1490, describes Staškovce as a Ruthenian village.<sup>72</sup> The Stropkov part of Staškovce must have undergone a similar development. However, the *urbaria* of the lordship of Stropkov from 1557, 1567 and 1569 distinguish in detail between the Slovak and Ruthenian villages of the lordship. The latter did not pay the landlord's ninth or the church tithes. The Ruthenian villages included Pravrovce, Varechovce, Staškovce, Bukovce, Brežnička, Vojtovce, Potočky, Solník, Pucák, Závada, Kajňa, Rohožník, Piskorovce, Tokajík, Hrabovec, Mrázovce, Miňovce, Krišlovce and Jakušovce. Only Poruba had a mixed population of Ruthenians and Slovaks.<sup>73</sup>

However, the influence of the Ruthenian and especially of the socially Wallachian population on the socio-ethnic character of the territory of the County of Zemplín was especially significant in the lordship of Humenné, a holding of the Drugeth family. Already in the sixteenth century it had a special position in the administrative organization of the county using the originally Wallachian term "*krajňa*" for administrative divisions of the northern and north-eastern part of the lordship.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Dl.9404/1-6 (1408); Dl.70857 (1430).

<sup>71</sup> Dl.10187. F. Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenie Šariša*. [History of the Settlement of Šariš] Košice 1990, 346.

<sup>72</sup> Egyetemi Könyvtár Kézirattára, Budapest (henceforth EKK), Litterae et epistolae originales, no. 7, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup>: "*Possessiones Ruthenorum... Sthaskocz*." Compare also: ŠA Prešov, Druget H, I-66: "*possessionibus Ruthinorum... Sthaskowcz*" (from 1514).

<sup>73</sup> MOL Budapest, Urbaria et Conscriptiones (henceforth U et C), Fasc. 4, no. 48 (1557: "*Sequuntur Rutheni, qui neque nonam, neque decimam tenentur de frugibus*."); Fasc. 113, no. 1 (1567). Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku, (Urbaria of Feudal Lordships in Slovakia), (henceforth Urbáre). Vol. 1. ed. R. Marsina, M. Kušík, Bratislava 1959, 237-244, no. 8 (1569). Compare also J. Beňko, et al. *Stropkov. Monografia mesta*. Martin 1994, 52.

<sup>74</sup> MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2677, 2678, fols. 67, 73, 83, 88, 95, 266, 354, 417, 531, 1157, 1155-1157, 1160: "*Krajna dominorum Homoniensium*", "*Kraynya nobilium de Zbugia*" (1567); "*Crayna*" (1570); "*Bona nobilium in Kraina*" (1578, 1582); "*Bona nobilium in krayna Homoniensium*" (1596); "*processus... krainik vocato*" (1635). Uličný, Ref. 55, 705. For a review of ideas on the institution of the krajňa see: E. Stavrovský, "*Makovické panstvo v 16.-18. storočí*," [The Lordship of Makovica in the 16th-18th centuries. A contribution to the settlement, ethnic and confessional organization of the population of north-eastern Slovakia]. *Zborník FFUK - Historica* 37 (1987), 72-75.

The oldest specific data about Ruthenians settled in the territory of the lordship of Humenné is found in a document from the Palatine Nicholas of Gorjan from 1379, according to which the judgment of a property dispute about the ownership of villages in the valley of the Laborec between the Drugeths and noblemen from Zbudské Dlhé, also included the village of Radvaň nad Laborcom with 23 occupied and two abandoned farms. The village also had a mill on the river Laborec and a wooden church for Ruthenian members of the Orthodox Church.<sup>75</sup> However, it still appears to have been a settlement under German law, as is suggested by the mill, which indicates an agricultural rather than a Wallachian orientation of the population.<sup>76</sup> More reliable evidence is provided by the origin of the neighboring village of Volica, which is also Ruthenian by origin and appears in the sources already in 1415 as *Vokycha* (!).<sup>77</sup> The name of this village comes from the Eastern Slavonic appellative *Volja*,<sup>78</sup> which corresponds to the Slovak appellative *lehota* (meaning the period during its are inhabitants free from all duties). The form *Volica* (similar meaning as *lehota*) is already Slovakized, which testifies to the Slovak ethnic environment of the district.<sup>79</sup> All the medieval villages with the name *Voľa* arose in eastern Slovakia in the context of settlement under German law with the participation of Ruthenian, but also Polish population, as we will see in other cases. Only the younger wave of names of this type, which appear only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is associated with the settlement of a Wallachian, although also Ruthenian population, but by then its settlement conditions were already significantly modified compared to the primary medieval Wallachian population.

However, where the lordship of Humenné is concerned, Ruthenian, already Wallachian inhabitants penetrated here in the fourteenth century, mainly from the neighboring County of Užhorod, where, as we already mentioned, the Drugeth family already endeavored to settle Wallachians in the territory of Koromľa, belonging to Tibava, in 1337. Before 1402, a certain Wallachian *kenez Iwchwo* escaped to the territory of the lordship with 300 cattle and horses belonging to the villain Michael of Vojnatina and he demanded his return from the Drugeths.<sup>80</sup> We already mentioned the Wallachians and Wallachian dukes Stephen and Stan from

<sup>75</sup> DI.658: "*Radwanya... unam capellam Rutinorum legneum.*"

<sup>76</sup> Beňko, Ref. 30, 261. However, no later than sometime in the fifteenth century, there must have been changes in the social structure of the population, because in the *urbarium* from 1560, we find a Wallachian population here, and the Wallachian form of administration – the *krajňa*. Urbáre 1: 217, no. 5.

<sup>77</sup> ŠA Prešov, Druget H, I-97, no. 47, sign. A-11. SNA Bratislava, Leles HM, Acta anni 1415, no. 57. ZsO 5: 135, no. 292. Uličný, Ref. 55, 603. But in the *urbarium* from 1560, the Ruthenians here ["*Volycha*"] as at Radvaň only had Wallachian obligations. Urbáre I, 220, no. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek*, II, 774. P. Ratkoš, "K otázke emphyteuzy na Slovensku," [On the question of emphyteuza in Slovakia] *Historický časopis* 8:1 (1960), 120.

<sup>79</sup> The neighbouring village of Hrabovec nad Laborcom, also founded according to German law, was the last Slovak village in the Laborec valley. Urbáre I, 217, no. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 28, no. 23.

the lordship of Humenné, who prevented the servants of Peter of Michalovce resituting stolen sheep of the Wallachians from Vyšné Remety and Úbrež. However, an especially noteworthy point in the description of these events by the monastery of Leles is that both vojvodes were appointed to their function with authority in the whole lordship of Humenné, precisely by the Drugeth family,<sup>81</sup> which corresponds to the above mentioned orientation of this family to the economic organization of the lordship on the basis of Wallachian population. In 1479, Ladislav Drugeth of Humenné, expecting an early death, divided the property of the lordship in front of the Monastery of Leles, setting aside a filial quarter for his sister Catherine. He described the villages in the lordship as being inhabited by native "Hungarian", meaning Slovak, and by "Wallachian", meaning Ruthenian, inhabitants.<sup>82</sup> We learn more specific information about some of these Wallachian and Ruthenian villages from the investigation of the deeds of the band of outlaws of the Wallachian Fedor Hlaváty, who attacked various villages in the lordship of Makovica in 1492. The members of his group included Ruthenians and Wallachians from Krásny Brod, Hostovice, Pčoliné, Starina, Kolbasov, Ulič, Snina, Ruská Volová, Stakčín, Svetlice and a place called \*Vološinec somewhere near Starina.<sup>83</sup> Jakub Piecz from Tarnová Góra also wrote of Svetlice as a Wallachian village. He captured three members of Hlavatý's group there, as they were escaping to Poland and informed Bardejov about this.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Sztáray okl. II, 125–126, no. CI: "*Stephanus et Sthan vaivode per prefatos filios Drugeth in dicto districtu Gepel constitute.*" The name of the vojvod Sthan [= Stanislav] points to a Ruthenian origin of the Wallachians here.

<sup>82</sup> Dl.18253: "*castrum suum Barko vocatum cum singulis tam Hungaricalibus quam volahalibus possessionibus ad idem castrum pertinentibus.*" The fact that the wife of Ladislav Drugeth was Hedviga, daughter of the Galician \*vojvod/duke Stanislav, undoubtedly stands behind the special mention. After the death of Ladislav in 1484, she declared that she felt like a foreigner in Hungary and wanted to return to Poland. Dl.18934: "*generosa domina Adviga relicto condam Ladislai de Homonna, filia scilicet condam magnifici Stanislai wayvode de Halycha de regno Polonie... ipsa defuncto prefato Ladislao de Homonna tanquam advena relicta fuerit... in suam propriam, puta regnum Polonie reverti proposuerit.*"

<sup>83</sup> ŠA Prešov, Pobočka Bardejov, Magistrát mesta Bardejov [Bardejov Branch, Bardejov town administration], nr. 2878, 3031, 3070: "*filius sculteti de Crasnibrod Iwan... Llphur de Crasznibrod... Llucacz scultetus de Crasznibrod... Senko Rutheni de Crasni Brod... Michno, Jaczko and Maczko fratres de Hostowicza... de Pczelina Hermi Stecz, Coporow Fedwr... de Starina Waszil... de Kobassowa Sacha filius Iwan... de Ulicz Stecz, Roman, Climo... de Swina Brenza... de Wolowa Simko... capitaneus supremus Ffedur Hlawathi, Kopacz frater Hlawathi, Danko de Wolowa... Alexius de Wolowa... Steffko Schestrynecz de Wolowa... de Staccyn filius Hricz Micha... Czigan [!] de Suetnicza... Roman de Wolessencz.*" Compare: A. Húščava, "O činnosti zbojníckych družín na severovýchodnom Slovensku na konci 15. storočia," [On the activity of bands of outlaws in north-eastern Slovakia at the end of the fifteenth century] *Historické štúdie* 2 (1956), 181–182. Beňko, Ref. 30, 267–268.

<sup>84</sup> S. Sroka, ed. *Dokumenty polski z archiwów dawnego królestwa Węgier*. Vol. 3. (*Dokumenty z lat 1481–1500*). [Polish Documents from the Archives of the Former Kingdom of Hungary III. Documents from 1481–1500]. Krakow 2003, 194–195, no. 535: "*captivos habeo ex villa Stiewnicza minore [!] et quidem valachorum villa est.*"

However, the sources also document a higher concentration of Ruthenian inhabitants around Michalovce. We already stated above that some Ruthenians penetrated there from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and they gained the socio-legal status of guests in the lordship. We learn from a document of the Chapter of Eger from 1335 about the division of the property of noblemen from Naciná Ves, that west of Michalovce there were two villages with the name Voľa, the present village of Voľa in the valley of the Laborec north of Naciná Ves, and the former village of \*Volica, a place situated somewhere in the present territory of Lesné and also originally called *Voľa*.<sup>85</sup> This village already appears under the Slovakized name of Volica in 1405, but in 1448 it was only an abandoned settlement.<sup>86</sup>

The origin of the nearby settlement with the ethnic name of \*Oroszfalva also undoubtedly fits into this context. It already existed in the property of the noblemen of Budkovce in 1366, and according to the definition of the properties of Pozdišovce and Suché by the monastery of Leles in 1437, it lay south of Suché on the road connecting the two villages.<sup>87</sup> However, this Ruthenian village was already abandoned by 1454.<sup>88</sup> Further evidence of the presence of a Ruthenian element in this area in the fourteenth century is provided by an investigation document of the monastery of Leles from 1371, according to which various serfs of Pongráč of Michalovce living in Zbudza and including a certain John known as "Oroz" (the Ruthenian), attacked the village of Úbrež in the County of Užhorod and stole a number of pigs.<sup>89</sup> However, this was only a matter of an individual as in the various properties of the lords of Michalovce. However, it is noteworthy that the oldest data about Wallachian inhabitants from the territory of the County of Zemplín does not come from the northern areas, where this population was mainly concentrated, but from the south, where we find the complaints of the noblemen of Cejkov from 1374, according to which serfs of noblemen from Vojka took more than 300 hundred of the pigs of their Wallachians from the forests in Brehov and \*Kucany (today part of Oborín).<sup>90</sup> Only a few years later, in 1387, Wallachians are mentioned again in the villages of Veľké Trakany and Biel.<sup>91</sup> In 1320, Veľké Trakany was already one of the villages where Thomas son of Korard

<sup>85</sup> Sztáray okl. I, 261, no. 151: "*Wolya iuxta fluvium Laborch... Wolya nuncupata iuxta metas... possessionis Lezna existens.*" In the letter of the land judge Nicholas of Seč from 1357, the two villages are designated as "*Volya et alia Volya*" [Sztáray okl. I, 267, no. 151].

<sup>86</sup> Sztáray okl. I, 44, no. 35: "*ad faciem possessionis Wolycha.*" Sztáray okl. II, 409, no. 295: "*prediū Volicza... prediū Volicza.*"

<sup>87</sup> Dl.67141: "*Orozfalwa.*" ZsO 6: 592, no. 2406: "*Orozfalw*" (from 1422). Gy. Dongó, "Pazdics és Szuha helységeknek határjárólevele 1437-ből," *Adalékok Zemplén-vármegye Történetéhez* 19 (1913), 193–199: „*via de possessione Zucha duceret ad predictam Oroz-falu vocatam*" (from 1437).

<sup>88</sup> Dl.14780: "*predium Orozfalw*". Uličný, Ref. 55, 376.

<sup>89</sup> Sztáray okl. I, 373–374, no. 224: "*Johanne dicto Oroz.*"

<sup>90</sup> SNA, Bratislava, Leles HM, Acta anni 1374, no. 4: "*porcos... olachorum eorum... porci olachorum.*"

<sup>91</sup> SNA, Bratislava, Leles HM, Acta anni 1387, no. 1. Uličný, Ref. 55, 701.

was allowed to settle new inhabitants, according to an authorization from the Sheriff of Spiš Philip Drugeth.<sup>92</sup> The presence of Wallachians at this place appears to have been directly connected with this. The engagement of the Drugeth family in the whole affair deserves special attention. However, we do not have information about a more continuous presence of Wallachians in this area. The penetration of Ruthenian inhabitants can also be documented relatively early in the case of the County of Šariš, and its earliest phase here is also part of the extensive settlement movement according to the principles of German law. We learn from the sale document of the extensive property of Krížovany by Dominic of Trst'any to Nicholas of Perín in 1318 that a village called "Voľa" was situated very close to the property.<sup>93</sup> We have no other information about this village, but it is entirely possible that it appears later under the name of *Volica*, which is mentioned as an abandoned settlement in 1454 in connection with a new grant among the properties of noblemen from Široké, Bertotovce and Fričovce.<sup>94</sup> As we already mentioned, the name Voľa of which Volica is a Slovakized form, is of Polish and Galician origin, and in eastern Slovakia it is an import from that area, found among the names of villages established by Ruthenian inhabitants according to German law. We have concrete evidence from as early as 1340 of the presence of Ruthenians somewhere in the property of Krížovany, and they were probably inhabitants of the above mentioned village of \*Voľa - Volica. In that year, Pope Benedict XII at the request of Nicholas of Perín authorized the Archbishop of Esztergom to organize a visit to the new monastery of the Friars Minor built in Krížovany at the expense of Nicholas. He also informed the Pope about the complicated religious situation in his property, since the inhabitants of Krížovany and the neighboring villages included Ruthenians, who were schismatics, that is they belonged to the Eastern Christian rite.<sup>95</sup> The presence of Ruthenians is also confirmed by a record from 1358, when a certain Nicholas called *Oroz* (Ruthenian)<sup>96</sup> appears in a dispute about a filial quarter from the property of Krížovany and Hrabkov, as the servant

<sup>92</sup> V. Sedlák, ed. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* [henceforth RegSlov] Vol. 2. Bratislava 1987, 252, no.523. V. Rábik, "'Commorandi causa.' Prispievok k migrácii obyvateľstva na východnom Slovensku v procese doosídľovania na nemeckom práve. [A contribution to migration in eastern Slovakia in the process of settlement according to German law] *Studia historica Tyrnaviensis* 3 (2003), 183.

<sup>93</sup> RegSlov II, 164, no. 333: "*que via dividit et separat metas Vola a metis predictae possessionis ita, quod Vola manet ab aquilone, Zenthkerezth vero a parte meridionali.*"

<sup>94</sup> DI.25210; DI.38991: "*atque predia... Wolicza appellata.*" \*Volica still appears as a *predium* in 1510. DI.39086: "*predia ... Wolycza.*" The village must have disappeared before 1427, because it does not appear in the portal register of the County of Šariš from that year. DI.32690.

<sup>95</sup> C. Wagner, ed. *Diplomatarium comitatus Sarosiensis* [henceforth DCS]. Possonii et Cassovia 1780, 519–520, no. VII: "*prasertim cum ipsi populi habeant immediate intra se Ruthenos qui sunt schismatici.*" *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia.* Vol. 24. [1340]. ed. F. Piti, Budapest-Szeged 2001, 242–243, no. 529.

<sup>96</sup> I. Nagy, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis. Anjoukori okmánytár* (henceforth AO) Budapest 1920, VII, 523–524, no. 278: "*Nicolaus dictus Oroz.*"

and representative of the noblemen of Bertotovce, Fričovce and Široké. He could have come only from the above mentioned village of \*Voľa.

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However, another village of Voľa existed in the first half of the fourteenth century somewhere in the surroundings of Sabinov. In 1358 Nicholas called Apród (*varlet*) from Šarišské Sokolovce with his sons authorized Dominic son of Laurence and George son of Andrew to settle their property with the name "*Wolya*" according to the freedoms of the burghers of Sabinov.<sup>97</sup> Again, no further information about the new settlement has survived, which testifies to failure of the project, but the name of the property is evidence of an older Ruthenian settlement, founded according to German law. The settlement of Ruthenians on properties of the Mičkbán family in the upper part of the Ondava valley also undoubtedly falls into the context of settlement according to German law. When Nicholas son of Lorand and grandson of the Bán of Slavonia Mičko defended his property rights before the land judge against the Tekule family, which involved their extensive property of Smilna, he also mentioned "a certain village in which the inhabitants were Ruthenians."<sup>98</sup> It is very probable that this concerned the Ruthenian village included among the properties of the Makovica lordship under the ethnic name *Orozfalw* in 1414.<sup>99</sup> This village is also mentioned in further documents about the properties of the lordship of Makovica, appearing for the last time in 1470.<sup>100</sup>

The village of \**Orozfalw* is also recorded in the portal register of the County of Šariš from 1427, when 28 farm gates (portals) were taxed here,<sup>101</sup> which shows that this Ruthenian community could not have settled here under Wallachian law. However, we also find such communities in the properties of Magister Lorand in the mid fourteenth century. Later, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century a much larger Ruthenian and already Wallachian population must have penetrated into this region. Already in 1356 we have information that Lorand son of Mičko Bán with his serf Wallachians, Ruthenians and other servants attacked the village of Lomné in the County of Zemplín. They looted it and the hereditary mayor of the village Peter was killed.<sup>102</sup> It is not known whether these Ruthenians were identical with the inhabitants of the village of \**Orozfalva*, but if we also admit this possibility, they could not have been Wallachian, since the document from the land judge Nicholas of Sečany (Szecsén), which solved Lorand's excess-

<sup>97</sup> DCS 571-572, no.6.

<sup>98</sup> DI.4653. AO VI, 549-550, no. 349: "*et cuiusdam ville, cuius incole essent Ruteni.*"

<sup>99</sup> DI.10187.

<sup>100</sup> On the documents compare: Uličný, Ref. 71, 273-274. Ferdinand Uličný reliably locates this village in the territory of Jurková Voľa with the local name Rusinec.

<sup>101</sup> DI.32690: "*Orozfalw Johannis eiusdem [Zudar] porte 28.*"

<sup>102</sup> AO VI, 626-631, no. 410: "*Lorandus... quosdam iobagiones videlicet olahos, Rutenos et alios famulos suos ad quandam possessionem eorum Lona vatatam... potencia destinando.*" Beňko, Ref. 30, 255. Uličný, Ref. 55, 282.

es in 1357,<sup>103</sup> specifically distinguishes Lorand's Ruthenian accomplices at Lomné from the Wallachian population, although the latter were undoubtedly also of Ruthenian nationality, and from Lorand's other servants. Therefore, it appears that these Wallachians should be sought in another locality of the Mičkbán, or more probably they were not a Wallachian element with fixed settlements.

Strong penetration of Ruthenian population was already characteristic of the territory of the Makovica lordship in the Middle Ages, and a Wallachian organization of life is already recorded from these villages in the Middle Ages. The partial penetration of Orthodox Ruthenians into this region is recorded in an agreement between the Bishop of Eger Michael and the Cudar family in 1367, according to which the bishop gave up the collection of tithes from the properties of the Makovica and Kurima lordships in return for an annual payment of 200 florins, which was justified by the fact that these territories were too distant and lay on the frontier with the schismatics, and because of the pagan (that is Orthodox) rite used by the people, tithes could not be consistently collected.<sup>104</sup> We can see from this, that Ruthenian inhabitants penetrated into the Lordship of Makovica from the neighboring Polish part of Galicia, and from the fifteenth century we have relatively numerous mentions of them as Wallachians. In 1442, the town council of Stropkov complained to Bardejov about a foray of these Wallachians into their district, where they caused damage.<sup>105</sup> The captain of Lubovňa Castle John of Maslov addressed a similar complaint to Bardejov in 1449, with information that the Makovica Wallachians had stolen horses from inhabitants of Krompachy.<sup>106</sup> Another captain of this castle, John Socha asked Bardejov for help in 1452 with the hunt for a Wallachian named Staník, who was accused of stealing sheep.<sup>107</sup> However, these Wallachians often also raided the territory of Poland. In 1444, the captain of the small town of Biecz Nicholas Pieniążek complained to the captain of Makovica Castle, that the Wallachians from Zborov had raided the forest near the village of Siary, where they stole 22 pigs.<sup>108</sup> But it is necessary to observe that this relates to the Wallachians in the Lordship of Makovica generally and not to Zborov, in the territory of which Makovica Castle stood. Zborov itself never had a Wallachian and Ruthenian population.

A Wallachian was already imprisoned in Bardejov in 1435 for counterfeiting coins, and the town council of Krakow encouraged the people of Bardejov to impose the strictest punishment and requested that they be immediately informed if

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<sup>103</sup> AO VI, 626–631, no. 410.

<sup>104</sup> DL.24482: "*quod quia de quibusdam districtibus nostre dyoecesis confinibus scismaticorum existentibus propter nimiam localem distanciam et gentis novelle ritum paganisimum decime nobis et ecclesie nostre predictae provenientes satis indecenter actenus sunt administrate.*" Compare also note 4.

<sup>105</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 69, no. 386: "*wolahi de Macowicza.*"

<sup>106</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 94, no. 542.

<sup>107</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 111, no. 676.

<sup>108</sup> S. Sroka, ed. *Dokumenty polski z archiwów dawnego królestwa Węgier*. Vol. I. [do 1450 r.]. [Polish Documents from the Archives of the Former Kingdom of Hungary I. [up to 1450]. Krakow 1998, 107, no. 79: "*vachali [!] de Sborowa.*"

he revealed the names of his accomplices during torture.<sup>109</sup> In 1463, the captain of the Polish castle of Muszyna John Wolski asked the town council of Bardejov to send an executioner, because he had condemned to death by hanging a certain Wallachian, who had caused much damage to the people of Bardejov.<sup>110</sup> Two Wallachians were burnt at Vranov in 1479 for counterfeiting coins. Bardejov informed Oswald of Rozhanovce about this, and we learn that they came from the territory of the Lordship of Makovica, at that time belonging to the Rozhanovský family.

In the 1480s, the captain of Plaveč Castle asked Bardejov town council to hunt down a Wallachian named Hawrylla, who had evaded paying tolls.<sup>111</sup> Thus, we can see from these records that the Wallachians often appear in the written sources as perpetrators of violence and crime, which caused considerable problems for the royal borough of Bardejov. As a result, the town council often adopted repressive measures against the Wallachians in the district.<sup>112</sup> It is not surprising that in 1472, the Sheriff of Spiš Imrich Zápoľský asked Bardejov not to persecute his spies - Wallachians named Buda and Myhno. They and their associates were often sent to Poland to obtain information for the king, because they were experts on the Polish frontier region.<sup>113</sup> Bardejov itself used the Wallachians of the Makovica Lordship for intelligence services,<sup>114</sup> and the people of Bardejov also employed Wallachians for the pasturing of cattle and as guides on the forest roads, especially on the way to Poland.<sup>115</sup>

It is noteworthy that the above mentioned reports are very unspecific about the places of residence of the Wallachians in the Makovica Lordship, but this information can be relatively reliably reconstructed from the overall development of settlement in the district. It is necessary to observe that the Ruthenian population with Wallachian socio-legal organization penetrated into the Lordship of Makovica in large numbers already from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as can be seen by comparing the state of the settlements from 1414 to 1417,<sup>116</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 55, no. 288: "*quendam walchum falsarium monete.*"

<sup>110</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 222, no. 1459: "*quia valachum unum suspendemus, qui multa mala vobis fecit.*"

<sup>111</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 324, no. 2154.

<sup>112</sup> The town books of Bardejov from 1418-1444 contain various minutes on the capture of Wallachians. Compare: L. Fejérpataky, ed. *Magyarországi városok régi szamadáskönyvei*. Budapest 1885, 344a, 491b: "*Item pro expensis captivis Walachis.*"

<sup>113</sup> Iványi, Ref. 69, 281-282, no. 1867.

<sup>114</sup> Fejérpataky, Ref. 112, 343a: "*Item olachis pro exploratione ad Bieczh*" [from 1433], 506b "*Item uni walacho exploratory,*" 507b: "*Item wolachis exploratoribus*" [from 1440].

<sup>115</sup> Fejérpataky, Ref. 112, 491b: "*Item uni olacho, qui conduxit dominum Stephanum et ostendit ei viam per silvam*" [from 1439], 392b: "*Item solvimus Bartes walach, quos concessit Antil et Jacobo in Cracoviam equitantes cum Augustino*" [from 1438]. About the payment and provisions for Wallachians in the services of Bardejov compare also further data from the town books: Fejérpataky, Ref. 112, 344a-b, 346a, 347a, 391a, 483b, 486b, 506b, 507b, 518a, 601b, 602a, 606a.

<sup>116</sup> DL.10187 (1414); DL.10333 (1415); DL.10335 (1417/1417/1414/1415); DL.10440 (1417). P. Ratkoš, "Vznik a osídlenie Makovického hradného panstva do začiatku 17. storočia,"

when all the villages in the lordship were included, to the state of the settlements according to the tax records from 1427, in which the Wallachian and so ethnically Ruthenian villages do not appear. From the total number of 65 villages in the Lordship of Makovica, only 52 appear in the portal register from 1427.<sup>117</sup> Among the missing settlements, the village of \**Thurospathak* had probably already disappeared, since it appears in no later sources, and it is possible to suppose temporary abandonment or natural disasters in the case of some other villages such as Poliakovce, Cernina and Tisinec, but in these continuity of Slovak population was maintained, and they appear as Slovak villages in the *urbarium* from 1507.

However, in the case of the other villages, namely: Nižný and Vyšný Svidník,<sup>118</sup> Nižný and Vyšný Orlík, Lodomirová, Becherov, Vyšný Tvarožec, Gribov and Dubová, their absence from the 1427 portal register can be explained only by new Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants, who were not subject to land taxation. They already appear as villages with Ruthenian and Wallachian population in the *urbarium* from 1507, which is based on the situation in the lordship before 1490.<sup>119</sup> However, it is typical of the Ruthenian population in this period that the Wallachian element settled mainly in older villages, often originally established according to German law such as the above mentioned villages, and only secondarily in newly founded settlements as the Ruthenian population grew.

Undoubtedly such a development could only happen as a result of the decline of the original Slovak population, as occurred especially in the valley of the river Ondava already at the beginning of the fifteenth century, partly due to flight of the inhabitants, especially to Bardejov and the villages subject to it. Already from 1415, we have concrete evidence of mass flight of inhabitants from villages in the Lordship of Makovica, with more than 30 serfs of Simon Cudar fleeing to Bardejov and its village of Lukavice at the time of collection of the land taxes. However, the royal exchequer officer John Bubek confirmed the right of Bardejov and other royal boroughs not to give up the serfs of aristocrats, who moved to the town.<sup>120</sup> This was also a reason for the abandonment of settlements in the Lordship of Makovica. The Cudars and after them also the Rozhanovskýs endeavored to solve this population deficit by settling Wallachian and ethnically Ruthenian inhabitants. This inflow of people was stimulated especially by the reform and

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[The origin and settlement of the Lordship of Makovica Castle up to the beginning of the seventeenth century] in *Príspevky k dejinám východného Slovenska*, Bratislava 1964, 44–45. V. Rábik, "Osídlenie a národnostný ráz Makovického panstva v stredoveku," [Settlement and national character of the estate Makovica in the middle ages]. *Historický zborník* 15 (2005), 26–54.

<sup>117</sup> Dl.32690, fols. 7–10.

<sup>118</sup> Wallachian hereditary mayors with the personal names Hayncz and Simon are recorded here from 1434. Beňko, Ref. 30, 232 (with a reference to ŠA Prešov, pobočka Bardejov, MMB, Protokol 1416–1443, fol. 19).

<sup>119</sup> EKK Budapest, Lit. et ep. Orig., no. 7, fols. 9v–10r. Similarly also ŠA Prešov, Druget H, I-66 (from 1514).

<sup>120</sup> Dl.10395. ŠA Prešov. Pobočka Bardejov, fond Magistrát Bardejova, no. 77. ZsO V, 339, no. 1208, 543–544, no. 2017 (from 1416). Compare: Rábik, Ref. 92, 187–189.

unification of the obligations of the inhabitants to the lordship and "in the domain of Ladomírova" accepted by Reynold of Rozhanovce at the beginning of 1471, and directly emphasizing his effort to increase settlement of the lordship.<sup>121</sup>

The testimony of two Wallachians Ivan of Stebník and Prokop of (Vyšný) Tvarožec from 1518 also corresponds to this. With other inhabitants of the Wallachian villages, they testified before the judicatory of county in a dispute about possession of the Čierný les forest in the surroundings of Lukov. They told the story of events more than 40-50 years before. Another Wallachian from Snakov also said that he and others moved from Poland to Hungary at that time and settled in the forests of Malcov.<sup>122</sup> It was precisely at that time that Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants penetrated into northern Šariš in larger numbers.

The above mentioned *urbarium* of the villages in the lordship written around 9 October 1507 is an important document testifying to the overall settlement penetration of Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants into the Lordship of Makovica in the Middle Ages.<sup>123</sup> The whole document is preserved only in draft form, but this is useful, because it includes data that would have been omitted from the finished copy. For example, it recorded that for every ten beehives Wallachians and Ruthenians had to deliver one basket or more precisely the honey and wax from the production of one hive, and for each hive they had to pay one florin.<sup>124</sup> However, this item was later crossed out and no further information more closely specifies the duties of Ruthenian and Wallachian villages, although the villages in the lordship were precisely differentiated in this spirit. The villages of Šarišské Čierne, Rovné, Stebník, Becherov, Varadka, Petrová, Vyšný Tvarožec, Dubová, Vyšný and Nižný Orlík (Vyšný Orlík was the seat of the Wallachian duke), Vyšný and Nižný Svidník, Bukovec (the writer added that the 6 inhabitants were divided into 3 Slovaks and 3 Wallachians – *tres Sclavi et tres wolochi*), Veľké Straškovce, Pstrina, Gribov, Vislava, Kružľová, Ladomírová and Vagríneč, were designated as Ruthenian settlements with Wallachian inhabitants. Orthodox priests, popularly called "baľko" and officially *plebanus Rutenus* were found in Stebník, Dubová, Vyšný Orlík and Gribov.<sup>125</sup>

It is important to observe that such a division of villages was of older origin, as is shown by comparison of the data on individual villages with the document

<sup>121</sup> Dl.17161: "*volentes possessiones nostras ubique videlicet in pertinenciis Makowycza et Ladmer habitas populosas efficere.*" Ratkoš, Ref. 116, 47.

<sup>122</sup> Dl.69106.

<sup>123</sup> EKK Budapest, Lit. et ep. Orig., no. 7, fols. 1r-10v: "*Revisio castri Makowycza in comitatu de Saros adiacentis ac pertinenciarum eiusdem per magistros Stephanum de Werbewcz et Sigmundum de Pogan circa festum beati Dionisii martiris presentibus egregii Nicolao de Tharcza, Stephano de Segnye, Nicolao de Kapy et Johanne Weres de Roskwan anno etc. 1507 facta.*" Compare its edition: V. Rábik, "Urbáre Makovického panstva z roku 1507," [Makovica domain urbaria from 1507] *Slovenská archivistika* 41:2 (2006), 22-40.

<sup>124</sup> EKK Budapest, Lit. et ep. Orig., no. 7, fol. 1r: "*Et hoc in medio dumtaxat Rutenorum et volachorum, non autem Christianorum.*"

<sup>125</sup> An Orthodox priest is already documented at Svidník [Vyšný or Nižný] in 1458, 1478 and 1492. Iványi, Ref. 69, 307, no. 2038. Beňko, Ref. 30, 232, 268.

of the Chapter of Buda from 1492,<sup>126</sup> by which the chapter distinguished the girls' quarters for the daughters of John and Oswald of Rozhanovce, and recorded in detail the state of settlement in the lordship after the devastating invasion in 1491–1492 by the Polish army of John Albert, who aspired to the throne of Hungary with the support of part of the Hungarian nobility after the death of King Matthias Corvinus.<sup>127</sup> Comparison of the document from 1492 with the *urbarium* from 1507 documents only minor changes in the settlement of the lordship and shows that even 15 years after the devastation, the district had not been regenerated with new inhabitants. This was also reflected in the total value of the Lordship of Makovica, as illustrated by the exchange between Sarah widow of John Tarczay from Sarišské Sokolovce and the Palatine Imrich of Perín. In exchange for the Lordship of Makovica, he gave Sarah the Lordship of Sečovce, which was composed only of the small town of Sečovce and another seven villages and two abandoned settlements. In this context, they again differentiated between the Ruthenian and Slovak villages in the Lordship of Makovica, giving a division faithfully corresponding to the *urbarium* from 1507.<sup>128</sup>

However, the oldest known record of the presence of Wallachians in Šariš relates to the property of the Sóos family of Solivar, where we learn from the complaints of the noblemen of Kokošovce in 1402, that against their will, the Sóos family had settled Wallachians in the territory of Kokošovce, and the cattle of the Wallachians grazed on the crops.<sup>129</sup> Sometime around 1408, John Kokoš and his men (servants) attacked the Wallachians of Peter Sóos in the disputed woods and left them thoroughly thrashed as a warning to others.<sup>130</sup> However, it is impossible to say reliably whether this concerned the village of Nová Ves, already mentioned among the properties of the Sóos family in 1419. It only received the ethnic adjective "Ruská" in modern time. This village is registered among the taxed settlements of the County of Šariš in 1427, which suggested arable rather than pastoral farming.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Dl.3022. Specifically, it is possible to add that in 38 villages in the lordship in 1492, the total number of inhabited farms was 154. In 1507 the officials of the lordship counted in 48 villages only 221 inhabited farms and a further 43 cottages. In the context of the total number of farm portals taxed in 1427, when 52 villages in the lordship contained up to 1565 portals (Dl.32690, fol. 7–10), this represented a critical number and a deep decline of settlement in the lordship.

<sup>127</sup> Ref. 65.

<sup>128</sup> ŠA Prešov, Druget H, 1-66: "*castrum suum Makowicza vocatum in comitatu de Saros existens... ac possessionibus Ruthinorum Mernyk, Rona, Stebnyk, Alsozwydnyk, Bwkowcz, Bykharo, Waraczka, Petherwagasa, Alsothwrospathak, Dwbowa, Felseworlyk, Alsoorlyk, Felsewzwydnyk, Sthaskowcz, Byzthryna, Grebo, Wozlo, Krwso, Ladamer et Wagrincz.*"

<sup>129</sup> ŠA Prešov, Farkaš Z, no. 35: "*olahos inter possessionis eorum [sc. Delne]... potenciali condescendi fecisset... fruges ipsorum depasci fecissent.*" Uličný, Ref. 71, 438, 470.

<sup>130</sup> Dl.57531. ZsO VIII, 355–356, no. 1165: "*in silva propria ipsorum [sc. nobilium de Souar] Valahos ipsorum spoliando, quosdam ex isis diris vulnerum plagis sauciasset*" (in a document from 1421).

<sup>131</sup> ZsO VII, 251, no. 969. Uličný, Ref. 71, 273–274 supposes a mixed population of Wallachians and peasant farmers. Dl.32690: "*Wyfatw Nicolai Sos.*"

However, already sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century, the sources document the presence of the Wallachian element in the western part of Šariš in the properties of the Torysa and Kamenica lordships, where an intensive settlement process according to German law was in progress from the last third of the thirteenth century. It spread here from neighboring Spiš and also extended to the Lordship of Šarišský Hrádok. The model we saw in the Lordship of Makovica also applied here. Wallachians of Ruthenian ethnic origin penetrated into older settlements created according to German law, which were later abandoned. In an undated document from around 1400 of John deputy captain of Šarišský Hrádok, we learn that Ruthenians were already settled in the village of \*Viliamvagasa from which the tithes required by the state laws did not have to be collected.<sup>132</sup> This village already existed in 1345 under the name Wernerwagasa, together with Lúčka and \*Harčár, which were located nearby,<sup>133</sup> but it must have been abandoned by the end of the fourteenth century, as were the neighboring settlements. Ruthenians with a Wallachian organization settled here around 1400. This is reliably shown by the fact that they do not appear in the portal register from 1427, although the neighbouring settlements did. However, this village also disappeared by the end of the Middle Ages. In 1522 it already only described as a deserted settlement (*predium*).<sup>134</sup>

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A document from the captain of Šarišský Hrádok Castle John of Kozojedy addressed to Bardejov in 1455 also testifies to the presence of Wallachians of Ruthenian nationality in the Lordship of Červený Hrádok. He asked the town not to intervene against the Wallachians under his administration, because he himself had no knowledge of their actions.<sup>135</sup> This concerned not only the Wallachians from the village of \*Wernerwagasa, but apparently also from Olejníkov, first mentioned among the properties of the castle in 1454.<sup>136</sup> Olejníkov appears in the tithe register from 1538 as a Ruthenian village.<sup>137</sup> However, the Ruthenians must have penetrated at the same time into the village of Hanigovce, which had two parts by the end of the fourteenth century, one of which – Veľké Hanigovce – was granted to Peter of Šemše in 1392 by the king. This Hanigovce remained a Slovak village, while the other Hanigovce settlement was already abandoned in 1398.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>132</sup> ZsO 2/1: 90, no. 783: "*decimas... de Viliam Vagasa de omnibus Rutenis.*"

<sup>133</sup> AO IV, 488–489, no. 296. On the location compare: Uličný, Ref. 71, 352.

<sup>134</sup> DL69125.

<sup>135</sup> V. Chaloupecký, ed. *Středověké listy ze Slovenska. Sbíрка listů a listin, psaných jazykem národním z let 1426–1490.* [Medieval Letters from Slovakia. A collection of letters and documents written in the national language, 1426–1490] Bratislava–Praha 1937, 69, no. 77. Iványi, Ref. 69, p. 126, no. 774.

<sup>136</sup> DL24541: "*castrum Wywar... Olaypathak.*" Uličný, Ref. 71, 221.

<sup>137</sup> MOL Kamara, E 159, B. 1036, Regesta decimarum comitatus Sarosiensis, part 8: "*Olaynyk Rutteni.*"

<sup>138</sup> DL64681 (1392). DCS, 351–352, no. 47 (1398).

This abandoned settlement then became a property of the Lordship of Kamenica, and when it again appeared as an existing village with the name „Malé Hanigovce“ in 1404,<sup>139</sup> it had undoubtedly become a Ruthenian and Wallachian village. In 1479, an unnamed Wallachian hereditary mayor of Hanigovce was in Bardejov prison and the castellan of the Muszyna Castle in Poland John Białogrodzki testified about his offences. These included robbery in the small town of Nowy Sącz.<sup>140</sup> This Hanigovce is recorded in the tithe register from 1538 as a village inhabited by Ruthenians.<sup>141</sup>

Walachian and Ruthenian inhabitants settled in a similar way as a secondary element in other villages in the Lordship of Kamenica and Torysa. When Jakub of Brezovica mortgaged his property there to Michael Poch of Žehra in 1440, there was mention of Legnava, where Wallachians lived.<sup>142</sup> However, the Wallachian population could have penetrated there only after 1427, when Legnava still appeared among the taxed settlements and we learn for the first time about its existence and the German origin of its name.<sup>143</sup> Legnava also appeared as a village with Ruthenian inhabitants in the decimal register from 1538.<sup>144</sup>

Blažov also developed as a Ruthenian village with Wallachian inhabitants from the second half of the fifteenth century, although it was originally established according to German law by the founder Blažej of Brezovica in 1317.<sup>145</sup> However, in 1480 Wallachians already lived in Blažov, as we learn from the investigation documents of representatives of the County of Šariš, according to which they attacked the cart of Nicholas of Brezovica, which was returning from Žilina with a load of materials and clothes.<sup>146</sup> In 1513, Peter of Spišský Hrhov protested before the judicatory of the Spiš County, that the villeins of Francis of Brezovica from the village of Blažov, therefore meaning Wallachians, had pastured their sheep without authorization in the woods and meadows of Nižné Repáše. As a result he confiscated them, but armed Wallachians with their landlord came to Repáše at night and took away not only their own, but also the animals of the inhabitants, one of whom was injured.<sup>147</sup> In 1480, when the judicatory of the Šariš

<sup>139</sup> ŠA Prešov, Archív rodu Uz z Uzoviec, fasc. XLVII, no. 18: „Kyshennyng.“

<sup>140</sup> S. A. Sroka, ed. *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego królestwa Węgier*. Vol. 2. (*Dokumenty z lat 1451–1480*). [Polish Documents from the Archives of the Former Kingdom of Hungary II. Documents from 1451–1480] Krakow 2000, 190–191, no. 297.

<sup>141</sup> MOL Kamara, E 159, B. 1036, Regesta decimarum comitatus Sarosiensis, part 8: „Hennyng Rutteni.“

<sup>142</sup> Dl.17110: „totales porciones suas possessionarias in possessionibus... Langwan, in qua valahi commorantur.“ Beňko, Ref. 30, 231. Uličný, Ref. 1, 167, 413.

<sup>143</sup> Dl.32690: „Item Langnow dominorum de Brezeuiche [porte] VIII.“ Uličný, Ref. 71, 166.

<sup>144</sup> MOL Kamara, E 159, B. 1036, Regesta decimarum comitatus Sarosiensis, part 8: „Langno Rutteni.“

<sup>145</sup> RegSlov II, 92–93, no. 167. Rábik, Ref. 6, 67.

<sup>146</sup> Dl.69070: „quod nobilis Nicolaus de Brzyzowycz quibusdam diebus miserat propter suum currum ad Silnam ... cum igitur domum peragere voluissent... valachi de Balasswagasa... ipsum currum dicti exponentis ad libitum ipsorum cepissent.“

<sup>147</sup> Dl.63886: „certas greges et pecora ovium iobagionum... in possessione Balaswagas commorantium.“

County investigated the excesses of Wallachians from Blažov, behind whom stood their landlord Stanislav of Brezovica, he was also accused of attacking on a public road a certain Wallachian from Tichý Potok, a serf of his relation Nicholas of Brezovica.<sup>148</sup>

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Tichý Potok with the original German name Stillbach first appeared in written sources only in the portal register from 1427.<sup>149</sup> It was a village founded under German law and here the original population was German. A source from 1519 gives the German name Friedrich for a recently deceased farmer from the village.<sup>150</sup> The Wallachian and ethnically Ruthenian population was also a secondary element here.

The penetration of Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants into the north-western part of Šariš and into the Lordship of Makovica is explained in more detail by a document from the deputy sheriffs and county officers in 1518, recording the story of the investigation of possession of the Čierný les forest in the surroundings of Lukov. They questioned various witnesses about these matters, especially Peter Kádar (cooper) from Lenartovo, a serf of Nicholas of Kapušany, who declared that the disputed forest was always used by the castellans of Kamenica, about which he allegedly had 40 years of knowledge. This was confirmed by Trochan from \*Miastko (a vanished locality in the territory of Tylicz in Poland), which belonged to Muszyna Castle, and by Hrycko of Andrejovka, as well as by serfs from the Lordship of Makovica Ivan of Stebník and Prokop from Vyšný or Nižný Tvarožec and finally a certain Synka from Lukov.

However, the noteworthy part was the testimony of Jaczko Strizon from Snakov, who declared that fifty years before he had lived in Poland, but at that time he and others, undoubtedly also Wallachians came to the village of Malcov with their sheep and cattle. They settled in certain fields or woods belonging to this village. The inhabitants of Macov discovered them and wanted to drive them out. However, they finally reached agreement and the inhabitants of Malcov permitted them to settle in the territory of the village, but forbade them to go into the Čierny les forest because it was the property of the late Thomas of Torysa.<sup>151</sup> There is no doubt that this was a matter of the Wallachian population, which settled in the territory of Malcov mainly in the older village of Snakov. It is also noteworthy that with the exception of Lenartov, only inhabitants of Wallachian

<sup>148</sup> Dl.69070: "*dum dictus Stanislaus de Brzywycz... reperit quendam valachium de Stelbach.*"

<sup>149</sup> Dl.32690: "*Item Stelbach dominorum de Berzeuice VIII.*" Uličný, Ref. 71, 328.

<sup>150</sup> Dl.69115: "*tres sessiones suas iobagionales... alteram condam Frederice dicti in Stelbah [!] ....*"

<sup>151</sup> Dl.69106: "*Item Jaczko Strizon de Snako iobagio nobilis Johannis Bornemissa de Polyanka fassus fuisset, quomodo ipse in anno circa quinquaginta preterito... in regno Polonie moram habuisset, et extunc venerat cum aliis sociis suis cum pecoribus suis de Polonia ad campum sew ad silvam possessionis Malczo, ibique eosdem reperissent iobagiones egregii Nicolai de Kapy in eadem Malcza commorantes, ibique ipsos voluissent inde pellere cum pecoribus suis et tandem cum eisdem iobagionibus ipsi concordassent et sic ipsos quiete relinquissent.*" At the time of collection of the portal tax in 1548, some inhabitants fled to Poland. MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2658, fol. 451.

and Ruthenian villages provided evidence, because it was they who had the most experience of migration in the forbidden areas. However, the document from 1518 allows us to more precisely date the larger scale arrival of Ruthenians not only in Snakov, but in the whole district, to the period around 1470. Ruthenian inhabitants also penetrated into other neighbouring settlements no later than this time. Apart from the villages mentioned in the document, these included Hrabské (partially), Venecia, Orlov, Starina, Údol and Bajerovce, as well as the villages in the Poprad valley of Plaveč and Plavnica. Only the village of Livov, first mentioned in writing in 1470<sup>152</sup> must be regarded as a newly established Ruthenian settlement. All these villages are designated Ruthenian settlements in the only partly preserved tithe register of the County of Šariš from 1538, and tithes were not collected from them.<sup>153</sup>

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However, older information is available about the Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants of the villages of Andrejovka, Starina, Lukov and Venecia. We learn that in 1505 the Wallachian Vaško *Huertpch* bought the positions of the Wallachian hereditary mayors of Starina (*Starinska*) and Andrejovka (*Andrzejovka*) from the original hereditary mayors Peter and Andrew sons of Ivan Kruchlica.<sup>154</sup> In 1518, noblemen from Kamenica endeavored to settle the Wallachian Ichnath, originally from Venecia, in Lukov, but the noblemen from Kapušany, to whom he was subject, protested.<sup>155</sup> The Wallachians were already in Venecia in 1491, when one of them – David, together with associates, participated in an attack on the Polish village of Śnietnica.<sup>156</sup>

The whole expedition, in which inhabitants of other villages also participated, was led by Andrew son of a man known as Lulow (Livov?), apparently a Ruthenian and an inhabitant of the Wallachian village of Hradisko.<sup>157</sup> However, a complaint from 1506 gives direct information about its Wallachian population. According to the complain the Wallachians and inhabitants of Hradisko pastured their cattle and sheep in woods outside the territory of the village.<sup>158</sup> We will also

<sup>152</sup> Dl.86554: "*Lewo.*" Beňko, Ref. 30, 233. There is still a hill in the surroundings of the village with the name "*Rusínov*" (bench mark 808). *Čergov. Turistická mapa* no. 104. Scale 1: 50,000. Marmanec: Vojenský kartografický ústav 1996.

<sup>153</sup> MOL Kamara, E 159, B. 1036, Regesta decimarum comitatus Sarosiensis de anno 1538, part 7-9: "*Rutteni sunt... non decimantur.*"

<sup>154</sup> MOL Budapest, *Archivum Locumtenentiale, Limitarnea Hungarico-Polonica*, Nr. 92, Fasc. Q, Lad. XX, no. 3. The content of the document is preserved only in a copy from 1793. Beňko, Ref. 30, 216.

<sup>155</sup> Dl.69107: "*unum valachum Ichnath dictum de possessione Veneche... ad possessionem Luko ducere... fecisset.*" Uličný, Ref. 71, 181, 417, 456.

<sup>156</sup> Sroka, Ref. 84, III, 185, no. 524: "*primo fuit David de Vanacia cum suis coadiutoribus.*"

<sup>157</sup> Sroka, Ref. 84, III, 185, no. 524: "*item de Hradyszko Andreas filius dieti Lulow, qui ductor horum omnium fuit.*"

<sup>158</sup> Dl.39855: "*valachi et iobagiones de Hradiscza.*" Uličný, Ref. 71, 397. Hradisko appears in the urbaria from 1557 and 1606 with Ruthenian inhabitants. MOL Budapest, U et C, fasc. 4, nr. 48: "*Radiska*" (1557); fasc. 40, no. 38: "*Radiczka Rutheni*" (1606). The neigh-

comment that the territory of the County of Šariš in the Middle Ages already contained further villages under the name Voľa, namely Nižná and Vyšná Voľa and Jakubova Voľa, but these villages were the work of Polish founders and were also partly settled by Polish inhabitants. They were not Ruthenian settlements.<sup>159</sup>

Finally, it is also necessary to especially mention the Ruthenian and Wallachian inhabitants of the County of Abov, although we do not have proof of more permanent settlements in the Middle Ages. The oldest Košice court book contains a record from 1394 that the burghers included a certain tinsmith "Walach",<sup>160</sup> but he could have been a man of Rumanian nationality actually from Wallachia. However, Wallachian and Ruthenian inhabitants already appeared in the surroundings of Košice in the fourteenth century. This is shown by a letter from Pope Boniface IX from 1402, by which the Pope endeavored to support the reconstruction of the burnt out Church of St. Elizabeth by granting indulgences for pilgrims according to the model of St. Mark's in Venice or the Porziuncola in Assisi. He also emphasized that various Wallachians and Ruthenians had converted to Roman Catholicism in the church at Košice.<sup>161</sup>

Some of these Wallachians and Ruthenians undoubtedly became burghers of Košice, as is shown by the case of Michael and Peter from Galicia, who appear as "conciues" in the oldest Košice town book from 1393-1405.<sup>162</sup> In 1437 Wallachians

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bouring village of Žatkovce also appears as Ruthenian in these urbaria, and it is possible that the Ruthenians also penetrated here at the same time as to Hradisko.

<sup>159</sup> Nižná and Vyšná Voľa were originally called Jakubova Poruba (in 1382 Jacabuagasa; ŠA Levoča, Andrassy KH, Fasc. 53, no. 15) and Petrova Poruba (in 1438 Petherwagasa; AMK, TA, Kalnaj-S, no. 21.) but when we have more detailed information in modern times about the ethnicity of the population, both settlements were Slovak. Other settlements were established by Polish founders in the immediate surroundings, including the present village of Poliakovce in the Lordship of Makovica (in 1415 Polyak; Dl.10333) and the village of "Polyakvagas" somewhere near Marhaň, documented in 1370 (G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Budae 1829-1844, IX/4, 252-253, no. 149). In the neighbouring village of Porúbka, we find an inhabitant with the ethnic name of "Georgius Polak" in 1572 (MOL Kamara, E 158, A. 2655, fol. 153). It was similar in the case of Jakubová Voľa in the valley of the Torysa (1315 nova villa... Iacobfolua; 1332 Jabobsdorf, 1352 Jacabuagasa; RegSlov 2: 23-24, no. 7 (1315); ŠA Levoča, SspK, Scrin IX, Fasc. 6 (1332); Dl.68903 (1352), which only appears under the name Voľa in 1474 ("Wolyaiacabfalua" ŠA Prešov, Druget H, I-51). This indicates demographic and ethnic changes and shows that the village must have been settled by people of at least partly Polish origin under the new settlement conditions of the fifteenth century. The fact that the nearby vanished village of \*Petrovenec in the territory of Dubovica had an inhabitant called Nicholas the Pole in 1432 is undoubtedly connected with this [Iványi, Ref. 69, 45, no. 247: "Nic Polonus de Petermezew"].

<sup>160</sup> O. R. Halaga, ed. *Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393-1405. Das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch*. [The oldest town judge book] München 1994, 61: "Walach platener." O. R. Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly*. [The Beginnings of Košice and the Birth of a Metropolis] Košice 1992, 258.

<sup>161</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*. Vol. I/4. Budapest 2000, 26.

<sup>162</sup> Halaga, *Acta iudiciaria*, Ref. 159, no. 242, 356, 540, 570, 710, 1062, 1172, 1173, 1235, 2384, 2836, 3444, 4493, 4628, 4650, 4801, 5257, 6098: "Michael de Galcz concivis noster."

were already wandering in the forests of the monastery of Jasov. The grazing of their cattle damaged the forests and the prior Stanislav accused the castellan of Turňa Castle of introducing them.<sup>163</sup> Two years later the same Wallachians were wandering in the surroundings of Smolník, where they attacked and robbed people. The monarch ordered the castellan of Turňa Stephen Šafár to take action against them.<sup>164</sup> However, there was no more permanent penetration of Wallachians and Ruthenians or establishment of settlements in the territory of the County of Abov in the Middle Ages.

In conclusion, it is possible to summarize that the Ruthenians penetrated into the territory of eastern Slovakia in two basic waves starting from the beginning of the fourteenth century. At first they provided population for the settlements established according to the principles of the then fashionable and rapidly spreading German law, but almost at the same time, Ruthenians with Wallachian organization appeared in eastern Slovakia. However, very few settlements with continuous occupation by this Wallachian population can be identified from the fourteenth century. The Wallachians of this time can be described more as a group leading a way of life without constant links to fixed settlements. They did not build their own settlements but moved into the territories of existing settlements and often migrated.

More permanent settlement of the Wallachian population in eastern Slovakia is documented only from the beginning of the fifteenth century, but it still applies that new Ruthenian inhabitants with Wallachian socio-legal organization usually settled in older abandoned settlements, which are securely known to have been originally founded according to German law. This was strongly connected with the generally declining state of settlement in eastern Slovakia, especially its northern part, as it can be documented already from the end of the fourteenth century. It was similar in the case of further waves of Ruthenian inhabitants in the Middle Ages. It was only in the sixteenth century, especially from its middle, that more substantial Ruthenian-Walachian activity can be documented. This involved building of new settlements, which significantly changed the ethnic and religious character of this part of Slovakia. However, the situation in the lands of the Drugeth family, namely the Lordship of Humenné within the County of Zemplín is an exception. The Drugeths settled their lands with Wallachian elements already in the Middle Ages, but this was so characteristic for the territory, that villages in the lordship were designated Wallachian already in the Middle Ages and the Wallachian term *krajňa* was used in the administrative organization of the Zemplín County.

<sup>163</sup> V. Chaloupecký, *Valaši na Slovensku*. [The Wallachians in Slovakia] Praha 1947, note 22.

<sup>164</sup> Sz. L. Bártfai, ed. *Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez*. [Cartulary to the history of the Count Csáky family] Vol. I/1. Budapest 1919, 376-378.