

BUKOWSKO IN THE LIGHT OF ECONOMIC SOURCES IN THE YEARS 1716 – 1772

(The compilation contains registers of townspeople and peasants of
Bukowsko from the years 1741, 1742, 1758, 1772)

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April 2022 saw the death of prominent Polish historian Prof. Feliks Kiryk, who was born in Bukowsko near Sanok. The professor was called "the historian of small homelands" because to a large extent he devoted himself to the study of the history of local communities. One of them was his hometown of Bukowsko, to which he devoted several extensive studies. In the last of these from 2006 he wrote: "[...] the history of Bukowsko is known piecemeal [...]. [...] because few [...] source testimonies have been preserved. I collected them for many years [...]. [...] encouraging successors to continue their research in this field".¹

Fulfilling this wish, we would like to supplement the eighteenth-century history of the town of Bukowsko, on which Professor Kiryk worked, with additional valuable sources kept mainly in Lwów and Przemyśl, which the professor no longer had time to reach. We dedicate this study to the memory of Professor Feliks Kiryk, "the historian of small homelands."

CITY

The village of Bukowsko was first mentioned in the 14th century. Over the following centuries owners of the village change, but the status of the village remains unchanged until the moment it became part of the vast Lesko estate.² In copies of records from the Sanok county office and court for the year 1709,³ as well as registers of the poll tax (head tax) of the Sanok land from the years 1714⁴ and 1715⁵ Bukowsko is mentioned as a village. The first historical mention calling Bukowsko a town comes from the records of the Biecz county office and court in 1716.⁶ Once again, its status is confirmed by the royal privilege for fairs and markets issued in 1720⁷ and once in 1731 as well as by the later account books of the Lesko estate from 1741 – 1742⁸ and even later subordinate inventories from 1758 and 1772,⁹ as well as the first cadastre of Bukowsko (*Metryka Józefińska*) from 1786 – 1788.¹⁰

¹ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec pięćset lat sąsiedztwa (XIV – XVII wiek), Rocznik Sanocki IX, TPSiZS, Sanok 2006, s. 82

² A. Fastnacht, Słownik historyczno-geograficzny Ziemi Sanockiej w średniowieczu, cz. 1, s. 58 – 59

³ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. III, Archiwum Stadnickich, rkps 3959, s. 12

⁴ CDIAUL, f. 15, op. I, spr. 208, s. 2160. Źródła udostępnione dzięki uprzejmości dr Łukasza Bajdy.

⁵ CDIAUL, f. 15, op. I, spr. 209, s. 2266. Źródła udostępnione dzięki uprzejmości dr Łukasza Bajdy.

⁶ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 106

⁷ AGAD, MK, Sigillata 19, s. 238 i 289, Sigillata 22, s. 98; Zob. F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 110; Por. J. Motylewicz, Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej..., tabela 5. Błędnie podaje sygnaturę księgi.

⁸ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Registr percepty ... czynszów dóbr leskich i innych Ossolińskich 1741 – 42, s. 49 – 53, 97 – 102

⁹ APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 161 – 168; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego y płońskiego, także dóbr Bukowska y Pobidna z Ratnawicą przez w. Klickiego, skarbnika trockiego, na groncie in anno 1772 wyprowadzone, s. 14 – 31v

¹⁰ CDIAUL, f. 19, op. XV, spr. 105, Miasto Bukowsko (1786 – 88)

We are not aware of a privilege for the founding of the new town of Bukowsko issued by the royal chancellery, which would have authorized the founding of the city and granted certain municipal rights and certain economic rights.

We also do not know of any incorporation document issued by the city's founder that, based on an earlier royal document would have regulated legal and organizational norms in detail and established mutual relations between the founder and the townspeople.

On the other hand, obtaining a privilege to locate a city was also not tantamount to the founding of that city. The location of a city, or the organization of a municipal community, was a process, which often took decades and often ended in failure. Basically, such a process consisted of three phases, legal incorporation, spatial incorporation and organization of the urban commune.¹¹

Some towns grew out of small market settlements. As early as the Middle Ages there were market villages of this type in Poland. Though they served an economic function as markets, they were not legally recognized as towns. However, due to their economic functions, including fairs and craft production, they were often imprecisely referred to as towns both colloquially and in documents. Not infrequently, these types of market settlements later developed and became actual towns.

Based on the above premises, we should consider that the process of creating a new Bukowsko town began in the second decade of the 18th century and its initiators were the Stadnicki family. Evidence for this in the sources is the use of the term *oppidum Bukowsko* and in the appearance of elements of the landscape and institutions characteristic of a legal town.

Sometime around the year 1700, the village of Bukowsko was probably purchased from the Bal family¹² by the Voivode (governor) of Wołyń, Jan Franciszek Stadnicki of Żmigród, and Niemirów (17th century - died 1713)¹³ and incorporated into the Lesko estate. After Stadnicki's death there follows a period of chaos as a result of numerous divisions of the estate and family feuds between heirs. Individual villages change owners. Such a situation of uncertainty definitely was not conducive to new investments, such as founding new towns. Finally, in 1716, Stadnicki's widowed daughter-in-law, Dorota née Skrzyńska, and her daughter, a minor heiress, Teresa Stadnicka became the mistress of Lesko. Despite this, inheritance cases continue for a

¹¹ R. Szczygieł, *Miasta prywatne w Polsce od XIV wieku do 1772 roku – chronologia lokacji, właściciele, pełnione funkcje*, Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, T. LXXVII – 2016 (specjalny); A. Bartoszewicz, *Miasto czy wieś? Małe miasta polskie w późnym średniowieczu*, Przegląd Historyczny 99/1, 2008, s. 121 – 138; J. Maroszek, *Targowiska wiejskie w Koronie Polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Filia UW w Białymstoku 1990; K. Skrzyńska, *Pomiędzy miastem a wsią. Przestrzeń małych ośrodków miejskich a jej użytkownicy w epoce nowożytnej na przykładzie Słomnik*, s. 105 – 122, w: red. J. Rogulski, *Miasto – wieś – rezydencja. Przestrzeń determinująca dzieje człowieka – człowiek kształtujący przestrzeń*, Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Nauki Społeczne 9 (2/2014), Kraków 2014; W. Trzebiński, *Działalność urbanistyczna magnatów i szlachty w Polsce XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1962; J. Motylewicz, *Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w drugiej połowie XVII i XVIII wieku*, Przemyśl, Rzeszów 1993

¹² LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 77, Rejestr podymnego 1674, s. 29; AGAD, ASK I, 71, Rejestry pogłównego generalnego woj. ruskiego i wołyńskiego 1662 – 1675

¹³ A. Fastnacht, *Dzieje Leska do 1772 roku*, Rzeszów 1988, s. 34; H. Palkij, *Stadnicki Jan Franciszek h. Szreniawa (XVII w. – 1713)*, PSB, t. XLI, s. 390 – 391, www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl, dostęp: 19.01 – 14.02.2023

number of years. On February 4, 1731, Teresa Stadnicka marries Józef Kanty Ossoliński and brings him the Lesko estate as a dowry.¹⁴

The acquisition of Bukowsko by the Stadnicki family and later, as a result of marriage, by Józef Ossoliński, was an important event in the history of the village. From that moment it became part of the largest complex of landed estates in the Sanok region, one with a powerful economic, financial and political background. The new, wealthy owners initiate the process of creating a new town from, and on the territory of, the village of Bukowsko. In the intentions of the owners, Bukowsko was to become a local economic and trade center mainly for the southwestern, poorly urbanized frontiers of the Lesko estate, which was also to be competitive with Nowotaniec, the urban center of neighboring estates owned by the Stano family. Bukowsko's primary task was to enable the sale of agricultural products produced in the Bukowsko manor farm and in the subordinate village of Wisłok Wielki, as well as in the lord's farms mainly in the Płonna and Tokarnia sub-estates and partially in other villages included in the Lesko estate. It was also supposed to act as an intermediary in the trade of cattle, mainly oxen, between local villages and large urban centers.¹⁵

Bukowsko had a chain development (a village including patches of forest), typical of mountainous areas and foothill areas for villages founded under German law. In the chain layout of development, residential and farm buildings were erected along the stream, at a certain distance from it for fear of flooding, and fields ran in strips from the houses up (perpendicular to the creek valley) to the village border. A country road wound its way past the buildings. On the other side of the creek the situation was the same. Thus, between the two rows of buildings, in the middle of the village, ran a strip of common land, which was called a nawsie. The nawsie could serve as a common pasture or pastureland, a place where flax and hemp were processed, linen was bleached, etc. The central part of the long strip of the common was also the center of the village's social life; the church stood there and the entire village gathered there in times of need.¹⁶ It is likely that in the second decade of the 18th century the Bukowsko common (the central part of the long strip of the common) was measured off, and then a spacious rectangular market square and plots of land around it were delineated for small-town buildings. This separated Bukowsko urban space from the rural space that surrounded it. At the beginning, the area of urban development occupied 3.91 hectares [9 ac 28829 ft²] (2.89 hectares [7 ac 6157 ft²] of buildings and 1.02 hectares [2 ac 22672 ft²] of the square) and during the following decades it expanded very slightly occupying 4.53 hectares [11 ac 8445 ft²] of area in the second half of the 18th century (only Lutowska and Jaćmierz had a slower growth in the Sanok land).¹⁷

In order to settle the new area, settlers were brought in, most of whom were Jewish. Already in a document from 1716 there is mention of Jews living in Bukowsko and, as we know from later 18th century documents, this community constituted the vast majority of the town's residents, i.e. the urban part of the settlement, concentrated

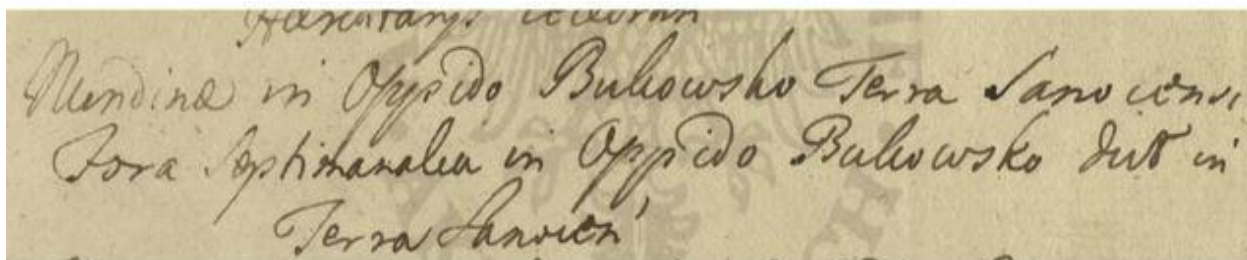
¹⁴ A. Fastnacht, *Dzieje Leska do 1772 roku*, Rzeszów 1988, s. 34 – 36; W. Szczygielski, *Ossoliński Józef Kanty h. Topór (1707 – 1780)*, PBS, t. XXIV, s. 410 – 412, www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl dostęp: 19.01 – 14.02.2023; W. Szczygielski, *Ossolińska ze Stadnickich Teresa (1717 – 1776)*, PBS, t. XXIV, s. 387 – 388, www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl dostęp: 19.01 – 14.02.2023

¹⁵ E. A. Kuropatnicki, *Geographia albo dokładne opisanie Galicji i Lodomerii, Przemyśl 1786*, wyd. 2, Lwów 1858, s. 61; J. Motylewicz, *Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej...*, s. 78, 186

¹⁶ Józef Burszta, *Zagadnienie "nawsia" w osadnictwie wiejskim*, „Lud”. 41, 1954, s. 439 – 498

¹⁷ J. Motylewicz, *Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej...*, tabela 51

around the market square.¹⁸ The town did not receive a proper royal privilege for weekly markets and annual fairs until March 4, 1720. The royal chancellery issued further privileges of this type later that year on July 22 and on December 22, 1731.¹⁹ The fairs in Bukowsko became such a strong competition in trade for neighboring Nowotaniec that the townsmen there brought a complaint about it to the county court in Sanok in 1748.²⁰ This testifies to Bukowsko's economic success. Such conflicts between neighboring towns belonging to two different owners were quite common at the time.²¹ Certainly, the newly formed town of Bukowsko, belonging to the powerful Lesko latifundium had a much greater potential than Nowotaniec, whose background both economically and politically was relatively small.



Registry of the royal privilege establishing weekly markets and annual fairs in Bukowsko, 4.III.1720, AGAD Warsaw

The development of the local center of trade and production was accompanied by the development of local administrative centers. The government seat is the first to be established. In 1707, a manor house is built on the grounds of the Bukowsko manor. The manor was the residence of the sub-steward (*podstarosta*), an official of the local governmental administration, who managed the Bukowsko estate (Bukowsko and Wisłok Wielki), which was part of the Lesko estate. The manor housed scales and measures.²²

Another center of administration was the Bukowsko filial church, perhaps built in 1710, which was elevated to parish status in 1748. This event was preceded by thirty-five years of efforts to establish a parish with the superior authorities of the diocese of Przemyśl.²³ Finally, in 1758, we see the construction of the first Bukowsko town hall.²⁴ The first known source mention of the municipal authority (mayor) dates back to 1773.²⁵

SQUARE

The township established on the Bukowsko village site consisted basically of two parts, small-town architecture centered on the market square and a suburban part with a village character surrounding the center.

¹⁸ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 106; LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr percepty..., s. 49, 102; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 162 – 166; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 20v – 29

¹⁹ AGAD, MK, Sigillata 19, s. 238 i 289, Sigillata 22, s. 98; F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 110

²⁰ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 105

²¹ Podobną sytuację sporu o jarmarki pomiędzy rodziną pochodzącą z zamożnej szlachty a magnatem dokładnie opisał Marcin Matuszewicz w swych pamiętnikach. M. Matuszewicz, Diariusz życia mego, t. I, lata 1714 – 1757, PIW 1986, s. 396

²² LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego..., s. 14 – 18v, 30 – 31

²³ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 106

²⁴ APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 161 – 162

²⁵ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 112

The market was laid out on a hill in the bend of the Stawki and Bukowiec streams, perhaps in the second decade of the 18th century. It was a spacious, rectangular market square, typical of centers with a developed cattle trade, 143 meters [156 yd 1 ft] long and 71.5 meters [79 yd] wide. It covered an area of 1.02 hectares [2 ac 22672 ft²].²⁶

The map of F. Miega from 1779 – 1783, shows that four main streets diverged from the market.²⁷ Two larger roads connected Bukowsko with Płonna to the southeast and Nowotaniec to the northwest, with a branch to Wolica down the Bukowiec stream. On the other hand, two smaller roads led up the stream of the Stawki towards the manor house and farm with a branch to Wisłok Wielki, Tokarnia and Wola Piotrowa, and up the Bukowiec stream toward the manor called Nędze.

Settlements, or plots of land for residential buildings and gardens, were delineated around the market. The owners of the various town estates may also have owned larger or smaller agricultural areas; unfortunately, the oldest source that gives the exact area of land belonging to the various families of the Bukowsko townspeople is only the *Metryka Józefińska* of 1786 – 1788.²⁸

In 1741, the market was surrounded by 13 residential buildings and perhaps a church. The Bukowsko parish was erected in 1748, but tradition has it that the church was built earlier in 1710.²⁹ If this was the case, its wooden structure then stood in the same place where the modern church rises, i.e. in the southwest corner of the market square. The northeastern frontage was enclosed by two houses, called the "*lord's small house*" and the "*greater lord's house*," built by the town's owners in 1738. At that time all buildings in the city were still wooden.³⁰

In 1742, the number of residential buildings increased to 15 thanks to two more significant investments made by the owners of Bukowsko. The construction of another "*lord's house*" and a "*lord's tenement*" were completed at that time. This tenement was the first brick building in the history of Bukowsko (we don't know if only the front wall or the entire building was brick). It housed an inn.³¹

All four "*lord's houses*" probably occupied the northeastern frontage of the market in the place where today the house number 334A stands, as well as the northern edge of the community center (Dom Ludowy). These were lands belonging to the owners of the town. The oldest, accurate cadastral plans of Bukowsko, which allow identification of the owners of individual buildings date as late as 1852.³² However, despite the significant time difference, in some specific cases, they allow identification of buildings from a much older period, such as the mid-18th century.

On the 1852 city plan, the northeast frontage of the market square encloses four large houses, a larger wooden building that houses the inn (no. 167 on the cadastral map),

²⁶ J. Motylewicz, *Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej...*, tabela 51

²⁷ Galizien und Lodomerien 1779 – 1783, Friedrich von Mieg

²⁸ CDIAUL, f. 19, op. XV, spr. 105, Miasto Bukowsko...

²⁹ F. Kiryk, *Bukowsko i Nowotaniec...*, s. 106 – 110

³⁰ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, *Regestr percepty ...*, s. 102

³¹ Tamże, s. 49

³² APP, AG 0190M, *Markt Bukowsko in Galizien 1852*

next to it the town hall at the time, brick market building (no. 168) and two smaller, also wooden houses (no.169 and 170).

The layout of the buildings on the 1852 map corresponds exactly to the description made a hundred years earlier. So we have the "*greater lord's house*" housing the inn (parcel no. 167 on the plan), "*the lord's tenement*" (parcel no. 168), "*the lord's small house*" and "*the lord's house*" (parcel numbers 169 and 170).³³



Bukowsko cadastral map, 1852, AP Przemysł

The lord's houses were leased by townspeople and used for both residential and economic purposes. They housed an inn, the dwelling of an innkeeper and lessee of the propination rights (the right of production and sale of alcohol), the apartment of a "*dokterki*" (feldsher?) or other persons, e.g. privileged ones (exempt from any fees - by virtue of performing some administrative or economic function) or the newly settled or just ordinary tenants.

³³ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Registr perceptu..., s. 49, 102; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 161 – 162

From 1758 we have information on 16 parcels, of which only 11 were built on and as many as five stood empty after older buildings were demolished. One of them was the above-described "lord's tenement" demolished before 1758. The inn, from the demolished tenement, was moved to the "greater lord's house" standing next door (no. 167 on the plan) and after 1758 to the town hall (no. 171).



Map of Bukowsko, central part. Galizien und Lodomerien 1779 - 1783, Friedrich von Mieg

Certainly a church was already standing by then, and probably the parsonage buildings along with outbuildings behind the church. The panorama of the city was enriched by a very important building, it was the first town hall in the history of Bukowsko. The wooden structure of the town hall completed in 1758, stood in the central place of the market square. In the town hall were found the municipal authorities, an inn, a granary and probably a jail.³⁴ The market square buildings of the time were not tightly packed, as evidenced by the fact that over the years the number of building parcels continues to increase, i.e. the area of individual parcels decreases and thus the buildings became denser. In 1820, the number of building parcels was already 53.³⁵ Such a number formed a dense and compact development, which we can see on the cadastral map of 1852 (48 building plots). This means that in the middle of the 18th century the

³⁴ APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 161 – 162

³⁵ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 118. Autor wylicza 26 domów żydowskich, bożnice, 22 domy chrześcijańskie i 2 puste place, jeśli dodamy do tego jeszcze kościół i ratusz, wówczas otrzymamy 53 parcele.

development of the center (18 parcels - including the church and town hall) was more than two and a half times less dense than the buildings of 1820 and 1852.

In 1772, the market was surrounded by 17 buildings, a church and a town hall. At that time, there was a slow urban development of the city's side streets leading to the market as another five buildings were classified as pre-urban. Perhaps these are the buildings visible on the plan from 1852, standing behind the "*lord's houses*," on the Bukowsko creek. Only two buildings already belong to the owners of the town. This is the "*drive-in house with two rooms*"³⁶ ^ built on the place of the former "*lord's tenement*" and the "*larger lord's house*" (respectively, nos. 168 and 167 on the cadastral plan).³⁷

CITY HALL

In 1758, the construction of the town hall was completed, which occupied a square in the center of the town square, at the the place where a three-story building of stores stands today. The construction of the town hall testifies to the existence of selfgovernment in the form of a municipal government. At the time, town halls could perform many different functions both administrative and economic. This was also the case with the Bukowsko town hall, which served not only as the seat of the authorities but also as an inn, granary and probably a jail.

The first Bukowsko town hall was built of fir wood. It was a one-story, basement building with a log structure set on a foundation made of river stone. The building was rectangular in shape with a facade in the gable wall. The entrance to it led from the northeastern side, i.e. from the road from Nowotaniec and Sanok. Although it was a one-story building, it must have been slightly elevated above the surface of the ground because of the spectacular cellar. This is confirmed by sources that mention a bridge leading to the front door. This is probably about the stairs and a kind of porch in front of the entrance. The entire structure was covered by a roof with three slopes. Along the length of the building was a ridge roof along the edge of which ran two gutters draining water to the rear of the building. While at the front, from the gable wall, there was a third slope in the shape of a diagonal roof which formed an eave. The roof slopes protruded strongly beyond the walls of the building and were supported by 10 pillars surrounding the building "*around*" (probably on three sides) thus creating an undercroft. Initially, the ridge roof was covered with boards and the eave of the roof with shingles, but by 1772 the entire roof was covered exclusively with shingles.

The town hall was a two-bay building, meaning two rows of rooms. First was the hallway, lit by a small window. To the left and right of the hallway vestibule there were two doors leading to side rooms. On the left was the inn, a chamber with an alcove. Inside the chamber stood a bread oven and next to it a green tiled stove, benches and a table. The stove sat partially against a partition wall and its back part probably also occupied part of the alcove. In this way, one stove heated both rooms at once. The rooms had a floor and a ceiling and the interiors were illuminated by framed glass windows and covered on the outside by sliding shutters.

³⁶ Por. ZNiO, rkps. 3206/III, Lustracja całego Klucza Brzozowskiego Anno Domini 1748 expedyowana, s. 301. Lustracja miasta Brzozowa przedstawia zwięzły opis tego typu *domu wjezdnego*: "Domostwo zajezdne na całym placu z podsieniem [...], to jest izb dwie, komory dwie, sień, stajnia, kuchnia i piwnica."

³⁷ LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego..., s. 20

Exactly the same layout of rooms (chamber and hallway), windows, stove (for bread and green tiled) and similar furnishings (cross-legged crockery table) could be seen entering through the doorway to the right of the vestibule. The description of the town hall unfortunately does not include information about what function the rooms to the right of the vestibule served. Most likely, they held meetings and meetings of the municipal authorities were held there.

At the end of the vestibule, which passed through the center, lengthwise of the building, was a chamber that served as the city granary in which grain was stored, while hay and grain were stored in the attic of the building. Next to the chamber was a brick exit to the cellar. The basement was heavily secured, because it could serve both as storage as well as a jail, with bars on the window, a double trapdoor and also a door.

The two brick chimneys that carried the smoke from the stoves in both rooms were only led out under the purlin. This means that it was a so-called half-chimneyless or half-smoky house where the smoke is discharged through chimney flues into the attic and there it spreads freely escaping to the outside through special smoke vents punched under the ridge in the gables. This was a very bad solution as it threatened to cause a fire in the wooden building which was deplored by the 18th century author of the document.³⁸

CHURCH

The Bukowsko Church was located in the same place where it also stands today, that is, in the southwest corner of the market square. According to tradition, the then wooden church may have been built in 1710, in which case its founder would probably have been Jan Franciszek Stadnicki, then owner of the Lesko estate. In 1748 the Bukowsko filial church was raised to the rank of parish. Work probably began at that time on the construction of a rectory and outbuildings on the land behind the church with which the church was endowed. A hospital, or shelter for the poor, operated at the parsonage. The land of the parsonage included 42 morga, or 24.17 hectares [59 ac 31597 ft²] of land, in the 1780s.

The rectory had three serfs assigned to it, one farmer (*kmieć - cmetho*) and two homesteaders (*zagrodnik - hortulanus*). Church matters as well as the 1772 description of the church and parsonage buildings themselves were compiled by F. Kiryk and included in "Rocznik Sanocki" volume IX, so we refer readers to the older edition of our yearbook.³⁹

TAVERN AND BREWERY

Propination, or the production and sale of alcohol in Bukowsko was based on a court monopoly.⁴⁰ Before 1741, Bukowsko's innkeeper and lessee of the propination rights was a certain Wisłocka, who lived in the "*lord's house*" in the market square. In that year, the sources list Michał Abramowicz as the next innkeeper and lessee of the

³⁸ LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego..., s. 19 – 19v.; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 161 – 162

³⁹ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 106 – 110

⁴⁰ J. Motylewicz, Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej..., s. 123

propination rights, and in the following year Abram Abramowicz (perhaps the brother of the previous Abramowicz), a townsman of Bukowsko.⁴¹ Both were of Jewish descent.

The inn was one of the most important buildings in the city, as it served many important functions. It was customarily a place for meetings, games and celebrations, but in addition to this it could also be, and probably was, a place for court and official meetings, especially before 1758 when there was still no town hall in Bukowsko. In 1738 two lord's houses were built in the market square, most likely in one of them, called "*the larger lord's house*" (no. 167 on the cadastral plan) an inn leased by Mrs. Wisłocka was located. When a brick "*lord's tenement*" was built next to it in 1742, the inn was moved to the tenement (no. 168 on the plan). The tenement was demolished before 1758 and the inn again was moved to the "*greater lord's house.*" When the town hall was completed in 1758, the inn was moved there and occupied part of the premises.

In addition to the tavern, alcohol production was also part of the leasehold. The brewery, partly covered with shingles and partly with straw, also housed a malt house with a large kiln for drying malt. Behind it stood two stables with a threshing floor and a straw shelter. The entire brewery complex was located on a parcel of more than 9 acres [2 ac 9755 ft²] and probably rose directly behind one of the market frontages in a side street in the center of the town. This is indicated by a passage in the text "*to the stables a door and to the threshing floor a double gate on wooden poles from the town and village.*" The threshing floor always has two gates across, facing two opposite sides of the building. In this case, one went out toward the town and the other towards the village, so the stables behind a brewery were exactly between the village and the town. The inn included two quarters of land and eight peasants (*kmieć - cmetho*) prior to 1772 and seven peasants after the date, each of whom were serfs who had to work 3 days a week (a total of 21 days a week).⁴² The peasants of Wisłok Wielki were to bring 15 carts of wood to the estate each year at Christmas and Easter.⁴³

VILLAGE

The second part of Bukowsko was the community, or village of Bukowsko, which surrounded the town established in the center of the village from the south and north. The countryside retained its former character of a village although it probably took on more and more of its form over time and assumed the function of a suburb.

The village's buildings stretched along the Bukowsko, Stawki and Silska streams over a length of about 3.4 kilometers [2 mi 198 yd].⁴⁴ Along the same streams also ran streets, which formed the main transportation axis of the village. All the numerous larger and smaller creeks and streams, tributaries of the Bukowsko stream, were crossed using fords. On the plan of 1852 (that is, about a century later), we can see that in the village

⁴¹ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr percepty ... s.49, 98

⁴² LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s.19v; CDIAUL, f. 19, op. XV, spr. 105, Miasto Bukowsko..., s. 8 – 9

⁴³ APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 168

⁴⁴ Te i inne obliczenia odległości przeprowadzone zostały na podstawie porównań map historycznych „Galizien und Lodomerien” z 1779-83 (patrz przyp. 27) oraz „Markt Bukowsko in Galizien...” z 1852 r. (patrz przyp. 32) ze współczesnymi mapami.

there were only two small bridges leading to the manor and farm buildings on streams named Szeroki and Stawki.⁴⁵

The first professional measurement and registration of Bukowsko's land was not carried out until after the first partition in 1786 - 1788 (*Metryka Józefińska 1785 - 89*). The cadastre gives the area of the land with a distinction between ownership, i.e., the land of the community (townspeople and peasants), dominion (landlord) and church, but unfortunately in the case of Bukowsko without a distinction between the administrative division, i.e., the land of the town and the suburbs (village).

The relevant calculations of Bukowsko's urban area were made by J. Motylewicz on the basis of the later cadastral plans of 1852.⁴⁶ Thanks to this, knowing the total area of Bukowsko we can count what area its suburbs covered. All of the land, belonging to the community, dominion and church, during 1786 - 1788 covered 1,217.2 hectares [3007 ac 33397 ft²] of area and, after subtracting newly acquired land, ultimately 1,213.4 hectares [2998 ac 16408 ft²]. Subtracting the 4.53 hectares [11 ac 8445 ft²] of town (urban development) from this total, we can calculate that the suburbs covered an area of 1,208.83 hectares [2987 ac 3658 ft²] in the 2nd half of the 18th century.⁴⁷

This was 99.63% of the total area of the village (including all land, such as arable land, meadows, pastures, forests, ponds, wastelands). This proves the eminently agricultural character of the Bukowsko township at the time.

The community areas were divided into so-called *rola* (fields), which reflected the old division into *lan* (an old unit of field measurement), and these into *ćwierć* (quarters) and even smaller *zagroda* (homesteads, in the 18th c. the homestead meant not only a farm but also a certain small area of land itself.⁴⁸ Individual *rola* had their names derived from the name, nickname or surname of the current or former owner, the lay of the terrain, elements of topography, etc. In the 18th century, several farmers could farm on a single *rola* (field) which covered the area of several *ćwierć* (quarters) and *zagroda* (homesteads) of land.

One farm was home to one family, sometimes very extended, usually in one, sometimes two houses. More houses on the estate could be added by married sons, brothers or sons-in-law who remained, however, in economic community with the head of the family, father, widow or eldest brother. Over time, such an estate (farm) was divided into two or even three smaller ones. A sterling example of a family community is the Wapieński family (millers), where one estate consisting of two quarters was home to three married brothers in three separate houses. One farm could consist of an area for a residential and farm building and a home garden, and depending on the category, a larger or smaller agricultural area (gardens, orchards, cultivated fields, meadows, pastures, wasteland). In Bukowsko, there was between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ quarters of land per farmer's household. In the overwhelming majority of cases it was 1 quarter of land. Smaller farms, called homesteads, had one homestead (an area of land smaller than a quarter).

⁴⁵ APP, AG 0190M, Markt Bukowsko...

⁴⁶ J. Motylewicz, *Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej...*, tabela 51

⁴⁷ CDIAUL, f. 19, op. XV, spr. 105, *Miasto Bukowsko...*, s. 22, 50, 131, 135, 151

⁴⁸ Współcześnie *zagroda* oznacza budynek mieszkalny i gospodarcze oraz pewien obszar gruntu wokół. W XVIII wiecznych źródłach odnoszących się do Bukowska *zagroda* oznacza również niewielki obszar gruntów rolnych – mniejszych od *ćwierci*, na których mogą stać budynki mieszkalne i gospodarcze ale nie muszą. *Zagroda* była typowym gospodarstwem rolnym uprawianym przez ludność należącą do kategorii zagrodników.

Unfortunately, the sources do not give the exact area of a single quarter of land and homestead. There were significant differences in this regard in individual villages. It is likely that one quarter covered about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the area of a Franconian *lan*, or over 6 hectares [14 ac 35995 ft²]. The emoluments of the Bukowsko parish priest amounted to 4 quarters of land, thanks to the cadastral measurements of Bukowsko (conducted in 1786 -1788) we know that it was exactly 24.17 hectares [59 ac 31597 ft²] of land,⁴⁹ that is, one pastor's quarter was 6.04 hectares [14 ac 40300 ft²] and thus equal to one quarter of a Franconian *lan*. Sources relating to Bukowsko mention even smaller units of area of land; these are half the quarters and homesteads. The homestead is the smallest unit of area, so we assume that one homestead could cover approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of the land, i.e. 1.51 hectares [3 ac 31855 ft²].

Table 1. Size of farms of the Bukowsko suburbs

Date	1758							
area of land [quarters]*	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	in total 132 farms
number of farms	-	3	7	5	95	6	16	
Date	1772							
area of land [quarters]*	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	in total 154 farms
number of farms	1	3	2	3	86	39	20	

* Including leased vacant quarters

Sources: APP, AZL 12, Bukowsko Inventory, pp. 162 - 166; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inventories of the key..., pp. 20v – 29

The above table shows how the fragmentation of farms has increased over 14 years (the farmer $\frac{1}{2}$ - 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ quarters and homesteader $\frac{1}{4}$ quarters). The number of the largest farms counting more than one quarter of land decreased by 40%, the number of medium-sized farms counting one quarter declined by 9.47%, while the number of the smallest farms counting less than one quarter increased by 168.18%.

In addition to farms, there were industrial plants in the village. Two water mills stood on the Bukowsko Creek. The first was closer to the center, over a mill canal running along the right bank of the stream for a length of about 370 meters. In the place where the Prof. Julian Krzyżanowski elementary school is located today there was a pond and right behind it on the canal stood a mill. On the map of F. Miega from the years 1779 – 1783, the pond located right in front of the mill rather resembles a so-called pond for damming and storing water. Sources from 1772 clearly mention a pond in the center of the village which belonged to the manor and in which fish were raised. Some 130 meters farther on another mill stream departed from the main stream, much longer than the previous one because it was as long as 750 meters. Near its mouth where today buildings numbered 103 A and 315 stand, stood the second Bukowsko mill.⁵⁰ Another important establishment, the brewery, probably stood behind one of the city's market

⁴⁹ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 106 – 107; CDIAUL, f. 19, op. XV, spr. 105, Miasto Bukowsko..., s. 151

⁵⁰ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Registr percepty ... s. 50 i 101; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 163; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 23v – 24 i 30v

frontages in the downtown area itself. The brewery brewed beer and produced malt.⁵¹ A reference to an oil pressing plant dates back to 1741. Unfortunately, its location could not be determined, perhaps it stood next to one of the two mills as was customary⁵² in the place where the chapel stands today, by the private property number 435, a cross has stood since at least the 1870s. On the other hand, in the vicinity of the current vehicle inspection station at number 284, on the other side of the road by the creek, stood a shrine to St. John Nepomucene (the Saint's contemporary shrine stands in the same place).

The area where a veterinary clinic (No. 277), a complex of service buildings (No. 284) and several private buildings further south are now located in the area where a manor house built in 1707 and manor farm buildings were located in the 18th century manor house. Almost all of this complex, including the manor house, burned down in 1773. Another manor farm, which never had a manor house, was located on the outskirts of the then Bukowsko development, on the Bukowiec stream in an area called Nędze. Today this is the area where buildings numbered 172, 173, 174 and 175 stand.

MANOR HOUSE AND FARM

In the 18th century, the Lesko estate included several dozen villages whose center was the town of Lesko. The main administrator of the entire estate was an official called the bursar general, who, with the help of three other central officials subordinate to him (the income scribe, the propination scribe and the burgrave of the Lesko castle) who formed the so-called "*superintendency*" and field officials (sub-stewards), managed the entire area of the Lesko estate on behalf of its owners.

The entire area of the Lesko estate was divided into smaller economic and administrative sub-estate units called keys (*klucz*). Individual keys consisted of two to six villages. In each key there was a lord's manor in one of the villages, which was the seat of the administration of a given key, and a manorial farmstead, which was the local center of agricultural production.

One such center of local administration was the Bukowsko Manor. In the manor resided the Bukowsko sub-steward, or administrator of the Bukowsko estate. The estate included the town and village of Bukowsko and the village of Wisłok Wielki.⁵³ The sub-steward kept accounting and general supervision of the functioning of the manor and the administration of the entire sub-estate (key). His duty was to give weekly reports every Sunday in Lesko on the state of the estate, carry out the orders of the superintendency and allow monthly inspections conducted by them. The sub-steward, together with his sworn officials (*przysięgly*) and alderman (*wójt*), was the first court of justice in minor cases for the subjects of the Bukowsko estate: "*In cases of subjects of lesser importance occurring, the sub-officers are to conscientiously make measurement, together with the jury without any corruption, and send large cases to the castle.*"⁵⁴ The second instance was the castle court in Lesko. For his work, the sub-steward received a "pension" in the form of an annual salary (from mid-year to mid-year). Usually sub-stewards earned about one hundred and several dozen złoty, depending on the

⁵¹ LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 19v; J. Motylewicz, Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej..., s. 121

⁵² LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr percepty ... s. 61

⁵³ APP, AZL, sygn. 13, s. 21

⁵⁴ APP, AZL, sygn. 415, s. 135 – 136

estate (from 110 to 170 złoty), and "*ordinaries*" in kind. Sub-stewards were usually recruited from the local poor, but educated (at least to a minimum) landed gentry.⁵⁵

Such a system operated until 1758 (or slightly earlier) when administration of the Bukowsko/ Wisłok Wielki sub-estate was abolished. Administration of Wisłok Wielki was transferred to other sub-estates and the Bukowsko part of the sub-estate was leased out rather than continuing to be directly administered by officers of the greater Lesko estate. This was, unfortunately, a very unfavorable alteration for Bukowsko. Each lease term was customarily for three years and then a new lease could be negotiated with either the same or a different lessee. The leaseholder or an administrator appointed by the leaseholder became the resident of the Bukowsko manor house.

The first known resident (sub-steward) of the Bukowsko manor is Franciszek Czerwiński who is mentioned as administrator of Bukowsko in 1709 in a copy of a document from the records of Sanok castle.⁵⁶ In the account books of 1741 and 1742 we have information about a certain Mr. Deręgowski as sub-steward.⁵⁷ With the change from an administered sub-estate to a leasehold in 1758 Bukowsko was leased for a period of three years by Józef Koniecki, the sword-bearer of the land of Łuków.⁵⁸

Next to the manor house was the lord's manor farm. The manor and the farm buildings formed one economic and administrative complex. The Bukowsko sub-steward and later, the lessee had a manor supervisor staff to assist him. Sources from 1741 to 1772 mention a forester who guarded the forests and dispensed timber and had the duty to clean chimneys in the manor house and manor farm buildings, a fieldman who supervised work in the fields, a key keeper who held the keys to the granary and was responsible for receiving and dispensing grain (two keys were needed to open and close the granary, one was held by the keeper and the other by the sub-steward), and a herdsman who supervised and cared for the breeding of livestock.⁵⁹ Missing from the livestock sources was any mention of the tallyman (*karbowy*), who held the keys to the barn and had oversight of the grain brought from the field to the barn, and about the farm supervisor (*gospodarz*). Perhaps these functions were performed by nobles employed at the manor (servant nobles),⁶⁰ and therefore do not appear in the inventories. Employees of the manor were also the wagoner and gardener, who received remuneration for their work. Particularly high "digestible" (*strawne*), i.e. annual wages of 129 złoty, 6 groszę in 1741-1742 and 139 złoty in 1742-1743, as well as a uniform (of sorts), cap, belt, coat, hatchet and sheepskin, were received by the herdsman, who supervised and took care of livestock breeding (similar "digestible" was received by the sub-steward).⁶¹ All these subjects, were exempted completely or partially from other obligations to the manor such as serfdom and rent. That's why they were called freedmen. A "*stawarczyk*" (literally a ponder), instead of serfdom, was obliged to look after the ponds two days a week and an apiarist to look after the lord's apiary and only pay rent. Journeymen were permanently employed to work on the

⁵⁵ K. Ślusarek, *Drobna szlachta w Galicji 1772 – 1848, Jędrzejów – Kraków 2011*, s. 141 – 142; R. Lipelt, *Stosunki społeczno – gospodarcze w dobrach małopolskich księcia Jerzego Ignacego Lubomirskiego w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, Rzeszów 2002, s. 91 – 99

⁵⁶ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. III, Archiwum Stadnickich, rkps 3959, s. 12

⁵⁷ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr percepty ... s. 97 – 98

⁵⁸ APP, AZL, sygn. 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 162; APP, AZL, sygn. 415, s. 135

⁵⁹ R. Lipelt, *Stosunki społeczno – gospodarcze...*, s. 43 – 50, 91 – 102; red. R. Lipelt, *Życie gospodarcze Ziemi Sanockiej od XVI do XX wieku*, Sanok 2004, s. 51 – 52

⁶⁰ K. Ślusarek, *Drobna szlachta w Galicji...*, s. 139 – 145

⁶¹ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr percepty ... s. 58, 66, 68, 69

manor. There was a shepherd who earned 10 złoty a year, a pig man earning seven złoty and two women who earned a total of 17 złoty, 15 groszę (the women mainly took care of cows, chickens and geese). The remaining workers were serfs and tenants from the Bukowsko community, as well as temporarily hired laborers. Servants and workers were hired by the sub-steward with the approval of the bursar general.

Another group of freedman were the aldermen (*wójt*), two or three individuals who were probably chosen by the community and approved by the sub-steward. The aldermen were probably chosen by the community and approved by the sub-steward. The aldermen were assisted by two sworn officials (*przysięgły*) and thirteen "*dziesiętnik*" (literally decimal officers), who were neither exempted from doing serfdom nor from paying rent. The aldermen, sworn officials and decimal officers supervised and controlled peasant farms, enforced the stipulations of the Bukowsko court and the Lesko castle, and kept order in the village. The aldermen were responsible for their parts of the village and the decimal officers for every decad of farms subordinate to them. (The village was divided into 13 groups (like districts) of households which numbered 10 households each (except one which numbered 14 households). The sworn officials reviewed minor court cases with the sub-chief, conducted investigations and presented the problems and needs of the community and individual families to the court.⁶² All dominion areas in 1786-1788 covered a total of 475 morgas, or 273.35 hectares [675 ac 20149 ft²] of land.⁶³

Bukowsko Manor was built in 1707 in the southern part of Bukowsko between the Szeroki Creek and ponds and the Stawki Creek. To be precise, the building was located to the left of today's parking lot in front of the veterinary clinic. On November 6, 1773, the entire mansion burned down along with almost all the manor buildings. Only the entrance gate and the kitchen, which was a separate building, survived. Luckily, a year before the tragic fire, the mansion and the farmstead had been carefully surveyed and described. As a result, we have an accurate picture of the entire complex in 1772.

An entrance gate under a shingle roof led to the court yard. In front of it, probably by the stream, stood a shrine to St. John of Nepomucene. Behind the gate, on the left side, there was a wooden kitchen building in which there was a large hearth, a "*stove for a beer kettle*" and a chamber for the cook. To the right of the courtyard stood another wooden, log building covered with shingles. Inside was a room with a tiled stove and a baker's stove. It was most likely a bakery.

Opposite the courtyard rose the manor house. The manor house was a one-story building built on a rectangular plan. The front wall, where the entrance was located, was the longer side. Wood from fir trees was used for the construction of the manor house. The walls were erected inside a log structure on brick foundations with a basement. All the walls were boarded and painted "*in various flourishes.*" Under the edge of the roof slope a red and black painted strip was nailed. The roof (probably hipped) was entirely covered with shingles. There were two chimneys above the roof. From the description one can conclude that although the general condition of the building was good, it was in need of renovation. The inspectors pointed out that some of the boards of the shuttering

⁶² APP, AZL 13, s. 21 – 22, 113, 143 W Wisłoku Wielkim podległym dworowi w Bukowsku gromada wybierała sołtysów a dwór ich aprobował. Funkcja sołtysów wiśtockich była podobna do funkcji pełnionej przez wójtów w innych wsiach dóbr leskich.

⁶³ CDIAUL, f. 19, op. XV, spr. 105, Miasto Bukowsko..., s. 151

had rotted underneath, old shingles that should be replaced, chimneys and some fireplaces in need of repair, and a rotted tram (lower beam of the roof truss).

The building contained an entrance hall, a dark hallway, a "hall" (dining room) and six rooms. The main entrance vestibule was lit by two windows, and one could go from it to the two side chambers on the right and left, or straight ahead to another vestibule. The second hallway occupied the central part of the building. It was a dark room into which all three chimney flues were led out (the third one connected to one of the two of the others), from the side rooms and the "hall," and elevated above the roof. The dark hallway had two side walls of brick, and directly connected the main entrance hallway with the "hall." These three rooms (main vestibule, dark vestibule and dining room) formed the central axis of the building, on two sides from this axis housed three more rooms each.

The side rooms had an enfilade arrangement. The main hall and each room were lit by two windows, only the largest room called the "hall" had three windows. In both hallways there was a floor of "straight" (flat) stones, while in the other rooms the floor was made of planks. Also, every room was covered with a plank floor, only the dark hallway had a ceiling made of logs. The rooms were heated with tiled stoves and fireplaces "kapiastic" (corner) or "closet" (built in the width of the wall). The walls and floors in most rooms were painted.

Individual rooms were designed to perform specific functions. Unfortunately, the sources do not provide such details. Based on the terse descriptions and layout of the interiors, we can only guess at the functions of some of them. From among all the rooms, the "hall" stood out in particular, which was the largest room, brightly lit, which was decorated with a particularly beautiful fireplace "painted with beautiful mural work" and "the walls painted with various flowers and art." In the center stood "a long fir table with legs crafted by a carpenter." The "hall" was the dining room, the heart of the manor. Another representative room was the room (No. 3), which was entered directly from the main hallway heading to the right. In this room stood a "closet" fireplace and the walls were exceptionally ornate "in various arts and painted people." It was probably a salon (living room), where guests were received.

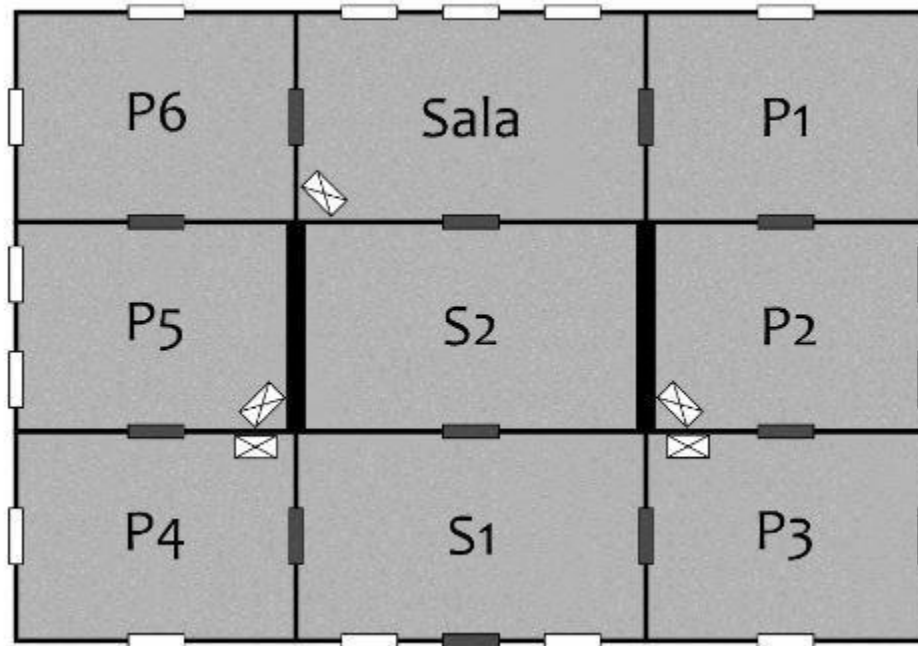
To the left of the vestibule (on the opposite side from the living room) were other rooms, which could have served as an office and a study (rooms 4 and 5). In the first stood a fireplace "closet" and in the second there was a green "kapiast" (corner) fireplace with an ornamental "crown at the top." Both of the rooms had round fir tables "made by carpenters."

One of the other rooms was a bedroom, perhaps this function was performed by a room located between the study and the dining room (room #6). We are unable to determine the purpose of the other two rooms (room Nos. 1 and 2). Perhaps they were guest rooms or a guest room and a sitting room. Under the building there were four brick, vaulted cellars with windows.

Behind the manor were gardens and orchards. In the gardens, vegetables and herbs were grown for the court and castle (Lesko) kitchen and for sale, and apple, pear, cherry and plum trees grew in the orchards. Along the length of the gardens stretched rows of linden and column-cut spruce trees. The surveyors found that the garden was already

badly neglected. Behind the gardens and orchards were three ponds in which fish were raised (the third pond was empty - silted up). The smaller one belonged to the "treasury," i.e. the owners of the Lesko estate, and the other two were intended for the use of the Bukowski leaseholder. Not far from the gate there was also a forest nursery where fruit trees were grafted and a bee hive where bees were kept. The surveyors found that both the nursery and the bee hive no longer existed.

Hypothetical diagram of the plan of the Bukowski Manor 1707 - 1772



S1 - Main hall	S2 - Hallway	Sala - Dining Room
P1 - Room	P2 - Room	P3 - Salon
P4 - Study	P5 - Office	P6 - Bedroom

The second part of the complex of the lord's buildings was the manor farm. The manor farm was the center of agricultural production, it consisted of parcels where manor farm buildings were erected, i.e. outbuildings, as well as the arable fields, pastures, meadows, gardens, orchards which belonged to it, ponds, forests and wastelands.

There was a separate gate leading to the manor farm located a little further away from the main gate. Behind the manor farm gate was a carriage house with a stable under one straw-covered roof, another stable with a chamber for stable items, a chicken coop, a long garden and pasture, a kitchen and a bakery. To the left rose the main farm building, where the farm servants and the journeymen lived and worked. It was a log building, covered with shingles with chimneys that led out under the roof, the whole structure was in poor condition. The building consisted of a hallway, a room with a tiled stove and fireplace, and an alcove. Inside stood benches and a cupboard for drying cheese. Further on were the bakery rooms with a bakery oven, two chambers and in the back an exit to the cowshed. Adjoining the farmhouse were other buildings forming a square with a courtyard in the middle. They housed cowsheds, stables, pigstys and a barn. Behind these buildings stood two more barns and a granary.

Another farmstead in the area called Nędze was much smaller. The entire complex was surrounded by a fence with an entrance gate. In the courtyard stood a straw-covered farm building consisting of a hallway, a chamber with a stove, another chamber and a bakery. Next to it was a granary, three stables, a barn, a pigsty and two cellars. The Nędze farmstead was not a residence for a sub-steward, there was no manor house. Journeymen and hired laborers lived and worked in the farm building. It was leased to sub-lessees, i.e. subtenants.⁶⁴

MANOR - SERFDOM ECONOMY

In the table below, we have presented income from Bukowsko from three different years separated by two periods of 17 and 14 years. The first period is from 1741 to 1758, and the second period is from 1758 to 1772. We have presented the income for the accounting year 1741 in two variants, the assumed income and in parentheses the real income achieved in that year. Income included rents paid by citizens and peasants, dues such as royalties and salt tax, and rents for pastures, meadows, etc.

The first period (1741 - 1758) shows income flowing from Bukowsko when the town was administered directly by the sub-stewards and all real income flowed directly to the Lesko treasury. The income from this period has been determined on the basis of the Lesko treasury's book of receipts and disbursements. The second period (1758 - 1772) is when Bukowsko was rented on three-year leases and income was determined on the basis of sub-estate inventories.

In the first period, the largest profit was generated by crop trade which was more than half of the total income, followed by propination (the production and sale of alcohol) and rents. Income from propination grows significantly in the first period (30.43% increase) and even remarkably in the second (48.33% increase). By 1758, the income from rents increases although the number of farms grows slightly (a total increase of three farms, seven homesteaders moved to the category of *farmers - cmethos*) and the land rent rate for serfs remains the same. This means that at this time an increasing number of peasants are converting serf labor into rent. (Serfs were given land to live on but they had to pay for that in the form of work performed on the manor farm for a given number of days. It was called serfdom. This changed and the peasants now had to pay rent.)

In the second period, when Bukowsko remains under lease, the trend reverses. This is confirmed by the inventory data. Income from rents decreases and the number of serf days for the village as a whole increases by 38.2%, while the number of new farms (mostly peasant ones) increases by only 7.74% and the population by 8.87%. Income from agricultural crops in the second period diminishes only slightly. The second-period crop rate is only a lump sum determined by inspectors compiling feeder inventories for lease contracts. Thus, it is not the real amount that the tenant earned. The real amount was much higher (see the column of agricultural crops in 1741 in the table). After 1758, tenants understandably sought to maximize profits, so they slowed down the process of shifting peasants to rent (and even reversed it). The rate of annual fixed ground rent paid per farm remained the same all the time (3 złoty 14 groszę) and the rate of rent per day of serfdom was very low (3 - 5 groszę). Thus, the lessees sought to increase the number of serf days of labor at the expense of the rent and at the cost of dividing the farms into smaller parcels in order to increase the number of farms, and as a result the

⁶⁴ LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 14 – 18v, 30 – 31

serf days, and maximize profits from agricultural production on the manor. They could make money on this because the income was many times higher than the fixed lump sum.⁶⁵

Table 2. Revenues from Bukowsko

Date	Total annual income	Rent [%]	Crops [%]	Propination [%] (the production and sale of alcohol)
1741	8 859 zł (8 116 zł 4 gr)	1 556 zł 14 gr [17,56] (1 430 zł 5 gr) [17,62]	5 002 zł 16 gr [56,46]* (4 785 zł 29 gr) [58,96]*	2 300 zł [25,96] (1 900 zł) [23,41]
1758	6 502 zł 29 gr	1 752 zł [26,18]	1 800 zł [27,68]**	3 000 zł [46,14]
1772	8 270 zł 3 gr	1 728 zł 3 gr [25,3]	2 092 zł [20,89]**	4 450 zł [53,81]

*from the sale of crops at market prices

**lump sum of agricultural produce at market prices

Sources: see footnote 65

TOWNSPEOPLE

The urban population was divided into two basic religious groups, which coincided with the ethnic division. These were adherents of Judaism – Jews, and Christians - Poles. Another division occurred on the material level, residents were divided into burghers - property owners and tenants, who did not own property. Tenants were poorer and their name, "*komornik*" derives from the chamber ("*komora*") - the room - they rented in the houses of wealthier townsmen or in the "*lords' houses*."

Table 3. Social and national structure of the township

Date	Middle class families		Total	Tenant families		Total	Residential buildings	Vacants
	Polish	Jewish		Polish	Jewish			
1741	3	8	11	-	3	3	13	-
1742	4	7	11	1	5	6	15	-
1758	2	6	8	-	5	5	11	5
1772	7	13	20	-	2	2	22	-

Sources: see footnote 66

The basic expense for each townsman to the town's owners was the rent charged on the house he owned. Throughout the entire period under study, the rent amount remained unchanged at 18 zloty per year for a standard house and half that amount for a smaller-sized "*cottage*." Initially, Christian townspeople owning market houses paid half as much rent (9 zloty) as Jews, but already in the town inventory of 1758 we see that the amount of rent is equal for adherents of both religions, and in the next inventory of 1772 there is not even any distinction made between Christians and Jews.

⁶⁵ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Registr perceptu..., s. 97; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 166; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 31v

For houses located in the suburbs, i.e. in the case of Bukowsko, not near the market itself but by the streets leading to the market, the rent was from 2 to 4 złoty. To encourage the rebuilding of old houses or the settlement and construction of new ones, the owners of Bukowsko introduced concessions that exempted newly erected houses from paying rent for three years, or reduced the rent to 4 złoty a year for market houses. Tenants were also required to pay a small rent of 4 to 8 złoty.

Some of the townspeople were engaged in crafts. These were primarily Jewish butchers, who paid an additional annual tribute called *krupki*. In 1741 it was 30 złoty, in 1758 it was 54 złoty and in 1772 it was already 60 złoty. The town was a local center of the oxen trade, so the development of this craft is not surprising. And as a result, we can surmise that among the townspeople there were those who specialized in the trade of oxen. Between 1741 and 1772, the sources also record shoemakers, potters, two stallholders, a tailor, a furrier, a weaver, a printer and an organist.⁶⁶

VILLAGERS

In the part of Bukowsko outside the town and suburbs, there was no division by religion or nationality in the documents. The Bukowsko rural community was almost homogeneous, which is confirmed by an analysis of the names and surnames of the residents, which indicates that the overwhelming majority of the population were Poles. Research by Z. Budzyński on the population of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland showed that the Ruthenian community in 1785 accounted for only 5.2% of Bukowsko's population (including the hamlet of Wolica).⁶⁷

There was, however, a division on the material and social level. Depending on their possessions and social position, the rural population was divided into several basic categories, of which the sources relating to Bukowsko mention four. These are the farmers, homesteaders, cottagers and tenants.⁶⁸

The entire Bukowsko community was subject to various kinds of obligations to the hereditary lord or owner of Bukowsko, the leaseholder, the propination arrester, the state, the church and the community itself.

The type and size of the various duties and burdens varied between categories of the population. The basic burden was serfdom and rent. The peasants of Bukowsko did their serfdom in the Bukowsko manors and on the land belonging to the manors, except the eight peasants who worked on land leased by the landlord (seven peasants in 1772)

⁶⁶ LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr percepty..., s. 49, 102; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 161 – 162; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 20; J. Motylewicz, Miasta ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej..., tabela nr. 28. Wymienia specjalności rzemieślnicze w Bukowsku (łącznie miasto i gromada): rzeźnicy, piwowarzy, słodownicy, szewcy, kaletnicy, płóciennicy, krawcy, stolarze, blacharze, malarze pokojowi.

⁶⁷ Z. Budzyński, Ludność pogranicza Polsko – Ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku, T. II, Przemysł – Rzeszów 1993, s. 95

⁶⁸ Kmiecie w zależności od arealu uprawianego gruntu mogli być gospodarzami pełno lub niepełnorolnymi rolnymi (½ - 2 ¼ ćwierci gruntu), posiadali budynki mieszkalne i gospodarcze. Stali na szczycie wiejskiej drabiny społecznej. Niżej znajdowali się zagrodnicy, czyli chłopci małorolni, którzy również posiadali budynki mieszkalne i gospodarcze oraz uprawiali mniejszy areal gruntów zwany zagrodą. Chałupnicy posiadali zazwyczaj chałupę i niewielki obszar gruntu (ogród). Niektórzy kmiecie oraz większość zagrodników i chałupników trudniła się dodatkowo różnego rodzaju rzemiosłem. Komornicy, czyli bezrolni, mogli być zarówno rzemieślnikami jak i ubogimi robotnikami rolnymi, najmowanymi do pracy w folwarku lub w gospodarstwach bogatszych chłopów. Jest to definicja bardzo ogólna, w poszczególnych źródłach występują często duże różnice w nazewnictwie i stanie posiadania poszczególnych kategorii ludności wiejskiej.

and three (a peasant and two homesteaders) who were subjects of the priest and worked on the priest's land.⁶⁹ The basis for calculating serfdom was the area and type of land cultivated by the peasant. The largest were the farms belonging to the category of peasants who were called *kmieć – cmetho* (peasant or farmer). They were burdened with the largest dimension of serfdom. In Bukowsko, full-time serfdom was 3 days a week with coupling (with draft animals) or on foot. However, this dimension of serfdom was done by only eight and, in 1772, by seven peasants working on the land of the lessee and eight other peasants working on the manor farm.

Table 4. Social structure of the community

Date	Farmers	Homesteaders	Cottagers	Tenants	Total	Residential buildings	Vacants*
1741	111	23	3	-	137	-	12
1742	111	23	3	-	137	-	11
1758**	118	17	3	5	143	-	6
1772**	135	20	-	-	155	162	2

*All of the empties were leased by other crofters, the landlord or belonged to the priest except for one from 1772, which was customarily granted to foresters.

**Calculations take into account one farmer's family and two homesteaders, as well as three houses that the inventories do not mention but were subjects of the parson.

Sources: see footnote 77

Most of the serfs did a smaller amount of serfdom, on average 1 - 2 days a week. Some serfs did not do serfdom at all, paying the entire duty in the form of rent. These were millers and so-called "renters", mostly recruited from weaver craftsmen, who instead had other obligations to the manor. Other renters may also have been artisans, whose profession was not specified in the sources. There was still a group of people who were "*liberated*" that is, completely or partially exempted from all duties in connection with the performance of their respective administrative and economic functions for the manor administration and the manor farm. These were the aforementioned manor supervisor staff, i.e. the aldermen, forester, fieldman, keyholder and herdsman, as well as the manor workers, wagoner and gardener. The exceptions were decimal officers ("*dziesiętnik*") and sworn officials ("*przysięgły*"), who were not exempt from doing their serfdom and paying rent. A churchman was also exempt from all duties. Serfdom, rent and other obligations were reduced or completely abolished with respect to individual subjects also due to old age, destruction (e.g. fire or other disasters) or simply by the grace of the lord (e.g. for merit). Newly built ones had their rent reduced, as a rule, for three years.

There was the possibility of exchanging serfdom for rent in cash (repurchase, tenant's rent).⁷⁰ "*If, however, for just reasons, he would like to free himself from serfdom for five groszę in one day, he is to pay the treasury.*"⁷¹ Of course, everything depended on objective conditions and had to take place through certain arrangements and negotiations. i.e., a part of the serfdom had to be performed, namely, such a part that allowed for the smooth functioning of the manor and the estate. If there was a shortage of hands to work, the landlord had the right to raise the serfdom by deducting the appropriate amount from the rent. "*The treasury had the right to increase serfdom duty*

⁶⁹ F. Kiryk, Bukowsko i Nowotaniec..., s. 107

⁷⁰ Por. R. Lipelt, Stosunki społeczno – gospodarcze..., s. 83 – 84; M. Augustyn, System pańszczyźniany, w: Bojkowszczyzna zachodnia – wczoraj, dziś i jutro, T. 1, pod red. J. Wolski, Warszawa 2016, s. 401 – 406

⁷¹ LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 29v

*(obligation to work in the fields of the landlord) above the number settled in the inventory but then the treasury had to lower the amount of yearly rent counting 5 groszy per additional day of work (serfdom)".*⁷² However, all days of labor beyond those necessary would be a loss for the owner. Therefore, the remaining days of labor could be converted into payment in cash. A day of serfdom calculated from the 1758 inventory was worth only 3 groszę, while the 1772 inventory gives five groszę per day without distinguishing between harnessed or foot labor. At almost the same time, in 1765, in the Sanok royal estates, which, like all royal estates, were considered extremely undervalued (it was a matter of paying lower taxes), the value of serfdom on foot was calculated at 6 groszę and that of harness work at 10 - 20 groszę per day.⁷³ Perhaps these preferential rates for the residents of Bukowsko were intended to encourage settlement in the village.

In addition to serfdom, each peasant had to pay a fixed rent (land rent), the basic rate of which was 3 złoty 14 groszę per year. The rent had to be paid on St. Michael's Day (September 29). If a given peasant worked on the manor full time (3 days) he paid nothing more than this basic rent. If he worked two days he paid 5 złoty more, if 1 day only 10 złoty more. If he did no serfdom at all he paid 15 złoty more, that is, a total of 18 złoty 14 groszę. The rates may have differed slightly from each other, especially if one of the peasants was a craftsman or additionally leased an empty field.

The highest rent was always paid by millers, who were the richest or one of the richest subjects in the village. In their case, the standard rent in 1741, 1742 and 1758 was 90 złoty. In 1772, the rent changed and amounted to 75 złoty for one family of millers and 105 złoty for another. It was customary for miller families on the Lesko estate to raise pigs for the manor and to work with an axe in the construction or repair of buildings.⁷⁴

Homesteaders and cottagers, as a rule, paid rent alone (only four homesteaders and two cottagers worked additionally at the manor farm one day a week each), the rate of which ranged from 2 to 10 złoty. Most of them were probably engaged in crafts.

Tenants paid no rent and were obligated to one day of serfdom. They were craftsmen, agricultural laborers hired for various jobs both on the manor farm and on farms of richer peasants, widows, orphans and the rural poor.

The day of serf work began at 10:00 a.m. and lasted until sunset, with breaks. One worked with a horse-drawn carriage (two oxen or one horse) or on foot. All agricultural and farm work that was necessary at a given time of year and at a given date was performed, work was done in the forest, cartage of goods (horse-drawn carriages), etc. In addition to the customary serfdom, each serf was obliged to supply five days of free labor a year, these were called *darmochy*, *zahaty* or *gwałty*. Also for free, each farm prepared a certain amount of flax and hemp for making yarn, the so-called binding ("*oprawa*"). Weavers who did not do serfdom wove linen from this material for the manor for a small wage in mediocre grain. They could also weave a larger quantity over the required amount for which they were paid in set amounts (probably close to the market) depending on the type of linen. Weavers who did serfdom were not obliged to weave for

⁷² Tamże.

⁷³ AGAD, MK, 8, Lustracje, dz. XVIII, sygn. 61

⁷⁴ APP, AZL, 13, Punkta dyspozycji generalnej w dobrach Liskich, s. 457; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza..., s. 30

the manor, but like the above they could do so and were paid for it. Other duties were "szarwarki" i.e. repair of dikes, ditches and roads, and a watchman ("stróża"), i.e. night watch in the manor house, on the manor farm and in the village (four other people every night). Homesteaders, cottagers and tenants who did not do their serfdom were required to deliver letters. These are not all the duties and fees to which residents were subject, but only those that applied to all or particular categories of the population, or possibly to a larger group of artisans (weavers, butchers).

One of the state taxes paid by the Christian part of the population of Bukowsko was the poll tax (a tax paid per person), which was paid annually by the whole Christian community in two installments of 93 złoty each.⁷⁵ The Jewish population paid the Jewish poll tax separately.

From 1749, a "meszne" (ecclesiastic tax paid by the congregation to the parish priest for his yearly service, saying the Mass and the like) amounting to 200 złoty was paid for the parish church, an additional 100 złoty was paid by the manor, i.e. the owner or lessee of Bukowsko.

Some of the population additionally engaged in crafts. Sources from 1741 - 1742 mention only a few craftsmen living in the village, they were a weaver, a shoemaker, two millers and one musician. In 1758 there are already 14 weavers, a locksmith and 2 millers.⁷⁶ There were also at least five businesses in the village, these included two mills, a brewery, a malt house and an oil press. Thus, brewers, oil pressers and maltsters can be added to the list. Certainly there were more residents engaged in crafts than those mentioned, as indicated by the number of renters. In 1758 there were eighteen in total, certainly eleven of them were craftsmen (listed above) while seven had no profession assigned. We presume that these other seven tenant farmers may also have been engaged in a craft, which unfortunately was not specified in the sources.⁷⁷

POPULATION

The basis of our demographic estimates was the Bukowsko inventory of 1772,⁷⁸ which, with the richness of its content, in some respects relates to parish censuses - *status animarum*. The inventory consists of two parts. In the part devoted to the municipal part of Bukowsko (town), it is less useful because it gives only information typical of an inventory, listing by name only the landlord and sometimes the tenant if the latter pays rent and the amount of rent. On the other hand, in the section devoted to the rural part of Bukowsko (village), we find the names of the householder peasants, without spouses unfortunately, the householder widows, married sons living in the households of their fathers, sons-in-law living in the households of their in-laws, married brothers and the names and ages of the children, starting with the youngest, of all of the above. The rest of the information is again the typical content of inventories, namely land, house,

⁷⁵ Płacono również inne podatki nie wymienione w naszym źródłach takie jak podymne, czopowe, szelężnie itp

⁷⁶ Por. przyp. 66

⁷⁷ Różnego rodzaju rejestry i inwentarze wymieniają z zawodu zazwyczaj jedynie tkaczy i młynarzy, czyli tych poddanych, którzy w związku z wykonywanym rzemiosłem byli zobligowani do wykonywania dodatkowych powinności względem dworu, np. tkacze wyrabiali dodatkowo płótno. Natomiast pozostałych rzemieślników często nie wymieniano z zawodu. LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Registr percepty..., s. 49 – 52, 98 – 102; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 162 – 166; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego... s. 20v – 29

⁷⁸ LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego... s. 20v – 29

obligations, serfdom and rent. Unfortunately, the source says nothing about the other potential occupants of the house, such as distant affinities, farmhands and female servants, families of tenants and their children, or single tenants. But we have no information about the inhabitants of the manor and manor houses, except for the administrator and four individuals who are apprentices, the parsonage and the hospital for the poor.

Feliks Kiryk estimated the average number of residents living in one Bukowsko bourgeois house to be 10 people and set the average for the entire town at 9.5 people in 1773 (189 houses = 1,800 residents) although further reading of the text shows that in subsequent years there were 5.7 people per house in 1790 and 6.1 in the town and 5.4 in the village in 1820.⁷⁹ A. Fastnacht pegged the number of inhabitants per house in eighteenth century Lesko, which was much larger and more densely built (than Bukowsko), at 6 persons for Jewish families and 4.8 persons for Christian families but after a recalculation increased the number to six persons for Christian families.⁸⁰ Z. Budzyński wrote that the society of the "southeastern borderlands" oscillate between 5 people per house located in the suburbs of a small town (the Piaski suburb of the town of Szczercz) and 6.5 in the suburbs and 7 in the inner city of a medium-sized town (Brzeżany). According to the military censuses for the East Galician circumscriptions from 1776 to 1800, one house in both the village and the city had an average population of 5.9 people. The same censuses put the average size of a Christian family at 5.3 persons and a Jewish family at 4.3. The value for a Jewish family was dismissed as extremely underestimated, since Jewish families were actually more numerous than Christian ones. Calculations based on the same censuses reveal that there was an average of 1.07 families per house in the countryside (the highest rates were recorded for the largest cities, Lwów and Brody, the lowest for the countryside).⁸¹

In view of the fact that the majority of Bukowsko burghers were Jewish families for whom there are no reliable statistics and the data for Brzeżany, a medium-sized town with a much longer metric and a higher degree of development than the small, newly founded and truly rustic Bukowsko, seem inadequate, we decided to adopt the most general variant, i.e. 5.9 persons per house. The only exceptions are the house of the lessee for which we assume 10.5 people,⁸² and 13 people living in the rectory⁸³ and 6 in the poorhouse (hospital).⁸⁴

The demographic estimates of the rural part of Bukowsko are much more precise than the urban part. As we mentioned above, the 1772 inventory on which we base the calculations conveys fairly precise information about this part of Bukowsko. Farmer

⁷⁹ F. Kiryk, *Bukowsko i Nowotaniec...*, s. 113, 117 – 118; Podobny chaos w doborze przeliczników dla źródeł staropolskich panował również w starszej literaturze. Pewną odmianę w tym względzie przyniosły dopiero badania: Z. Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, T. I – III, Przemysł – Rzeszów 2008; Tenże, *Ludność pogranicza Polsko – Ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, T. I – II, Przemysł – Rzeszów 1993; C. Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009; M. Kopczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII – XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1998

⁸⁰ A. Fastnacht, *Dzieje Leska do 1772 roku*, Rzeszów 1988, s. 65 – 89.

⁸¹ Z. Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, T. I – III, Przemysł – Rzeszów 2008, s. 114 – 115, 159 – 167. Szacunkowa liczba ludności żydowskiej siłą rzeczy musi być obciążona dużym marginesem błędów również ze względu na dużą mobilność tej społeczności. Potwierdzają to późniejsze źródła. W roku 1785 w Bukowsku mieszkało 80 Żydów, czyli mniej niż trzynaście lat wcześniej a pięć lat później w 1790 jeszcze mniej bo 77. Zob. Z. Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie...*, s. 95; F. Kiryk, *Bukowsko i Nowotaniec...*, s. 117

⁸² Tamże, s. 114 – 115

⁸³ Z. Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie...*, s. 114

⁸⁴ Tamże, s. 214. Liczbę pensjonariuszy w typowych przytułkach parafialnych (poza dużymi zakładami lwowskimi) określa na kilka do kilkunastu osób.

families often formed heavily branched cells (married brothers, sons-in-law), which could live in one or more separate houses, remaining in an economic community within a single settlement (farm), the head of which was the father, widow or eldest brother. Hence, we have 134 "large" families living in 142 houses (one empty, which we do not count). The number of farmers was 773, which means that one "large" family had an average of 5.8 people. We get a slightly lower ratio for homesteading families, which numbered 90 people who resided in 16 cottages. One homesteading family had 5.6 persons. The resulting total should be further increased by a factor of 1.07 families per house, i.e. the aforementioned additional residents of the house such as in-laws, distant affinities, farmhands and female servants, families of tenants and their children, or single tenants, etc. We will use the calculated averages relating to 1772 as a benchmark for earlier years. In order to obtain the final result, we still need to add one farmer's family and two homesteaders who were subjects of the priest (pastor), and estimate the number of residents of the manor house and manor farmsteads. The 1799 census showed 13 noblemen living in Bukowsko. Most likely, these were servant nobles and court officials with families who resided and worked at the manor house and manor farmstead; if we add 4 manor journeymen, we get a total of 17 people.⁸⁵

Table 5. Estimated population of Bukowsko

Date	City				Village	Total	
	Polish		Jewish				Total
1741	18	22 %	64	78 %	82	856	938
1742	24	26 %	70	74 %	94	856	950
1758	31*	35 %	58**	65 %	89	873***	962
1772	60*	39 %	93	61 %	153	958***	1 111

* Including parsonage residents and residents of the hospital for the Poor

** The "Tariffa seu tabella capitum Judaeorum" of 1764 gives the number of 56 Jews residing in Bukowsko.⁸⁶

*** Including peasants - subjects of the priest.

Sources: LNB-NANU, f. 141, op. I, rkps. 137, Regestr perceptu..., s. 49 – 52, 98 – 102; APP, AZL 12, Inwentarz Bukowska, s. 162 – 166; LNB-NANU, f. 5, op. II, rkps. 2790, Inwentarze klucza tokarskiego... s. 20v – 29

CONCLUSION

Eighteenth-century Bukowsko was a small town typical of the landscape at the time, which developed on the basis of its main function as being a local market center. Probably this would not have happened if the Stadnicki family had not acquired it. Becoming part of the extensive Lesko estates, a wide market for supplies and sales from the southwestern sub-estates ("keys") of the Lesko estates opened up for Bukowsko (villages of Tokarnia, Wola Piotrowa, Karlików, Bełchówka, Kamienne, Przybyszów, Radoszyce, Wisłok Wielki, Płonna, Wysoczany, Kożuszne, Osławica). This gave Bukowsko a significant advantage over rival Nowotaniec. Thanks to the efforts of the wealthy owners, the Stadnicki and Ossoliński families, the market settlement with a central market square in the area, gained elements typical of urban centers, such as a parish church, town hall and market buildings. A large role in the development of the town must have been played by the Jewish community, which was probably brought from other parts of the Lesko estate and which made up the vast majority of the residents of the market houses.

⁸⁵ K. Ślusarek, *Drobna szlachta w Galicji...*, Jędrzejów – Kraków 2011, s. 204; Por. Z. Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie...*, s. 114; Por. C. Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej...*, s. 360

⁸⁶ Red. F. Kiryk, *Sanok. Dzieje miasta*, Kraków 1995, s. 227. Należy pamiętać, że spisy ludności żydowskiej były wyjątkowo nieprecyzyjne (zaniżone).

This does not change the fact that Bukowsko remained a typically agricultural town, where the urban part of the development, together with the market square, occupied a very small area of 4.53 hectares [11 ac 8445 ft²]. The market buildings themselves were probably also mainly rustic in character.

Economic documents pertaining to the Lesko estates describe at least five different types of residential buildings in towns, taking into account their size and construction (tenements, large or drive-in houses[^], houses or simple houses, cottages and outbuildings, so-called "zatyłki" ‡). Characteristic for the market development of cities, in addition to houses or simple houses, cottages and outbuildings, which were common everywhere, were tenements and great or drive-in houses (with a drive-in hallway). In Lesko in 1769 there were 17 drive-in houses in the Jewish market, and in Ustrzyki Dolne in 1758 there were at least 11 drive-in houses.⁸⁷⁸⁷ In Bukowsko, there were only two buildings of this type during the entire period under study, a lord's tenement - later a drive-in house - and a grand lord's house.

Aside from the small center, the rest of Bukowsko was made up of suburbs, or the Bukowsko community. The buildings in the suburbs must have been typical of a rural landscape, as the residents of the suburbs were farmers, farmer-craftsmen and agricultural laborers.

The population of the suburbs was almost religiously homogeneous; the majority were Catholics. Greek Catholics in 1785 were only 5.2%. An analysis of first and last names shows that in earlier periods the situation was similar.

In 1758, or slightly earlier, there was a demographic collapse in Bukowsko, which hit the urban part particularly hard. The population of the town declined, and the number of market houses decreased. At the time, the rural population increased but very slightly. In the same year, the administration of Bukowsko was switched from the Lesko administration (in the persons of sub-state administrators), which halted the trend, positive for Bukowsko's economy, of peasants switching from serf labor into rent. During the reign of the leaseholders, the number of serf days per year increased, at the expense of annual income from rent as well as the division of farm acreage into increasingly smaller units. This had negative consequences for the development of both the town and the suburbs of Bukowsko. Nevertheless, the location of the new town itself was successful.

‡ zatyłki: outbuilding as found behind a main building such as a manor house.

[^] drive-in house or building: These were buildings where a horse cart or wagon could be driven into the house through large double doors at the front of the house. This allowed the cart or wagon to be loaded or unloaded. One example still stands from the 18th century, at 22 Rynek in Sanok.

⁸⁷ A. Fastnacht, *Dzieje Leska...*, s. 82 – 84; APP, AZL 12, s. 1 – 2; Por. przyp. 36

Register of rent payers of Bukowsko 1741

The town of Bukowsko

Jewish burghers

1. Icko Zelmanowicz (he rents a flat in the "lord's house", exempted from paying rental by the grace of the landlord)
2. Jakub Bieniaszowicz (he rents a flat in the "greater lord's house")
3. Jakub Leyzerowicz Bieniasz
4. Jakub Ickowicz
5. Abramowicz (a lessee of the propination)
6. Moszko Herszkowicz
7. Szmoyta Józefowicz
8. Dawid Baligrodzki
9. Herszko Mendelowicz
10. Michał Krawiec (a tailor)

Jewish tenants

11. Jakub brother of Abramowicz the lessee of the propination (he rents a flat in the "greater lord's house")
12. Icko Zelmanowicz (he rents a flat in the "greater lord's house")
13. Zelik (he rents a flat in the house of Moszko Herszkowicz)

Catholic burghers

14. Marcin Jodłowski Szwiec (a shoemaker)
15. Stanisław Wolański (a potter)
16. Jan Królicki Szwiec (a shoemaker)

The village of Bukowsko

Farmers (*kmieć, cmetho*)

17. Wawrzyniec Rzytka
18. Andrzej Rzytka
19. Woytek Xeniak
20. Andrzej Grzyb
21. Michał Xeniak
22. Jan Zadyłak
23. Stefko Ogrodnik (a gardener in the manor farm, exempted from serfdom)
24. Kuba Kowalow (an apiarist in the manor farm)
25. Michał Wacykow
26. Marcin Zabiega
27. Jasiek Zabiega
28. Woytkowa Kowalowa
29. Jan Łuszcz Szwiec (a shoemaker)
30. Jan Łuszcz (a musician)
31. Grzeško Zaiąc (a former forester)
32. Woytek Zabiega

33. Woytek Walus
34. Andrzejowa Kobałowa (a widow)
35. Marcin Koliba
36. Staszek Zaiąc
37. Stepanka (a widow)
38. Jan Kwarciany
39. Tomek Radoszycki
40. Andrzej Sokół
41. Grześkowa Mikołajowa with Wawrzek
42. Michał Buiak
43. Andrzej Chaklik
44. Jan Karbowski
45. Błażey Kulas (a needy, he pays a lower rent)
46. Krzysztof and Piotr Rocznik
47. Grzesko with his son-in-law Stasiek
48. Andrzejowa Solonowa (a widow)
49. Marciniaczka (a widow)
50. Andrzeiowa Bochniaczka
51. Wasko Mielnikow
52. Jakub Gancarz
53. Andrzej Jasiczek
54. Józef Dudasz
55. Paweł Bochnal
56. Jan Solon
57. Matyasz Bilej
58. Sobek Kiszczak
59. Matyasz Bochnak (a keyholder)
60. Woytek Nawalny (a miller)
61. Hryc (a miller)
62. Jakub Kutasik
63. Błażej Solon
64. Jasiek Mazurek the son-in-law of Sobolow
65. Andrzej Zabiega
66. Marcycha a widow and her son-in-law
67. Woytek Kozłowski
68. Michał Parcholik
69. Jan Kiszczak
70. Michał Kotecki
71. Michał Ślosarz
72. Józef Hnat
73. Andrzej Hnat and his mother
74. Woytek Sagan
75. Maciejowa Roczniaczka
76. Michał Nawalny
77. Stanisław Solon
78. Andrzej Tomczak
79. Jasiek Tomczak
80. Andrzej Rocznik

81. Michał Marzec
82. Marcin Jasieczek
83. Grzegorz and his brother Kuba
84. Kuba Klebczyk
85. Marcin Wilczek
86. Grześkowa Mikołajowa (a widow)
87. Woytek Chrząszcz
88. Józef Chrząszcz
89. Andrzej Chrząszcz
90. Sobek Kamyk
91. Tomczycha (a widow)
92. Maciey Chromenczyk (a weaver)
93. Jan Mikołajek
94. Józef Wrona
95. Sobek Pieszczak
96. Szymon Wrona (he has been "to behind the Bieszczad" – that is, probably he was a villain)
97. Marcin Łada
98. Woytek Bednarz
99. Woytek Radoszycki
100. Szymkowa Terlaczka (a widow)
101. Kuba Radoszycki
102. Woytek Popek
103. Krzysko Szwiec
104. Jan Duduś
105. Michał Duduś
106. Andrzej Torba
107. Sobek Duduś
108. Jan Bochnak
109. Jan Skoliborski
110. Wawrzyniec Skoliba
111. Woytek Łuszcz
112. Maciej Sternik (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)
113. Kazimierz Sternik
114. Kuba Duduś
115. Józef Niemiec
116. Andrzej Parcholik
117. Tomasz with Parcholik
118. Szymon Chrząszcz
119. Wawrzyniec Stawarczyk
120. Jasiek Zadyłak
121. Paweł Kowalow (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)
122. Kuba Duduś
123. Michał Piłat
124. Andrzej Krawiec
125. Grześkowa Wacykowa (a widow)
126. Jasiek Krawiec
127. Woytek Krawiec

Homesteaders (*zagrodnik, hortulanus*)

128. Jasiak Bednarz
129. Maciek Zadylak
130. Marcin Tetlak
131. Michał Xseniak
132. Paweł Zadylak
133. Paweł Stadnik (exempted from serfdom)
134. Woytek Xeniak
135. Tomek Tetlak
136. Woytek Łaszcz
137. Woytek Chromenczak
138. Piotr Rocznik
139. Szymon Kuśnierz
140. Jan Ślosarz
141. Woytek Sobol
142. Jan Kulasik
143. Sobek Kulasik
144. Andrzej Kuciak
145. Tomek Zodylak
146. Michał Kutiaczek
147. Michał Dziadosz (a shepherd in the manor farm)
148. Tomasz Jaćmirski (exempted from serfdom)
149. Jasiak Zabiega
150. Michałowa Zadylakowa

Cottagers (*chałupnik*)

151. Jakub Religa
152. Błażek Marzec (too old to work, exempted from serfdom)
153. Jan Dziad (a churchman, went behind the Bieszczad - probably become a villain)
154. Sobek Szafran (exempted from serfdom by the grace of the landlord)

Register of rent payers of Bukowsko 1742

The town of Bukowsko

Jewish burghers

1. Jakub Bieniaszowicz (he rents a flat in the "lord's house")
2. Icko Zelmanowicz (he rents a flat in the "lord's house")
3. Jakub Leyzerowicz
4. Abram Abramowicz (a lessee of the propination)

5. Moszko Herszkowicz
6. Szmoyta Józefowicz
7. Jakub Izaakowicz Bieniasz
8. Dokterka (a feltsher?, she rents a flat in the "lord's house" previously occupied by Ms. Wisłocka who was an innkeeper and a lessee of the propination)
9. Mendel Abramowicz
10. Michał Krawiec (a tailor)

Jewish tenants

11. Jakub Abramowicz (he rents a flat in the "new the house")
12. Zelik (he rents a flat in the house of Jakub)
13. Ilasz (he rents a flat in the house of a tailor Jewish)

Catholic burghers

14. Jan Królicki
15. Marcin Jodłowski
16. Stanisław Wolański (a potter)
17. Franciszek Królicki
18. Andrzej Mączka (a tenant, a shoemaker)

The village of Bukowsko

Farmers (*kmieć, cmetho*)

19. Wawrzyniec Rzytka
20. Andrzej Rzytka
21. Woytek Xeniak
22. Andrzej Grzyb
23. Michał Xeniak
24. Jan Zadyłak
25. Stefko Ogrodnik (a gardener in the manor farm)
26. Kuba Kowalow (an apiarist in the manor farm)
27. Michał Wacykow
28. Marcin Zabiega (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)
29. Jakubowa Zabiegowa alias Leskowa
30. Woytkowa Kowalowa
31. Jan Łuszcz Szwiec (a shoemaker)
32. Grześko Zaiąc
33. Woytek Zabiega
34. Woytek Walus (a forester, exempted from serfdom)
35. Maryna Kolibowa
36. Maciey Koleba
37. Staszek Zaiąc
38. Szczepańska (a widow)
39. Jan Kwarciany
40. Tomek Radoszycki
41. Andrzej Sokół
42. Piotr Klepczyk with Mikołajek

43. Michał Buiak
44. Andrzej Haklik
45. Jan Karbowski
46. Błażey Kulas (a needy, he pays a lower rent)
47. Krzysztof and Piotr Roczniak
48. Stasiak Chrząszcz
49. Andrzejowa Solonowa
50. Marciniaczka Roczniaczka
51. Andrzeiowa Bochnaczka
52. Sobek Chodakowski
53. Jakub Ganczarz
54. Andrzej Jasiczek
55. Józef Duduś
56. Paweł Bochnak
57. Jan Solon
58. Matyasza Bielak
59. Sobek Kiszczak
60. Matyasza Bochnak
61. Błażek Solon
62. Woytek Nawalny (a miller)
63. Hryc (a miller)
64. Jakub Kulasik
65. Jasiek Przystasz
66. Andrzej Zabiega
67. Michał Kutiaczek
68. Woytek Kozłowski
69. Michał Parcholik
70. Jan Kiszczak
71. Michał Korecki
72. Michał Ślosarz
73. Józef Ihnatow
74. Andrzej Hnatow
75. Woytek Sagan
76. Maciejowa Roczniaczka
77. Michał Nawalany
78. Stanisław Solon
79. Andrzej Tomczak
80. Jasiek Tomczak
81. Andrzej Roczniak
82. Michał Marzec
83. Marcin Jasiczek
84. Grzegorz and his brother Kuba
85. Kuba Klepczyk
86. Marcin Wilczek
87. Grześkowa Mikołajowa
88. Woytek Chrząszcz
89. Grześkowa Mikołajowa
90. Woytek Chrząszcz

91. Józef Chrząszcz
92. Sobek Kamyk (a keyholder)
93. Tomczycha (a widow)
94. Maciek Chromenczak
95. Jan Mikołajek
96. Józef Wrona
97. Sobek Pieszczach
98. Szymek Wrona
99. Marcin Łada
100. Woytek Bednarz
101. Woytek Radoszycki
102. Szymkowa Terlaczka
103. Kuba Radoszycki
104. Woytek Popek
105. Krzysko Szwiec
106. Michał Duduś
107. Jan Duduś
108. Andrzej Torba
109. Sobek Duduś
110. Jan Bochnak
111. Jan Koliborski
112. Wawrzyniec Koliba
113. Woytek Łuszcz
114. Maciej Sternik (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)
115. Kazimierz Sternik
116. Kubowa Dudusiowa
117. Józef Niemiec
118. Andrzej Parcholik
119. Tomek Szymański
120. Szymon Chrząszcz
121. Wawrzyniec Stawarczyk
122. Jasiek Zadyłak
123. Paweł Kowalow (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)
124. Kubowa Dudusiowa
125. Michał Piłat
126. Andrzej Krawiec
127. Grzescycha Wacykowa
128. Krawiec Jasiek
129. Andrzej Krawiec
130. Woytek Krawcow

Homesteaders (*zagrodnik, hortulanus*)

131. Andrzej Krawiec
132. Jasiek Bednarz
133. Jasiek Zadyłak
134. Marcin Tetlak
135. Michał Xseniak
136. Paweł Zadyłak

137. Paweł Stadnik (exempted from serfdom)
138. Woytek Xeniak
139. Woytek Łuszcz
140. Tomek Tetlak
141. Woytek Chromenczak
142. Piotr Roczniak
143. Szymon Kuśnierz
144. Jan Ślosarz
145. Woytek Sobol
146. Jan Kulasik
147. Sobek Kulasik
148. Andrzej Kuciak
149. Tomek Zodylak
150. Michał Kutiak
151. Michał Dziadosz
152. Tomasz Jaćmirski (exempted from serfdom)
153. Woytek Zabiega

Cottagers (*chałupnik*)

154. Jakub Religa
155. Jan Dziad (a churchman, exempted from serfdom)
156. Woyciech Hanulak

Inventory of Bukowsko 1758

The town of Bukowsko

Jewish burghers

1. Jakub Bieniaszewicz (he rents a flat in the "lord's small house")
2. Szymon Kuśnierz of Brzozów (he rents a flat in the "lord's house")
3. Herszko Jakubowicz son of late Jakub Leyzerowicz
4. Jakub Izaakowicz (his house fell into ruin, the plot is empty)
5. Michał Aksamowicz
6. Moszko Horszkowicz (his house fell into ruin, the plot is empty)
7. Szmulya Józefowicz (his house fell into ruin, the plot is empty)
8. Rochła
9. Mędlowicz and his son Herszko
10. Michał Krawiec
11. Moszko Krawiec

Jewish tenants

12. Izrael Aronowicz (he rents a flat in the house of Michał Aksamowicz)
13. Moszko Herszkowicz (he rents a flat in the house of Rochła)

14. Jakub Izraelowicz, furrier (he rents a flat in the house of Marcin Jodłowski)

Catholic burghers

15. Marcin Jodłowski

16. Jan Królicki (his house fell into ruin, the plot is empty)

17. Franciszek Królicki

The village of Bukowsko

Farmers (*kmieć, cmetho*)

18. Wawrzyniec Rzytka

19. Andrzej Rzytka (a rent payer)

20. Józef Tomczak

21. Woytek Zadyłak (a weaver, rent payer)

22. Józef Xeniak with his brother Woytek

23. Andrzej Grzyb

24. Jan Zadyłak

25. Kuba Zadyłak

26. Stefan Ogrodnik (exempted from serfdom)

27. Iwan brother of Ogrodnik

28. Woytek Kowalow

29. Wacyczka (a widow, rent payer)

30. Marcin Zabiega (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)

31. Jasiak Zabiega

32. Jaśko Prystacz married widow after Józef Kowalow

33. Michał Łuszcz (a rent payer)

34. Kazimierz Szczepanik

35. Szymon Zaiąc

36. Michał Zabiega

37. Michał Walus (an alderman, exempted from serfdom)

38. Andrzejowa Kolibowa

39. Maciek Koliba

40. Staszek Zaiąc

41. Tomek Szczepan

42. late Jan Kwarciany, his son and widow

43. Tomek Radoszycki (a rent payer)

44. Andrzej Sokół

45. Wawrzek and Piotr Jakubowicz (weavers, rentpayers)

46. Andrzej Zaiąc

47. Andrzej Haklik (a landlord's carter, exempted from serfdom)

48. Karbowska, a widow with son and son-in-law

49. Krzysztof Rocznik

50. Staszek Chrząszcz

51. Andrzejowa Solanka

52. Marcinowa Roczniczka with son-in-law Michał

53. Andrzejowa Bochnaczka with son-in-law Wawrzek

54. Jakub Gancarz

55. wife of late Sobek Chodakowski

56. Andrzej Jasiczak
57. Józef Duduś
58. Andrzej Bochnak
59. Jan Solan
60. Matyas Bilik
61. Michał Milasz
62. Maciek Bochniak
63. Błażey Solan
64. Matyasz Mikołajek (a rent payer)
65. Hryć (a miller)
66. Woyciech Młynarz (a miller)
67. Kulaszowa, a widow with son-in-law
68. Jasiek Sobol
69. Andrzej Zabiega
70. Michał Kuciaczek
71. Woyciech Kozłowski
72. Woytek Parchotop
73. Iwan Kiszczak
74. Michał Kotecki
75. late Michał Ślusarz (a rent payer), his wife and brother inherited the household
76. Andrzy Hnat
77. Maciey Hnat
78. Andrzej Hnat II
79. Andrzej Sagan
80. Iwan Sagan
81. Michał Zawalany (a rent payer)
82. Stanisław Salan (a sworn official)
83. late Sobek Tomczak, his wife and son Sobej junior inherited the household
84. Jasiek Tomczak
85. Woytek Tomczak
86. Andrzej Roczniak
87. late Michał Marzec (a weaver) and his wife
88. Marcin Jasiczek
89. Andrzej Grzegorz
90. Kuba Ślepczyk with his brother Błażek
91. Sobek Wilczek (a weaver, a rentpayer)
92. Szymon Rzytka
93. Woytek Chrząszcz (a weaver, a rentpayer)
94. Józef Chrząszcz (a weaver, a rentpayer)
95. Sobek Kamyk a former keyholder and his son a contemporary keyholder
96. Jasiek Stroncyszyn
97. Jakub Chromanczak (a weaver, a rent payer)
98. Jan Mikołaiak
99. Sobek Chrząszcz (a weaver, a rent payer)
100. Sobek Pieszczak with his son
101. Szymon Wrona
102. Szymek Łada (a weaver)
103. Woytek Bednarz

104. Paweł Pieszczał
105. Radoszyczka (a widow)
106. Kuba Radoszycki
107. Woytek Popek
108. Maciek Łuszcz with his brother
109. Michał Duduś
110. late Jan Duduś, his wife and son Andrzej inherited the household
111. Marcin Wasiak
112. Sobek Duduś
113. late Jan Bochnak, his son Bochnak inherited the household
114. Jan Skolibowski (a sworn official)
115. late Woytek Koliba, his wife inherited the household
116. Woytek Łuszcz
117. Bartek Sternik
118. Kazimierz Sternik
119. Tomek Duduś
120. Józef Niemiec
121. late Andrzej Parchołop, his son Michał
122. Tomek Szymański (a rent payer)
123. Antek Chrząszcz (a weaver)
124. Wawrzyk Stawarczyk (he looks after landlord's ponds)
125. Andrzej Zadyłak (a weaver, a rentpayer)
126. Pawłowa, a widow with Jasiek Zadyłak
127. Kubowa Duduszka with her son Tomek
128. Michał Piłat (a weaver)
129. Wawrzek Grzeszczyszyn
130. Jaśkowa Krawcowa, a widow and her son Jasko
131. Andrzej Krawiec
132. Woytek Krawiec
133. Jasiek Bednarz
134. Jasiek Dudus

Homesteaders (*zagrodnik, hortulanus*)

135. Jasiek Rzytka (a fieldman, exempted from serfdom)
136. Jasiek Zadyłak (a weaver)
137. Marcin Fedarz
138. late Paweł Stadnik, his son-in-law Józef Duduś
139. late Tomek Tetlak, his son Andrzej
140. Woytek Chromanczan (a weaver)
141. Szymon Kuszniierz
142. Fesko Ślusarz
143. Woytek Sobol
144. late Andrzej Koliba, a widow married to Franek Kozłowski
145. Maciek Łada
146. late Michał Dziadosz, his son Andrzej inherited the household
147. Kazimierz Bochnak
148. Andrzej Krawiec

149. Jan Skolibowski

Cottagers (*chałupnik*)

- 150. Jasiak Gancarz
- 151. Michał Hamuta (a weaver)
- 152. Michał Rakoczy

Tenants (*komornik*)

- 153. Kazimierz Babiak
- 154. Czobicha
- 155. Saganowa
- 156. Woytek Wasiuk
- 157. Rubaczka
- 158. late Zabieszka

Inventory of Bukowsko 1772

The town of Bukowsko

Christian and Jewish burghers

- 1. Tobiasz Aronowicz (he rents a flat in the landlord's "drive-in house with two rooms")
- 2. Abram Markowicz (he rents a flat in the "landlord's house")
- 3. Litman Markowicz
- 4. Michał Dąwrowski
- 5. late Berek Jakubowicz, a widow and brother Herszko Ickowicz
- 6. Izrael Aronowicz
- 7. Jakub Izraelowicz
- 8. Baruch Kiwowicz (a lessee of the propination in Niebieszczany)
- 9. Marek Izakowicz
- 10. Szlamko Krawiec
- 11. Moiko Krawiec
- 12. Jakub Izraelowicz
- 13. Abraham Jakubowicz
- 14. late Franciszek Królicki, son Piotr...
- 15. Mendel Zelikowicz
- 16. Staszek Aronowicz
- 17. Jakub Łuszczynski

Suburbs

- 18. Antoni Balewicz (a stallholder)

19. Jew drukarz
20. Paweł Gancarz
21. Jędrzey Chrząższcz
22. Woyciech Kramarz

The village of Bukowsko

Farmers (*kmieć, cmetho*)

First decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Iwan Zadyłak

1. Michał Rzytkow:
 - Sobek 10
 - Kazimierz 7
 - Wawrzyniec 2
 - Maryanna 17
 - Jaga 6
2. Bartek Rzytkow:
 - Tomek 7
 - Maryanna 4
3. Andrzej Rzydka:
 - Stanisław 23
 - Agnieszka 12
 - Sobek married
4. Woytek Zadyłak:
 - Jadwiga 20
 - Katarzyna 12
 - Maryanna 7
5. Szymek Ksyniak (childless)
6. Jan Zadyłak (a sworn official):
 - Maciej married
7. Woyciech Zadyłak:
 - Katarzyna 6
 - Agnieszka 3
 - Zofia 1
8. Woyciech Xeniak:
 - Maciej 16
 - Kazmierz 13
 - Anna 7
9. Michał Xeniak:
 - Jan 2
 - Maryanna 6
10. Jasiek Grzyb:
 - Michał 18
 - Woyciech 16
 - Jędrzey 14
 - Tomasz 7
 - Jan 2
 - Maryanna 11
 - Anna 9

- Agnieszka 5

Second decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Michał Zabiega

11. Iwan Ogrodnik:

- Wacko 17
- Iwan 10
- Anna 6
- Stefan married

- Kuba Zadylak:

- Tomek 20
- Paweł 16
- Woytek 8
- Jadwiga 12
- Anna 6

12. Woytek Kowalow:

- Marcin 18
- Wawrzyniec 9
- Maryanna 17
- Zofia 6
- Maryanna 3
- Michał married

13. Marcin Wasyl:

- Maciej 6
- Jadwiga 9

14. Tomasz Rzydka:

- Krzysztof 9
- Jakub 4
- Tomasz his brother 8

15. Jan Zabiega:

- Andrzej 11
- Józef married

16. Jacko Przystasz:

- Marcin stepson 23
- Sobek stepson 17
- Zofia stepdaughter 16
- Agnieszka 12
- Jadwiga 4

17. Michał Łuszcz:

- Krzysztof 16
- Maciej 12
- Jan 7
- Józef 3
- Anna 8
- Agnieszka 5

18. Kazimierz Szczepanik:

- Jędrzey 21
- Maciej 16
- late Tomasz 8

- Bartłomiej 3
 - Jadwiga 11
 - Katarzyna 8
19. Szymon Zaiąc:
- Jakub 17
 - Jędrzey 11
 - Katarzyna 12
 - Maryanna 8
20. Michał Zabiega (decimal officer):
- Michał 25
 - Marcin 16
 - Maciej 14
 - Franciszek 8
 - Szymon 5

Third decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Andrzej Sokół

21. Michał Walus:
- Jan 25
 - Jędrzey 19
 - Michał 9
 - Jakób 7
 - Agnieszka 23
 - Maryanna 18
 - Anna 10
22. Jasiek Gołąb:
- Józef 18
 - Jakób 8
 - Krzysztof 6
 - Szymek 3
 - Anna 10
23. Józef Koleba:
- Jan 10
 - Anna 6
 - Agnieszka 1
24. Stanisław Zaiąc, an old man with his son Andrzej:
- Maciej 6
 - Jan 3
 - Jadwiga 9
25. Tomasz Szczepan a fire victim:
- Andrzej 14
 - Agnieszka 18
 - Maryanna 8
 - Katarzyna 3
 - Jędrzey Szczepan married brother:
 - Woytek 8
 - Jadwiga 15
 - Zofia 12
 - late Anna 9

- 26. Antoni Kwarciany childless
- 27. Jan Kwarciany:
 - Krzysztof 6
 - Woyciech 3
- 28. Andrzej Radoszycki:
 - Maryanna 13
- 29. Andrzej Sokół (decimal officer):
 - Krzysztof 15
 - Woyciech 8
 - Wawrzeniec 6
 - Paweł 3
 - Józef 1
- 30. Kryska Sokół:
 - Maryanna 15
 - Anna 4

Fourth decad, supervisor (decimal officer) Jędrzej Karbowski

- 31. Piotr Jakubaszek:
 - Szymon 6
 - Woyciech 2
- 32. Kazimierz Mikołajek:
 - Paweł 6
 - Kazimierz 3
 - Tomasz ½
 - Jadwiga 1
- 33. Andrzej Zaiąc childless:
- 34. Paweł Kowal:
 - Józef 12
 - Maryanna 4
 - late Jadwiga ½
- 35. Halicka widow:
 - Katarzyna 14
- 36. Maciej Niemiec:
 - Józef 12
 - Zofia 14
- 37. Andrzej Karbowski (decimal officer):
 - Jan 15
 - Sobek 6
 - Maciej 3
 - Katarzyna 20
 - Agnieszka 12
 - Maryanna 5
- 38. Sobek Chrzęszcz childless
 - Błażey brother 25
- 39. Wawrzeniec Maydecki:
 - Tomasz 9
 - Joanna 4
 - Forester

40. Bochniaczka widow married to Józef Krawiec:
- Jan 16
 - Anna 13
 - Rozalia 8
 - Maryanna 5
 - Katarzyna daughter of Józef from his first marriage

Fifth decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Maciej Bochniak

- Jasiek son of Maciek Hnat
41. Woyciech Balwierczak:
- Maciej 6
 - Jadwiga 14
 - Maryanna 2
42. Jakub Gancarz old man with his son-in-law Michał Dudzik:
- Maciej 8 (son of Michał Dudzik)
 - Kazimierz 5 (son of Michał Dudzik)
 - late Michał 2 (son of Michał Dudzik)
 - Jadwiga 11 (daughter of Michał Dudzik)
 - Katarzyna 10 (daughter of Michał Dudzik)
43. Krzysztof Chodakowski, a forester (exempted from serfdom and all the other burdens except chimneys cleaning)
44. Tomasz Jasiczek
- Jadwiga 2
45. Józef Duduś
- Andrzej 24
 - Woyciech 12
 - Zofia 16
 - Katarzyna 8
46. Jan Bochniak:
- Sobek 12
 - Katarzyna 8
 - Maryanna 5
47. Mikołaj Bochniak:
- Zofia 2
48. Andrzej Solanka:
- Jan 10
 - Jan II 8
 - Michał 5
 - Barbara 12
 - Maryanna 10
49. Marcin Solarz:
- Regina 3
 - Katarzyna 1
50. Matyasz Bilik:
- Michał 20
 - Jakub 15
 - Woyciech 10
 - Jan married

- Bartłomiej 2
- Zofia 1

Sixth decad, supervisor (decimal officer) Maciej Kotecki

51. Michał Milasz:

- Jan 11
- Maciej 5
- Maryanna 12
- Barbara 6
- late Zofia 4

52. Maciej Bochniak (decimal officer):

- Józef 16
- Maciej son-in-law
- Zofia 1

53. Jędrzey Krawiec:

- Maciej 5

54. Matyas Mikołajek:

- Hanka his sister 16

55. Piotr Wapienski (a miller):

- Jan 20
- Stefan 15
- Antoni 12
- Anna 8

- Iwan first married brother:

- Stefan 5
- Anna 11
- Katarzyna 6
- Maryanna 2

- Fesko second married brother:

- Andrzej 3
- Katarzyna ½

- Mikołaj third married brother:

- Piotr 15

56. Woyciech Kulas

- Maryanna sister 16

57. late Jasiek Sokół:

- Sobek the head of the family 26
- Woyciech 21
- Maciej 4

58. Jan Zabiega:

- Wawrzeniec 7
- Maryanna 4
- Sobek brother 28
- Paweł brother 23

59. Sobek Dudus:

- Maciej 8
- Krzysztof 1

60. Błażek Kozłowski:

- Sobek 5
- Jadwiga 14
- Maryanna 7

Seventh decad, supervisor (decimal officer) Andrzej Hnat

61. Michał Kutyczek:

- Błażek 20
- Sobek 16
- Kazimierz 10
- Anna 19

62. Michał Parchołob:

- Kazimierz 3
- Jasio 1

63. Sobek Kiszczak:

- Tomasz 2
- Jan 18
- Szymon 12
- Maryanna 11

64. Maciej Kotecki (decimal officer):

- Sobek 12
- Michał 13
- Katarzyna 18
- Jadwiga 4
- Kazimierz married brother:
- Maryanna 3
- Jadwiga 1

65. Woyciech Czarnylas childless

66. Fesko Ślosarz:

- Jasiek son-in-law
- Jadwiga 1

67. Szymon Młynarz (miller):

- Maciej 22
- Michał 16
- Woyciech 14
- Maryanna 15

68. Andrzej Hnat:

- Michał 13
- Anna 17
- Regina 8

69. Maciej Hnat:

- Antoni 24
- Sebastyan 20
- Jadwiga 4

- Jan married son:

- Jacko 2

70. Andrzej Hnat (decimal officer):

- Jan 20
- Andrzej 18

- Woyciech 16
- Józef 10
- Błażey 9 (twins)
- Jadwiga 9 (twins)
- Zofia 8
- Maryanna 4

Eight decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Sebastyan Wilczek

- 71. Andrzej Sagan:
 - Katarzyna 17
 - Jadwiga 12
- Andrzej married son
- 72. Jan Sagan childless
- 73. Andrzej Nawalny:
 - Maciey 3
 - Maryanna 5
 - Marcin Nawalny married brother:
 - Szymon 6
 - Jan 4
 - Jadwiga 12
 - Maryanna 10
 - Katarzyna 3
- 74. Tomasz Hnat:
 - Wawrzeniec 9
 - Maciey 3
 - Maryanna 5
 - late Zofia 1
 - Jan married brother 22
- 75. Sobek Tomczak:
 - Paweł 15
 - Staszek 9
- 76. Jasiek Tomczak:
 - Józef 19
 - Andrzej 14
 - Mikołay 10
- 77. Woyciech Tomczak:
 - Woyciech 15
 - Andrzej married son
 - late Maciey 1
- 78. Woyciech Bednarczyk childless
 - Michał married brother 22
- 79. Woyciech Tetlak przystasz
- 80. Michał Grzegorzow:
 - Tomasz 8
 - Maryanna 10
 - Jadwiga 4

Ninth decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Błażej Pieszczoł

- Błażej Grzegorz:
 - Jędrzey 12
 - Walenty 5
 - Paweł 3
 - Jadwiga 13
 - Jadwiga II 6
81. Krzysztof Bednarczyk:
- Maciej 10
 - Józef 8
 - Sobek 5
 - Katarzyna 2
82. Woyciech Jabłonski:
- Bartłomiej 2
 - Jadwiga 5
 - Wawrzeniec married son
83. Maciej Klepczyk:
- Woyciech 7
 - Regina 13
 - Maryanna 1
 - Błażej Klepczyk:
 - Jakub 4
 - late Józef 1
84. Sobek Wilczek (decimal officer):
- Marcin 22
 - Maciej married son
 - Jasko Wilczek married brother:
 - Marcin 14
 - Wawrzeniec 7
 - Katarzyna 22
 - Maryanna 6
85. Szymon Rzydka:
- Kazimierz 22
 - Maciej 4
 - Maryanna 15
86. Woyciech Chrząszcz:
- Paweł 24
 - Jakób 17
 - Anna 13
87. Maciej Chrząszcz:
- Andrzej 4
 - Kazimierz 10
 - Mikołaj Chrząszcz brother
 - Błażej brother
88. Michał Kamyk:
- Maciej 15
 - Jan 2
 - Anna 6

- Katarzyna 5
 - Maciej Kamyk brother:
 - Zofia 2
89. Jackowa widow:
- Regina 20
 - Agnieszka 7
90. Jakób Chomenczat:
- Józef 17
 - Jakób 6
 - Anna 12
 - Zofia 10
 - Jędrzej Chomenczat brother:
 - Paweł 7
 - Bartłomiej 4
 - Agnieszka 17
 - Maryanna 12

Tenth decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Maciej Radoszycki

91. Jan Mikołajek, an old man with his sons
92. Maciej Mikołajek:
- Wawrzeniec 22
 - Jędrzej 17
 - Jan 14
 - Woyciech 8
 - Maryanna 10
 - Anna 3
93. Sobek Chrząszcz (a weaver):
- Maciej 18
 - Józef 16
 - Jan 8
 - Agnieszka 19
 - Katarzyna 6
 - Maryanna 3
94. Jan Pieszczocho:
- Antoni 6
 - Andrzej 3
 - Sobko 1
95. Błażey Pieszczocho (decimal officer):
- Sobek 1
 - Maryanna 7
96. Andrzej Bochniak:
- Sobek 16
 - Maciej 7
 - Paweł 1
 - Manna 9
 - late Agnieszka 5
97. Sobek Chrząszcz:
- Andrzej 5

- Maryanna 3
- 98. Tomasz Wrona childless
- 99. Woyciech Bednarz, an old man with his son Krzysztof:
 - Wawrzyniec 7
 - Agnieszka 5
 - Maryanna 2
- 100. Andrzej Radoszycki:
 - Michał nephew 6
 - Maryanna niece 2

Eleventh decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Tomasz Dudus

- 101. Paweł Pieszczoch (a keyholder, exempted from serfdom and all the other burdens)
 - Kazimierz 20
 - Sobek married son
 - Józef 2
- 102. Maciey Radoszycki (decimal officer):
 - Tomasz 9
 - Maryanna 18
- 103. Wawrzenc Rzydka:
 - Andrzej 4
 - Maryanna 8
 - Anna 5
- 104. Łuszczowa widow
 - Jan 20
 - Błażey 15
 - Agnieszka 6
 - Maryanna 5
- 105. Michał Dudus:
 - Tomasz 24
 - Woyciech 20
 - Stanisław 15
- 106. Jan Dudus:
 - Jacko brother 16
- 107. Marcin Wasiak (an alderman "wójt", exempted from serfdom and rent):
 - Michał 23
 - Jakób 15
 - Maryanna 20
 - Anna 12
 - Jadwiga 8
- 108. Sobek Torba:
 - Woyciech 6
 - Maciey 3
 - Agnieszka 8
- 109. Woyciech Dudus:
 - Paweł 1
 - Maryanna 6
- 110. Szymek Bochniak:

- Kazimierz 13
- Sebastyan 12
- Marcin 8
- Mikołaj 4
- Katarzyna 18
- Jadwiga 15
- Zofia 7
- Anna 6

Twelfth decad, supervisor (decimal officer) Tomasz Dudus II

- 111. Jan Skolibowski, an old man with his son Sobek
 - Stanisław 8
 - Szymek 4
 - Andrzej Błaskow son-in-law
 - Jan 16
 - Andrzej 13
 - Maciej 10
 - late Szymon 3
 - Zofia 9
 - Agnieszka 5
- 112. Michał Koleba:
 - Woyciech nephew 8
 - Wojciech Łuszczewski brother
- 113. Woyciech Łuszcz:
 - Sobek married son
 - Maciej married son
- 114. Bartłomiej Sternik:
 - Wawrzeniec 20
 - Józef 16
 - Maciej married son
- 115. Kazimierz Sternik:
 - Jakób grandson 4
- 116. Tomasz Dudus childless (decimal officer)
- 117. Jasiak Dudus:
 - Woyciech 12
 - Katarzyna 10
- 118. Jan Kowalik:
 - Michał 15
 - Andrzej 5
 - Szymon 12
 - Maryanna 8
- 119. Michał Parchołob:
 - Marcin 18
 - Zofia 13
 - Maryanna 12
 - Anna 6
- 120. Tomasz Szymanski, an old man with his son Maciej

Thirteenth decad. supervisor (decimal officer) Jacek Dudus

- 121. Antoni Chrząszcz (a weaver)
 - Maciej 14
 - Jan 10
 - Katarzyna 15
 - Maryanna ½
- 122. Antoni Stawarczyk:
 - Maryanna 1
- 123. Andrzej Zadylak:
 - Marcin 20
 - Zofia 14
- 124. Tomasz Grzes:
 - Woyciech 12
 - Jan 8
 - Maryanna 15
 - Zofia 8
 - Jadwiga 3
- 125. Jan Zadylak:
 - Kazimierz 20
 - Zofia 10
 - Katarzyna 6
- 126. Tomasz Dudus (decimal officer):
 - Jan 10
 - Agnieszka 6
 - Maryanna 3
 - Zofia 2
- 127. Maćko Piłat:
 - Szymon 10
 - Sobek 7
 - Paweł 5
 - Maryanna 18
 - Barbara 9
 - Katarzyna 2 (twins)
 - Jadwiga 2 (twins)
- 128. Wawrzeniec Grześ:
 - Jan 10
 - Agnieszka 16
 - Maryanna 12
 - Zofia 7
- 129. Józef Krawiec:
 - Tomasz 2
 - Katarzyna 9
- 130. Andrzej Krawiec:
 - Jan 7
 - Jakób 4
 - Maryanna 2
- 131. Andrzeyowa Krawcowalowa:
 - Anna 18

- Zofia 16
- Maryanna 7
- Jadwiga 2
- 132. Tomasz Zadylak
 - Marcin 9
 - Wawrzeniec 6
 - Andrzej 3
 - Michał 1
- 133. Błażey Bednarz:
 - Józef 14
 - Stanisław 12
 - Mikołaj 10
 - Wawrzeniec 2
 - Katarzyna 18
 - Maryanna 15
 - Agnieszka 6
- 134. Jacek Dudus (decimal officer):
 - Andrzej 23
 - Marcin 16
 - Tomasz 14
 - Michał 7
 - Agnieszka 15
 - Zofia 12

Homesteaders (*zagrodnik, hortulanus*)

1. Jan Rzydka:
 - Błażey 17
 - Józef 12
 - Woyciech 2
 - Maryanna 13
 - Anna 7
2. Jasiek Zadylak
3. Michał Karwacki:
 - Andrzej 23
 - Krzysztof 14
 - Maryanna 18
 - Anna 5
 - Zofia 2
4. Jan Grzyb
5. Andrzej Teklak:
 - Kazimierz 4
 - Maryanna 6
 - Katarzyna 1
6. Maciej Loranski:
 - Michał 1
7. Szymon Kuśnierz (an alderman "wójt")
 - Maciej 18
 - Matyas son-in-law:

- Szymon 4
- Jędrzey 2
- 8. Szymek Hnat:
 - Katarzyna 8
 - Maryanna 1
- 9. Woyciech Sobol:
 - Agnieszka 3
 - late Jadwiga 1
 - Anna sister 15
- 10. Jakob Łada:
 - Jan 3
 - Maryanna 8
 - Anna 1
- 11. Franek Kozłowski:
 - Jakob 11
 - Jan 8
 - Piotr 5
 - Krzysztof 3
 - late Sobek 1
 - Anna 20
 - Katarzyna 15
- 12. Kazimierzowa Bochniaczka:
 - Józef 20
 - Szymon 17
 - Kazmierz 15
 - Paweł 8
 - Anna 10
- 13. Andrzej Zadylak:
 - Szymon 10
 - Woyciech 1
 - Agnieszka 8
 - Zofia 5
 - Maryanna 3
 - Jan Skolibowski
- 14. Krzysztof Rocznik:
 - Paweł 24
 - Tomasz 6
 - Jadwiga 2
- 15. Dziadwiowa widow:
 - Maciej 20
 - Jan 12
- 16. Michał Chamula
 - Paweł 12
 - Maryanna 18
- 17. Jan Gancarz:
 - Jakob 21
 - Paweł 17
 - Anna 14

18. Paweł Gancarz:
- Walenty 12
 - Michał 10