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On the Way to a New Structure: Poland, Lithuania, and the Western Parts of the East Slavic Area in the Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries

During the second half of the thirteenth century when the Mongols occupied the centre of the former Kievan Rus' and the princes of the North-Eastern region became dependent on them, Polish and Lithuanian influence increased in the western areas (Galicia, Volhynia, Smolensk, Polotsk). During the first decades of the fourteenth century the dynasties of Poland and Lithuania contended with each other for the hegemony. According to the negotiations in the 1340s, Galicia and a part of Volhynia belonged to Poland, and another part of Volhynia to Lithuania. In the following years, because of the expansion, Casimir the Great acquired Podolia, and the Lithuanians occupied the surroundings of Kiev. The chronicler of the Teutonic Knights pointed out that “omnis Russia ad Letwinos deberet simpliciter pertinere”. Władysław Jagiełło, King of Poland (1387–1434) and Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1392–1430) started to organize the new administration on the East Slavic territory. The part belonging to the Polish Crown voivodships (województwo) were organized, just like in the Polish territory in general. Another part of the territory belonging to Lithuania there were either organized units similar to the Polish system, or the former principality tradition was conserved. In most cases, new administrative centres emerged. The Mongolian-Lithuanian border remained a less organized form of military administration. The Polish-Lithuanian rule contributed to the development of the Belarusian and the Ukrainian identities. The patriarchal Greek and Polish – Lithuanian Latin chancelleries created the terms *Russia Minor* and *Russia Alba*.

Keywords: Mongol conquest, tradition of Rus', administrative organization, border region



Kievan Rus' (Київська Русь, Kyїvs'ka Rus', Kijowska Rusz etc.), a *terminus technicus* used in Slavic literature has slowly gained ground and has been accepted among the Hungarian scientific terms.¹ However, the time frame of its existence is not clear. The beginning of the development of the regions started after the late tenth century, and the tendency for indicating the formation of regions became strong in the first third of the twelfth century. At

¹ See MAKAI 2018, p. 11–15.

the turn of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, the existence of the rival regions was indisputable. The series of Mongol campaigns between 1237 and 1240 brought about a radical change in the rearrangements, the connections, and relations of the regional centres, but the customary law, the written laws, and the ecclesiastical organization of the former Kievan Rus' have survived. It is not unreasonable to look for a living tradition of the Rus' in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries; but the consequences of fragmentation into the new political framework are not insignificant either. In Slavic literature Old Rus' (Древняя Русь) is used as an umbrella term for Kievan Rus' and the regions formed in its territory, as well as the name Rus' is associated with the name of each centre to designate regional units: e.g., Galician (Галицкая) or Galician-Volhynian (Галицко-Волынская Русь), Smolensian Rus' (Смоленская Русь) etc. This practice is also used to name areas emerging after the Mongol invasion, like Moskovskaya Rus' (Московская Русь).² To the persisting peculiarities of Rus' Aleksey Martiniuk³ brought attention.

Eastern Slavs among the Mongols, and in Poland and Lithuania *Regions and the Mongol Invasion*

The fragmentation of Kievan Rus' into regions occurred at the turn of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Since 1136 Novgorod had self-elected (“called”) its princes. Several branches of the Rurikids sought to obtain the “call”. The chiefs of the neighbouring Vladimir – Suzdal were at advantage, but Mikhail Vsevolodovich (1229/1230) from the Chernigov branch and Mstislav Mstislavich (1210–1215, 1216–1218) from the Smolensk branch also made an attempt to do so. From the second half of the thirteenth century the dominance of the Vladimir–Suzdalians prevailed; the members of the Lithuanian dynasty also appeared in the fourteenth century, for the first time in 1332.⁴

During the ruling of the descendants of Yury Dolgoruky (Long-Arm), Andrei Bogoliubsky (God-Loving, 1157–1174) and Vsevolod Bolshoe Gniezdo (Big Nest, 1176–1212) Vladimir–Suzdal *de facto* separated from the southern region,⁵ but asserted its will regarding the person of the Grand Duke of Kiev, which refers to the rank *primus inter pares*.⁶ Its detachment from Southern Rus' is indicated by its reaction to the events of the Battle of Kalka.⁷ In the

² The use of the term 'Litovskaya Rus' is not acceptable, as Lithuania was never part of Rus'; the former Rus' territories under Lithuanian rule became part of a political organization that existed independently of Rus'. This is an East Slavic population under Lithuanian rule and a tradition that continues to live among them. See BARONAS – ROWELL p. 65–71.

³ A conference held in Minsk in 2015 – and a volume published in its wake – dealt with such contexts of the history of the East Slavs in the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries. MARTINIUK 2017. p. 29–37.

⁴ GYÓNI 2018, p. 195–230.

⁵ MAKAI 2015, p. 105–134.

⁶ Between 1194 and 1210 undeniably five times. See MAKAI 2015, p. 132.

⁷ The Vladimir army sent with a low-ranking leader did not arrive at the assembly point; and the chronicler paid only slight attention to the severe defeat. See FONT 2016, p. 56, 61–62.

territory of Vladimir–Suzdal and in the new territories acquired in the north-eastern direction, members of other princely branches did not play a role.

Chernigov's independence began in the late eleventh century, when Oleg Sviatoslavich (1094–1115) and his successors successfully held this centre and increased their territory towards the steppe, where new centres were formed: Novgorod Seversky, Kursk, and Putivl. No other princely branch had a role in this area. From the middle of the twelfth century, a considerable rivalry emerged among the members of the Olgovich clan, just as for the dominance over Kiev between the various branches. From the second half of the twelfth century until the Mongol conquest, the Olgoviches occupied Kiev successfully several times.⁸

The formation of the south-western region differs from the above in several aspects: Galicia–Volhynia was already a two-centred area. Volhynia was in the sphere of interest of the grand princes of Kiev from the beginning, and from the 1110s onwards it fell into the hands of the Monomakh branch, including descendants of Mstislav. The castle of Halych became the centre of the principality in 1141 by merging several smaller centres. Here another branch of the Ruriks set foot. Their independence was maintained only until 1199, when the prince of the neighbouring Volhynia, Roman Mstislavich, merged the two territories (1199–1205). The brief rule of Roman did not create cohesion between the two areas. After his death, other princely branches' eyes were cast on the territory, for instance in the case of the attempt of the Hungarian–Polish expansion.⁹

The Mongol invasion brought about significant changes in the lives of the former Rus' principalities: the supreme power was embodied by the khan. Part of the southern territory (Kiev, Chernigov, Pereyaslavl), i.e., the 'core' of Kievan Rus', was actually taken over, but they did not necessarily want to control the whole of the destroyed area. They accepted the homage of the princes from the northeast region, who were expected to serve their interests. Vladimir–Suzdal remained under the control of a prince subordinate to the Mongols. Novgorod was forced to pay some taxes (*vyhod, chislo*). Galicia–Volhynia was required to pay taxes and deploy its troops. The centre of the Western Mongol Empire (Golden Horde)¹⁰ was in the proximity of the Volga, approximately 100 km north of today's Astrakhan, where the princes of Rus' received the document legitimizing their rule (*yarlik*). The rivalry of the rulers made the situation of the khans easier: it was always possible to find a person who could – and wanted – to meet the conditions. In the northern region, Aleksandr Nevsky (1254–1263) was the one who met the expectations of the Mongols: he ensured the operation of tax collectors (*baskak*) in his own territory and cooperated with the Mongols in the regulations of the rival administrative

⁸ ZAITSEV 2009. p. 45–130.; DIMNIK 2016. p. 348–350.

⁹ FONT – BARABÁS 2017. p. 19–74.; FEDINEC et alii 2021. p. 42–47. (In both volumes the relevant parts are the works of Márta Font)

¹⁰ VÁSÁRY 1986. p. 52–54.

centre, Tver.¹¹ Daniil Romanovich, Prince of Galicia–Volhynia,¹² similarly to other princes who wanted to rule, could not evade the obligatory visit to Sarai, but he imagined the *modus vivendi* with the Mongols differently: he tried to gather military forces for resistance.

The princes of Chernigov (Mikhail and his son, Rostislav) unsuccessfully tried to come to terms with the Mongols. Mikhail died in the court of the khan.¹³ Rostislav wanted to cling to the western part of Rus' with Hungarian help, but he was defeated by Daniil under the castle of Yaroslavl in Galicia (August 17, 1245).¹⁴ After the failure, Rostislav remained in Hungary and the king commissioned him to restore the southern territory of the Hungarian Realm.¹⁵ Bela IV and Daniil made a peace in August of 1247, which was confirmed by the marriage of their children, Lev and Constantia, presumably at the castle of Zólyom (today: Zvolen, SK).¹⁶

Eastern Defense, Western Orientation, and Polish Expansion

After Daniil appeared in the court of the khan, we can assume that he received *yarlik*.¹⁷ However, he could not accept the Mongol rule over his principality. He first joined forces with Andrei from Vladimir–Suzdal (1249–1252) but was defeated. Turning to the West, in return for help, he was willing to accept the ecclesiastical union, of which Pope Ince IV's letters written between 1246 and 1248 testify. In January 1248 the pope mentioned the military power of the Teutonic Knights which could be mobilized against the Mongols. In early 1253, Daniil met with the pope's envoys in Cracow, and the papal legate, Opizo de Mezzano, crowned Daniil in Dorogichin, Volhynia.¹⁸

Daniil battled the Mongols again in 1254–1255, but this venture was not crowned with success. The appearance of tax collectors and the fact that the southern fortifications of the principality (Ushitsa, Bakota and Kuchelmin) had to be handed over to the Mongols suggests stronger ties.¹⁹ After the southern defence system was demolished, the castle of Halych was at a disadvantage. Daniil moved his princely residence to Kholm (today: Chełm, PL), where he also founded the cathedral in 1237. He was buried there in 1264.²⁰ Daniil could

¹¹ Aleksandr Nevsky visited the khan's court several times. His death in 1263 on the way home from the Mongols, was probably caused by poison. FENNELL 1983. p. 109–124; ISHOAHO 2006. p. 3.

¹² The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle maintained a long, gesta-type biography of Daniil. See FONT 2000. p. 149–163.

¹³ PSRL II. p. 795. FENNELL 1983. p. 99; DIMNIK 1981. p. 130–139.

¹⁴ PSRL II. p. 800–805; KHW p. 270–286; BARTNICKI 2005. p. 97–98; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 234–235; DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 253–260; FEDORUK 2013. p. 125–143.

¹⁵ DIMNIK 1981. p. 130–139; FONT 2016b. p. 74–77.

¹⁶ PSRL II. p. 809; MALINIAK 2016. p. 115.

¹⁷ He went to the khan at the end of 1245. See PASHUTO 1950. p. 236; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 228; DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 260.

¹⁸ The coronation took place in the last days of 1253, or the very beginning of 1254. See DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 348–366.

¹⁹ Surrender of the southern line of defense: PSRL II. p. 840–842.

²⁰ STÖKL 1981. p. 526–532.

not escape the Mongol dependence,²¹ and the myth of assistance from the West shattered with his death (1264). His son, Lev Danilovich (1269–1301), despite his Hungarian wife and his Polish–Lithuanian kinship, became more and more dependent on the Mongols, having to join the Mongol army in the campaigns against Poles and Lithuanians.²² The title of *rex Galicie Lodomerieque* has been among the titles of the Hungarian kings since the beginning of the thirteenth century,²³ which after 1245 only indicated a legal claim. From the middle of the thirteenth century Poles and Lithuanians attempted to gain control over Galicia–Volhynia. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century Poland and Lithuania were characterized by a fragmentation similar to that of the Rus'; additionally, in Lithuania the previously existing tradition of unity did not prevail either. The integration of the Polish principalities and the unification of the Lithuanian tribes took place at a time when the expansive power of the Golden Horde seemed to be weakening.²⁴

In the time of Władysław Łokietek (Prince of Greater Poland 1306–1320, King of Poland 1320–1333),²⁵ the power in Galicia belonged to Lev's son, Yury (Yury Lvovich, 1301–1308). He was married to Władysław's sister, Euphemia.²⁶ We know the names of their children from 1316 (Andrei and Lev), they were last mentioned as the princes of Galicia in 1323.²⁷ In 1324, Władysław helped the half-Polish Bolesław–Yury (or Yury II) to rise to rule in Galicia,²⁸ and was supported in this endeavour by his son-in-law, Charles I, King of Hungary (1308–1342). Bolesław–Yury married one of the daughters of the Lithuanian Grand Prince, Euphemia. The Polish kinship was expanded with another relationship: Eufemia's sister, Aldona-Anna became the first wife of Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz III, 1333–1370). In 1340, Bolesław–Yury was killed in a conspiracy. Immediately after his death, Casimir III began his campaign against Galicia.²⁹ The western area of Galicia that was free from the Mongol rule became the eastern province of Poland, known as *Russia Minor*.

Casimir III occupied the western part of the Galician Principality (Sanok), but the title of *rex Galiciae Lodomeriaeque* was still held by the Hungarian

²¹ On the relationship between the Mongols and southern Rus' recently see STEFANOVICH 2019. p. 116–134.

²² There was an example of this in Daniil's life, see 1260–1262: Płock and Masovia. Later in 1273: Lublin; 1277: Łęczyca; 1280: Lesser Poland; 1282: Lublin; 1286: Gostynin; 1294: Łęczyca; 1295: Gnojno (Kielce); 1299–1300: Dobrzyn; 1275, 1277: Lithuania; 1280–1281, 1286: Lesser Poland; 1285: Hungary.

²³ FONT 2021a. p. 177–190.

²⁴ VÁSÁRY 1986. p. 130–133; VÁSÁRY 2009. p. 79–80.

²⁵ WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 221–241.

²⁶ "ducissa Eufemia filia Kasimiri ducis et consors Georgii Russiae ducis" – DŁUGOSZ IX. p. 51 See: WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 255; SZCZUR 2002. p. 313; DĄBROWSKI 2002. p. 206–207; BALZER 2005. p. 606–613.

²⁷ MPV nr. 83; DĄBROWSKI 2002. p. 249–255.

²⁸ PASZKIEWICZ 2002. p. 13, 21–22; WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 266; WYROZUMSKI 1997. p. 114.

²⁹ WYROZUMSKI 1986. p. 78–79.

kings.³⁰ The resolution of the contradiction between the actual situation and the title held by law played a major role in the succession negotiations of Casimir III and Louis I the Great King of Hungary (1342–1382). Louis I resigned from the title in recognition of the inheritance, with the stipulation that if Casimir III dies without an heir, the title and territory would return to the Hungarian king without any payment.³¹

The expansion of Casimir III to the west of Rus' led to a conflict with the Lithuanians. According to the division that took place in 1349, Galicia remained in the hands of Casimir III, and the city of Vladimir-in-Volhynia also came under his control. In the 1350s, Casimir III and Louis I joined forces against the Lithuanians several times:³² in the summer of 1351, in the spring of 1352, 1354 and 1355. Louis I the Great was most active in the 1351 campaign, when he commanded the entire Hungarian–Polish army instead of Casimir III, who fell ill in Lublin.³³ The Polish–Lithuanian conflicts mobilized significant forces in the region, as Casimir III turned to the Hungarian king, and the Lithuanians turned to the Mongols for assistance. In the spring of 1353, Lvov (Lviv) was attacked, Halych was raided in the summer, and in September the Mongol army looted around Zawichost. In 1356, Casimir made peace with the Lithuanians for ten years; the expansion of their territories to the east continued, but without disturbing each other's interests. Polish expansion continued along the right bank of the Dniester to Podolia, and Lithuanian expansion along the Dnieper. Between 1366 and 1370, the borders of Poland and Lithuania were finally established, and Galicia became entirely Polish territory.

Lithuanian Expansion to the East

Lithuanians lived in Žemaitija (Žemaitija, Samogitia, Żmudź = 'plains') and Aukštaitija (Aukštota = 'highlands'), the area later called the Memel region.³⁴ Among the rival Lithuanian tribes, the Jotving tribe (jatwęg, jatvjag) lived neighbouring the Slavs. As early as the twelfth century, the Jotvings led looting campaigns to the territories inhabited by both the Western (Masovia) and Eastern Slavs (Volhynia, Polotsk, Pskov), and began to expand eastward in the first third of the thirteenth century. Many of the Lithuanian dignitaries married into the Rurik family as early as the thirteenth century and held a position in the Rus' centres. The *modus vivendi* with the locals sometimes led to condominium and sometimes to conflict.³⁵ Both held the potential for later Lithuanian domination.

³⁰ FONT 2022.

³¹ WYROZUMSKI 1986, p. 89.

³² KRISTÓ 1986, p. 127–129.

³³ THUROCZI, I, p. 178. (cap. 159–160.)

³⁴ The early history of Lithuanians is obscure in many respects. Their origin story was preserved by their literate neighbours. See ŽENKIEWICZ 2001, p. 11–13.

³⁵ BARONAS – ROWELL 2016, p. 149.

The acquisition of sovereignty over the area and the acquisition of the individual centres needed to be distinguished. Lithuanians expanded in the area belonging to Polotsk from the second half of the thirteenth century, but Polotsk itself was occupied only in 1305. With this, they gained control over the trade along the Dvina. They expanded along the Dvina, acquiring a part of the Smolensk area around 1250 (Toropec).³⁶ They reached the border of Novgorod and the source region of Velikaya (Pskov River). The region to the south, along the Neman, Grodno and Novogorod (Nowogródek), became Lithuanian territory, as well as the area between Neman and Pripiat', called Black Rus'. Crossing the Pripiat' in the 1320s, Pinsk, Turov and Brest, an area called Polesie, also became Lithuanian. Heading east, they occupied Minsk in 1326, surrounded by parts called the White Rus', and continued towards the Dnieper. In the 1340s, Gedimin (Gediminas, 1316–1342) set foot along the middle reaches of the Dnieper. Gedimin's son, Olgerd (Algirdas, 1345–1377) continued the expansion, acquiring Smolensk in 1352. Following the Dnieper, his troops reached the border of the Mongol-ruled Tver and Moscovian Rus' (Muscovy) under the fortress of Rzhev, in the River Volga's source area. Battling with the Mongols, they expanded to the southeast, where, by agreement, Prince Gedimin's brother, Fedor received Kiev. In the 1360s, Chernigov, Novgorod Seversky and Briansk³⁷ along the Desna fell into Lithuanian hands. In 1362–1363 Lithuanians won a significant victory at Sinie Vody against the Mongols. The remarks of the chronicler of the Teutonic Knights stated this time that "all of Russia belongs to the Lithuanians".³⁸ During the expansion to the west, they battled with the Kingdom of Poland in the years of 1340–1350 to acquire Volhynia and Galicia.³⁹

It is clear from the above-mentioned events that it was Gediminas who made Lithuania dominant in the region:⁴⁰ he united the tribes and significantly increased their territories. He expanded his empire mainly due to a successful marriage. Through the marriage of his sons, his power was solidified in Polotsk, and Pinsk (Narimantas–Gleb), Lubart gained influence in Volhynia (Vladimir, Lutsk), and Koriat married in Novgorodok (Nowogródek). Olgerd married the daughter of the last prince of Vitebsk. Among Gedimin's daughters, Anna-Aldona became the Queen of Poland as the wife of Casimir the Great, Elisabeth became the wife of the Prince of Płock, and Eufemia became the wife of Bolesław–Yury of Galicia. Maria was married to Dmitry Mikhailovich of Tver and Anastasia was married to Semion Ivanovich, a rival of Ivan Kalita. Olgerd, the next ruler, married twice, his second wife, Uliana Alexandrovna descended from the Tver branch of the Ruriks.⁴¹ We know of Olgerd's eight children from

³⁶ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 179–181; The whole territory of Smolenskan Rus' was occupied in the 1380s. See MOUCHARD 2015. p. 189–200.

³⁷ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 200–204.

³⁸ "omnis Russia ad Letwinos deberet simpliciter pertinere" See WYROZUMSKI 1986. p. 90–101; HELLMANN 1981. p. 747.

³⁹ BARONAS – ROWELL 2016. p. 149–153; KELEMBET 2018. p. 72–113.

⁴⁰ ROWELL 1994. p. 49–53.; KRAUTSEVIACH 2013. p. 36–80.

⁴¹ KLUG 1994. p. 170.

the first marriage and fourteen from the second. This populous family continued to create a favourable position for gaining power and territory through marriage. Olgerd's daughters became wives in Serpukhov, Gorodets, Novosil, Kozelsk, Tver, and Riazan'. Their dynastic policy became successful in Poland as well, as some of the daughters married the princes of Czartoryjsk, Oświęcim, Słupsk, and Masovia.

Olgerd's younger brothers also played a role in the expansion. Keistut (Kestutis, † 1382) and Lubart (Liubartas, † 1384) participated in the battles with the Poles,⁴² Koriat (Kariotas, † 1358) moved to Podolia during its south-eastern expansion. Olgerd was succeeded by his eldest son from his second marriage, Jagiełło (Jogaila), who reached an agreement with his uncle, Keistut. When Jagiełło ascended the Polish throne – and was baptized as Władysław – Kiestut's son, Witold, became the *supremus dux* of Lithuania.⁴³ The sons of Koriat were in the service of the Hungarian king.⁴⁴ The Polish–Lithuanian relationship developed similarly during the fifteenth century. The first half of the century was marked by peace while Jagiełło (1434) and Witold (1430) was alive. The victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald on July 15, 1410, was a great success of their alliance,⁴⁵ in which Russian and Mongol armies also took part in Witold's convoy. After the military success, the Polish–Lithuanian union was reaffirmed in Horodlo (1413).⁴⁶

The Western Parts of Rus' in the Context of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Principality of Lithuania

Polish Government at the East Areas

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is no longer accurate to talk about Galicia–Volhynia. By this time, the area of the former principality had shrunk under the grip of Mongolian and Lithuanian attacks, and its internal division had changed. Instead of Volhynia, other centres had become important almost a century earlier: Vladimir, then Belz; Halych ceased to be a centre in the second half of the thirteenth century, and the southern part of the principality was subjected to a complete Mongol rule. Conceptually, what might have meant belonging together was the tradition of belonging to Rus', which in the Latin phraseology was called Russia / Ruthenia.⁴⁷

After being introduced to the Polish crown in several steps during the fourteenth century, a unified system of government in the area developed

⁴² ROWELL 1994. p. 86–87.

⁴³ HELLMANN 1981. p. 753, 757; OCHMAŃSKI 1990. p. 75–76; ZERNACK 1994. p. 123.

⁴⁴ In 1395 Vazul and Theodor (Todor/Fedor) sided with King Sigismund of Luxembourg against Jagiełło and Witold. After that, they acquired their first positions in Hungary. See FONT 2021b. p. 84–87.

⁴⁵ KUCZYŃSKI 1985; FONT 1997.

⁴⁶ OCHMAŃSKI 1990. p. 81.

⁴⁷ Yury I is referred to as “sigillum Georgii regis Ruthenorum”, Yury II could be “natus dux totius Russiae Minoris”; whereas Casimir the Great used the title of “dux Russiae Minoris”.

slowly.⁴⁸ Until the end of Casimir's reign, these areas were not organized into provincial framework; until 1362, Casimir transferred their control to the descendants of Siemowit of Masovia. We only have little information about the Polish service of the Koriat sons of Lithuanian descent and their involvement in the war. It is certain that their presence has helped the expansion towards Podolia.⁴⁹ During the Polish–Hungarian personal union, King Louis annexed *Russia* to Hungary and placed the area under the control of a voivode, creating the office of *Rusciae vojvoda*, which existed until 1387, until Jagiełło reclaimed the area. During the time of belonging to the Hungarian kingdom, control fell into the hands of barons. Between 1370 and 1380, Ladislas (Vladislaus, László) of Opole held this title and other positions in Hungary.⁵⁰ Between the death of Louis I and the accession of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1382–1387), Mary, Louis' daughter as Queen of Hungary also ruled in Galicia.⁵¹ The area became Hedwig's (Polish Jadwiga, the younger daughter of Louis) in 1386, and since then the name *Russia Minor* has become permanent to designate the former Principality of Galicia and Volhynia and it became part of Jagiełonian Poland.

The government of the Kingdom of Poland was built on voivodships with the following centres: Cracow, Sandomierz, Poznań, Kalisz, Łęczyca, Sieradz, Brześć and, without general Polish rights, Dobrzyń. On the territory of former Galicia voivodships were organized with headquarters in former Peremyshl, Lvov and Halych (Polish: Przemyśl, Lwów and Halicz.⁵² At the time of Jagiełło, parts of *Russia Minor* were under separate control around Belz and Kholm (today Chełm), and Podolia was controlled from Kameniets. In Podolia, the administration of the Koriatovichs remained until 1393, when Jagiełło handed it over to the voivode of Cracow,⁵³ and in 1411 to Witold. Podolia was organized into a voivodship after Witold's death.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the centre of the former Galician Principality was no longer in Halych but in Lvov. Since Lvov came under Polish rule, settlers arrived from the west as well: Poles and Germans. Their first privilege was granted by Casimir III the Great in 1356. The name Lemberg was born from a word German citizens used, which later became known in European history. The population of cities under Polish and Lithuanian rule was generally very diverse, not only exclusively in Lvov/ Lemberg. In addition to the Eastern Slavs, Poles, and Germans, there were also Armenians, Jews, and

⁴⁸ WYROZUMSKI 1986. p. 93–94; ZERNACK 1994. p. 120–121; FONT 2007. p. 74; DĄBROWSKI 2009. p. 244–269.

⁴⁹ The Koriatovichs are descendants of the son of the Lithuanian prince, Gedimin, named Koriat. We know Koriat's (after †1358) nine sons by name. Konstantin, Yury and Aleksandr operated in Podolia and Moldova, Dmitro was in the service of the Prince of Moscow, and Theodor (Todor, Fedor) won office in the Kingdom of Hungary after marrying Stefan Kotromanić's daughter. In 1352 Yury Koriatovich took part in Lubart's war against Casimir the Great, who ruled the eastern part of Volhynia. See VOITOVICH 2006. p. 668–675.

⁵⁰ CZARNKOW, In: MPH II. p. 680. See ENGEL 1996. I. p. 4; SPERKA 2006. p. 113–150; MARZEC 2017. p. 148–159.

⁵¹ ENGEL 1996. I. p. 4, 35.

⁵² SZCZUR 2002. p. 539–541.

⁵³ SAMSONOWICZ 1990. p. 13.

Mongols forming separate neighbourhoods. Political unification in the Polish state had an impact on the development of settlements: through Polish practice, city law from Magdeburg was also introduced in the cities of *Russia Minor*. Lvov/Lemberg was the first city which was granted this right in 1356, Kameniets-Podolsky the second in 1374, followed by Lutsk (1432) and Kiev (1494).⁵⁴

Government Structure in Lithuania

In the territory of Lithuania, Witold organized voivodships with centres in Vilnius and Trockai (Trakai) following the Polish model. Novogorodok (Nowogródek), Volkovisk and the territory of 'Black Rus' was divided into these voivodships. Another was organized in the late fifteenth century (1471) with Kiev being its centre.⁵⁵ In Volhynia (Vladimir, Belz, Lutsk) under Lithuanian rule, the old East Slavic customary law prevailed, reminiscent of the regional period of Kievan Rus', where princely power could also be acquired by inheritance or "election" (calling of the prince). The princely seat was mostly occupied by individuals belonging to the Lithuanian princely family. E.g. in Smolensk, Yury Sviatoslavich was the last member of the local dynasty at the turn of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries.⁵⁶ In the southern part of Volhynia and the eastern part of Podolia (Vinnitsa, Khmelnik), a significant family of boyars (Niesvizhskie) ruled during the fifteenth century. According to Ukrainian researcher, Stanislav Kelembet, they were the descendant of the "Bolohov princes" who were mentioned earlier as living along the lower reaches of the Dnieper.⁵⁷ The smaller areas did not fall into the hands of the members of the Lithuanian princely family in the form of a partial principality but as an estate.

The status of the nobility of the voivodships was different from that of the Poles, as was the status of the nobility of Lithuania and Russia. These differences were eliminated by Jagiełło in several steps (1387, 1413). Then, in 1434 a privilege granted by the sons of Jagiełło provided a similar status to the Polish and Russian boyars. In 1447 Casimir IV (1447–1492) guaranteed the right to choose the *starosta* and committed himself to preserving "old rights" (*starina*), also in the case of Volhynia.⁵⁸ The left bank of the Dnieper was a sparsely populated area; stable administration did not develop due to the continuous, multi-directional struggle in the territories bordering the Golden Horde (Pereyaslavl, Chernigov, Novgorod Seversky, Putivl). Kelembet mentioned that this area was called a "Mongol" principality, a territory considered a "wild field" in Polish–Lithuanian sources.⁵⁹ In the Lithuanian

⁵⁴ GÖNCZI 2021. Credit to the author's consent to the use of his manuscript.

⁵⁵ OCHMAŃSKI 1990. p. 88–89; SZCZUR 2002. p. 540.

⁵⁶ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 250.

⁵⁷ KELEMBET 2021. p. 197.

⁵⁸ GÓRSKI 1987. p. 9–17.

⁵⁹ KELEMBET 2021. p. 199; FEDINEC et alii 2021. p. 120–122.

borderland in the direction to Muscovy, the former territory of the principality of Smolensk (Viazma, Dorogobuzh and Briansk)⁶⁰ was considered peripheral.

Conclusion

The Mongol conquest contributed to the division of the former western and southwestern territories of Kievan Rus' into the formation of new states. The status of the East Slavic territories, which came under Polish and Lithuanian rule at different times, in different ways and under different conditions, was heterogeneous from the beginning and remained so during the fifteenth century.⁶¹

Integration into the new statehood created new names: *Russia Minor* and *Russia Alba*, but this was only for the areas organized in the voivodships. The Magdeburg city law was introduced in *Russia Minor* and *Russia Alba*,⁶² as a consequence of the privileges granted by the King of Poland, and it did not only have legal, but also economic and cultural influences. The authorization of 'old rights' (*starina*) conserved Rus' customs and laws – with the changes required by the circumstances – and the descendants of the Russian princely dynasty retained their position by marrying Polish and Lithuanian nobles. In the immediate vicinity of the Mongols the readiness to battle was constant, and the insecurity of the border region is shown by the lack of a stable administration. All this contributed to the formation of different identities within the East Slavs.

Translated by Alexandra Hatter

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⁶⁰ MOUCHARD 2015. p. 208–209.

⁶¹ See LIUBAVSKY 2004; SHABULDO 1987.

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