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**THE BOOK OF LVIV CITY COUNCIL (1460 – 1506):
HISTORICAL AND SOURCE REVIEW**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to make a detailed historical and source review of the book of the Lviv city council (1460 – 1506). This article focuses on the study of the following issues: the history of the creation and existence of the council book from the second half of the 15th century to this day; authors of texts, city scribes and their handwriting; historical and source features of the book, the total number of entries in German and Latin. **The Sources and Novelty of the Research:** The main source of research is the Lviv council book and its entries for 1460 – 1506. The review of scientific interest in entries from the Lviv council book of 1460 – 1506 testifies to the great potential of historical information, only partially used in the works of researchers of the 19th and 20th centuries. The lack of a full-fledged scientific publication has led to a limited number of people who could benefit from the information of this valuable source. **The Methodology of the Research** is based on historical and source approaches in investigation of historical documents. **The Conclusions.** The Lviv city council book of the second half of*

the 15th century remains today the council's oldest book at the territory of modern Ukraine. Avoiding the consequences of natural disasters and the human factor, the manuscript was constantly in the collection of documents of Lviv magistrate, which changed its location several times. The book was used by ancient chroniclers of Lviv, updating valuable information on the history of the city. The manuscript was a product of the city chancellery, the city clerks, among whom there were well-known humanists of the late Middle Ages, were engaged in making final records. The book includes both administrative and judicial entries of council government, which show the full life of the city community.

Key words: book of city council, Lviv of the medieval period, city scribes, city chancery, gothic handwriting.

РАЄЦЬКА КНИГА М. ЛЬВОВА (1460 – 1506): ІСТОРИКО-ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧИЙ ОГЛЯД

Анотація. Мета дослідження: У статті ставиться за мету зробити детальний історико-джерелознавчий огляд раєцької книги м. Львів 1460 – 1506 рр. Ця стаття зосереджується на дослідженні таких питань: історія створення та побутування львівської раєцької книги від другої половини XV ст. до сьогодні; авторство текстів, міські писарі та їх почерк; історико-джерельні особливості книги, загальна кількість записів німецькою та латинською мовами. **Джерела і новизна.** Головним джерелом дослідження є раєцька книга м. Львів та вписи до неї за 1460 – 1506 рр. Огляд наукового зацікавлення актами з львівської раєцької книги 1460–1506 рр. свідчить про великий потенціал історичної інформації, тільки частково використаної у працях дослідників XIX–XX ст. Відсутність повноцінної наукової публікації зумовила обмеженість кола осіб, які могли б користатися з відомостей цього цінного джерела. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на історико-джерелознавчі підходи дослідження історичних документів. **Висновки.** Львівська раєцька книга другої половини XV ст. на сьогодні залишається найдавнішою збереженою раєцькою книгою на території сучасної України. Уникнувши наслідків природних катаклізмів та людського фактора, рукопис постійно перебував у збірці документів львівського магістрату, що кілька разів змінював локацію. Книгою користувалися давні хроністи Львова, актуалізувавши цінну інформацію з історії міста. Манускрипт є продуктом діяльності міської канцелярії, внесенням чистових записів до нього займалися міські писарі, серед яких – відомі гуманісти пізнього середньовіччя. До книги вписані як адміністративні, так і судові рішення раєцької колегії, що показують у всій повноті життя міської громади.

Ключові слова: раєцька книга, Львів середньовічного періоду, міські писарі, міська канцелярія, готичне письмо.

The Problem Statement. The book of the Lviv city council, containing records for the years 1460 – 1506, remains the only codex of this institution survived from the Middle Ages (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8). The fire of the town hall in 1381 had a fatal effect on the preservation of the oldest city documents after Lviv received the Magdeburg Law (Czołowski, 1892). Chronologically the first to be saved until today was council and court book of 1382 – 1389, which contained documents as from council government, as well as from the city court. Into scientific circulation were also put the first financial books of the beginning of the 15th (Czołowski, 1896; Czołowski, 1905) and the entries of the city court of the 1440s. (Czołowski, Jaworski, 1921). Back in the 17th century, Lviv chroniclers Jan Alembek and Bartolomei Zymorovych (Bartłomej Zimorowicz) have been working with a very valuable council book of the first half of the 15th century, which covered the source material of 1402 – 1459 (Badecki, 1927, pp. 528–548), but it disappeared from historical horizons at the end of the same century. In addition to the council book of 1460 – 1506 and the four codices already published, two manuscripts have been preserved during the medieval period: records of resignations of the city court (1471 – 1486) and the financial book of the city costs and expenses (1460 – 1518). Historians have long used a valuable historical source in their research on the history of Lviv and the region.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The earliest of all historians to draw attention to the Lviv council book was the first city chronicler Jan Alembek, who has made extracts from it in the 17th century (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 1153, pp. 47, 63–64). Scientific research of the codex began in the 19th century. Denys Zubrytsky quoted one of the records about the Armenian Wartik (Zubrzycki, 1844, p. 114; Zubrytsky, 2002, p. 102). Ksawery Liske and Oktaw Petruski, historical editors of Lviv, in the second half of the 19th century singled out a small part of the documents for printing in the historical series (*Akta Grodzkie i Ziemskie*, 1876, vol. 6, pp. 37, 50–51, 59–61, 76–78, 80–81, 99–102, 179, 181–182; 1879, vol. 7, pp. 112–114, 134–136, 175–176; 1883, vol. 9, pp. 147–148, 162–163, 167–168). Władysław Łoziński published a unique contract for painters to work on icons in Lviv and Sudova Vyshnia (Łoziński, 1891, p. lviii). Stanisław Kutzseba refers to the pages of the book to obtain information about Kraków and Lviv trading with eastern countries (Kutzseba, 1903, pp. 45–48, 91–94). Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga introduces into scientific uses documents on connections of Lviv merchants with Moldavian-Romanian lands (Iorga, 1899 – 1900; Iorga, 1900; Suceava, 1989 (republished)). At the beginning of the 20th century Ivan Krypiakevych elaborated the council records of Lviv of the second half of the 15th and first half of the 16th century, while writing a monograph on the community of Lviv Ukrainians (Krypiakevych, 1907, vol. 77, 77–106; vol. 78, 26–50; vol. 79, 5–51; Krypiakevych, 1994 (republishation)). Ignacy Schipper published records on the Jewish merchants of the medieval time (Schipper, 1911, pp. 339–348). Wojciech Hejnosz studied the documents, looking for the records of transit slave trading, which passed through Lviv with the initiative of Italian merchants (Hejnosz, 1933, pp. 162–163). Kraków urban historian Feliks Kiryk, in his research about trading relations between Kraków and Lviv, saturated his text with source information from the Lviv council book (Kiryk, 1998, pp. 9–39). Myron Kapral and Yuriy Zazuliak published some testaments, which were included in Lviv records (Kapral, 2010, pp. 545–550; Kapral, 2019, pp. 210–219; Zazuliak, 2017, pp. 227–237). Researching the palaeography of medieval manuscripts of Lviv, Mykola Ilkiv-Svydnytskyi studied the handwriting of the scribes of the Lviv council book of the second half of the 15th century and its features (Ilkiv-Svydnytskyi, 2006, pp. 285–300; Ilkiv-Svydnytskyi, 2010, pp. 511–533). Bohdana Petryshak drew wealthy factual material from this book for prosopographic studies of the milieu of urban scribes and collecting of their short biographies (Petryshak, 2010, pp. 473–500; Petryshak, 2014, pp. 329–336; Petryshak, 2015, pp. 76–85; Petryshak, 2018, pp. 165–175). This cursory review of the scientific interest in the records from the Lviv council book of 1460 – 1506 testifies about the great potential of historical information, only partly used in the works of researchers. The lack of full scientific publication led to a limited number of people who can benefit from this valuable source.

The Purpose of the Publication. This article focuses on the study of the following issues: the history of the creation and existence of the council book from the second half of the 15th century to this day; authors of texts, city clerks and their handwriting; historical and source features of the book, the total number of entries in German and Latin.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The council book of 1460 – 1506 is an “inducta”, i.e., a manuscript of fair copies of records, which were introduced as a result of the activities of the council government. The name, given to this codex by the scribes, has several variants, in particular “*liber dominorum consulum*”, “*rathisbuch*”, “*statbuch*”. In the last named case, it is a “city book”, which indicates the primacy of the council government in the hierarchy of town authorities in Lviv. The council documents were considered to be ones of the most

important for the city, in their importance they were second after royal charters and privileges. These documents were kept as carefully, as possible in the archive room in the town hall. In ancient archival inventories of city books dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, this codex is mentioned in the first place. An exception is the register of city books from March 7, 1661, where the unpreserved council book (1402 – 1459) is mentioned primarily (Badecki, 1936, p. 5; CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 70, pp. 15–16). Apparently, the oldest medieval city book from the end of the 14th century was discovered later and was considered not as a fair copy, but as a protocol of sessions. During the systematization of documents of the town archives in the Austrian rule time at the beginning of the 19th century it was framed in a brown thick leather binding with an inscription on the spine of the book “1460 – 1506. I”. All entries were numbered, and the pages received pagination. This work was performed in 1803 – 1804 by city archivists (“indicants”) Bogdanowicz, Stefanowicz and Litwinowicz, who were subordinate to the town lawyer. Their work was not perfect, they have made many mistakes by splitting one entry into two parts (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, nos. 21 and 24; 27 and 28; 79 and 81; 241 and 243; 269 and 273; 466 and 468; 577 and 580; 622 and 627; 891 and 894; 1343 and 1345; 1447 and 1448; 1960 and 1961; 2036 and 2037; 2077 and 2078, 2777 and 2778) or vice versa – by combining two entries into one mechanically or forgetting to number (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, nos. 1175 and 1175a, 2217 and 2217a, 2257 and 2257a, 2414 and 2414a, 2682 and 2682a). On this basis, we can count the total number of entries in the book (2 760), correcting the submitted at the beginning of the 19th century number (2 780). In the process of this archival work, the city archivists also compiled an index (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 1179) of the participants of all cases, without underlining their names and surnames in the text consistently with red or ordinary pencil.

The further fate of the source can be traced quite clearly. The city archives remained undamaged after the fall of the town hall tower in 1826, the shelling of the city center and the fire in the town hall during the revolutionary events of 1848. In the second half of the 19th century the council book appeared in the city archives, that has been called the Archives of Ancient Records of the City of Lviv since 1891. In the 1930s, in two galleries of the town hall, the employees of the institution grouped and placed archival collections. In the first group were monuments of 1356 – 1787, the second contained documents of 1787 – 1870 (CSHAUL, f. 55, d. 1, c. 37, fols. 1–5). At the beginning of 1944, due to the military war, the most valuable documents, including the medieval books of Lviv magistrate, were taken to Tynec near Kraków in Poland. The eight oldest codices were even transferred to the Kraków City Archives, due to their value. The Soviet authorities, also understanding the importance of these monuments, in March of 1945 returned them almost undamaged to Lviv (Dolinovskyi, 2018, p. 13). Since then, the council book of 1460 – 1506 has invariably been kept in the fund No. 52 (“Government of the City of Lviv”) of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Lviv.

The council book of the second half of the 15th and early 16th century is a manuscript consisting of 954 pages. It is formed by 38 separate “sexterns”, i.e., booklets, where the number of sheets varies from 12 to 16. It is noticeable that after the 23rd booklet 3–4 sheets were cut out, while the numbering of entries remained correct, therefore, they were removed in the process of forming the book. The cover of the codex is a thin wooden plate covered with brown leather. Dark green cloth can be seen in some places under the shabby leather. The binding of individual books of the 15th century, as Valentyna Siverska noted, were restored at the end of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Siverska, 1966, p. 283). All pages

are filled with handwriting, except blank 58, 61, 100, 101, 103, 891 and 953. The paper is thick, in good condition, only a few sheets are damaged (restored with strips of white paper). On many pages (5–6, 165–166, 309–310, 315–316, 319–322, etc.) a watermark (filigree) is visible, that in the form of an ox's head, at the bottom of which hangs a cross, and at the top of it an eight-petalled rosette on a double cord extends upwards (Badecki, 1928, tabl. 4, no. 18). At the end of the volume (Pages 931–932, 933–934, 935–936, etc.) there is another filigree: a crown-diadem with a cross on the top, of German origin. The manuscript ends with a note in two handwritings from the beginning of the 19th century: “Salva collatione folium, qua incie gothico caracte[r]e a tubici cuius taxant 3 maÿ 1803. [signature] Bogdanouicz; Coll[ocauit] Stefanowicz cum Litwinowicz a pagina 1 ad paginam 954 die 29 februarii 1804”. This testifies to the significant fact that the city archivists did not interfere in the original order of the council book, giving it only a new pagination.

The scribes of the city chancery compiled and made entries in the manuscript. This institution in the second half of the 15th century has already acquired a certain organization and form, although it continued its development until the last third of the 16th century (Petryshak, 2017, pp. 208–217). From fragmentary references in the sources, it is still possible to reconstruct the place of creation of documents, the staff of the office and the scope of its activities. The main hall of the town hall was the venue for meetings of the council board, in which the city scribe took part. At the end of the 15th century the house was rebuilt significantly, its description mentions among the furniture a separate table for the city scribe and windows on the opposite wall for better lighting (Jaworski, 1907, p. 18). The working conditions of scribes were significantly improved in 1494, when the city chancery settled in the house of the former Jarosław reeve (*vogt*) Evstakhii Budek (the so-called Budkivska or Pisarska townhouse) (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 317, fols. 2–3).

The absence of a higher academy in medieval Lviv affected the predominance of invited guests among the city scribes. Among them were representatives of Kraków, Nove Misto, Rymanów. The Krakow University center was, without exaggeration, the closest cultural center from which hundreds of educated people traveled in search of intellectual work.

A total of eight scribes from the period of the Lviv council book are known from sources: Jorge Gobel (1453 – 1455, 1459, 1462 – 1467, 1472, 1474 – 1476), Stanislaw (before 1468 p.) (Janeczek, 2005, vol. 1, p. 36), Jan of Kraków (1480 – 1496), Jorge (1496), Jan Ursyn of Kraków (1497), Caspar Bober (1497 – 1499), Szymon of Rymanów (1499 – 1501), Michael Magister from Nove Misto (1505 – 1515, 1521). As can be seen from the list, there are gaps when information about the head of the city office remains unknown. Some of them appear in Lviv sources with an indication of their government, others are identified only by changes in handwriting or even mentions in non-Lviv texts. The title indicates the undeniable dominance of the scribe of the council board, who is identified with the city (“city scribe”, “our scribe”). In the absence of a scribe who participated in delegations and trips of government officials, entries in the book could be made by their deputies or assistants. It is known Wojciech, assistant of the scribe Jan of Kraków in 1493 (Rolny, 1930, vol. 2, p. 279).

In addition to the city scribes, the council book also mentions private scribes, who often act as authorized representatives or servants of their bosses. Scribes of other cities (Drohobych), and clerks of the land and castle courts, and the royal chancery also acted as parties to litigation. An important layer of written culture is also the activity of public scribes, in particular, the above-mentioned Jan of Kraków, who was a papal and imperial notary (Petryshak, 2011, pp. 179–180).

The research of M. Ilkiv-Svydnytskyi clarifies the main tendencies of handwriting of a codex. The leading type of Latin handwriting from the end of the 14th to the first half of the 16th century was Gothic. Italics and mixed varieties were used, where italics and book elements were intertwined. The use of book types of Gothic handwriting in the text is a rare case. In the first half of the 16th century there were late Gothic italics, Gothic humanistic, financial, and early humanistic handwriting (Ilkiv-Svydnytskyi, 2009, pp. 11–12).

In part, the mentions of scribes can be correlated with paleographic analysis (Petryshak, 2010, pp. 268–278). There is no doubt that from 1 to 333 pages of the book were conducted in 1453 – 1476 by Jorge Gobel, a city scribe, from a well-known Lviv Gobel family from Silesia (hence most of the German-language entries from this period, made in almost classical German) (Petryshak, 2015, pp. 76–85). Instead, the information about the former scribe Stanisław is not related to any of the handwriting specimens. The entries on Pages 408–754 were taken by the public notary Jan of Kraków, pages 801–835 filled Szymon of Rymanów, recently identified as the scribe of the Lviv chancery (Petryshak, 2018, pp. 165–175), Pages 836–844 belong to some of his assistants. Pages 909–952 were filled with definitive handwriting of Michael Magister. The handwriting of the well-known Kraków humanist Jan Ursyn (Ber) is also clearly notable (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, pp. 755–761). His notes on the execution of certain contracts are also noticeable in 1499 – 1500, which may indicate his stay in Lviv for a long time (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, pp. 742, 747, 753). Instead, Caspar Bober had a careless and difficult-to-read handwriting (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, pp. 762–801). In 1503, a scribe unknown to us tried to make entries with a humanistic minuscule (Ilkiv-Svydnytskyi, 2009, p. 140).

The council records open with a text from March 1, 1460 and end chronologically with consecutive entries from December 22, 1506. However, the dating of copies of some entries (*oblata*) dates back to the first half of the 15th century, precisely December 14, 1436, January 20, 1443, November 24, 1455 (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, nos. 28, 30, 168). Separate chronological inserts on the fulfillment of the conditions about the debt payment relate to a later period: 1507 and even 1517 (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, nos. 2772, 2776).

The number of documents by years (*table 1*) ranges from 20 in 1465 to 95 in 1493, by average 58 records per year, i.e. the council government considered more than one court case per week. The councilors held their meetings mainly on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays. The frequency of sessions of the council board was determined not only by the importance of proceedings, but also by concomitant circumstances, such as the epidemiological situation, the lack of elections (in 1465, 1469) (Kapral, 2008, pp. 72–73), etc. The scribes made entries from the separate draft sheets into the fair copy, so the quality of the book records largely depended on the individuality of the scribe and control of the councilors over the document insertions.

In most cases the council book preserved the chronological order, but sometimes it was still violated – then one of the entries was recorded not on the current, but next month or even a year. Once, however, the practice of making entries from the draft sheets led to a serious violation of this sequence: on Pages 346–351 (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, nos. 1334–1361) we come across a mixture of documents from 1485 – 1488, while before and after these pages the chronological order is preserved. In a small part of the entries a dating formulary is missing, which can also be explained by insertion off draft sheets and negligence of individual scribes.

In the Lviv council chancery of the 15th century it was decided to cross out documents that lost their legal significance. Several times a special permission of the councilors was noted, they allowed to cross out the previous entries (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, nos. 1577, 1745, 1992). After

the record insertion, the scribes often left room for later notes, for them or their successors to entry data about the fulfillment of conditions, especially when it came to paying a certain amount by a specific date. This perhaps was done not only to save paper and time for writing a new entry, but also to avoid confusion with debt obligations. After such a note on the repayment of the debt, the corresponding obligation was crossed out, but only with the permission of the council board.

Table 1

Number of entries by years (1460 – 1506)

Year	Number of entries	Year	Number of entries	Year	Number of entries
1460	48	1476	80	1492	90
1461	40	1477	49	1493	95
1462	37	1478	73	1494	76
1463	36	1479	80	1495	90
1464	59	1480	82	1496	76
1465	20	1481	67	1497	62
1466	48	1482	43	1498	56
1467	34	1483	78	1499	70
1468	41	1484	52	1500	44
1469	46	1485	21	1501	68
1470	51	1486	24	1502	77
1471	56	1487	31	1503	66
1472	64	1488	41	1504	66
1473	39	1489	70	1505	67
1474	47	1490	77	1506	61
1475	88	1491	74	Total	2760

All clerks almost always followed the rules of making the names of the parties' participants in the header of the entry. Sometimes their professions, positions, origin places, and degree of kinship were indicated (when matters within the family were settled). The headers were in Latin, even if the document was written in German. Usually, the scribes referred to the name of two participants, but there are cases with three or four. Sometimes in this title part the spelling of names or surnames differed from the variant in the main text of the document.

This codex also reflects the results of the annual elections of councilors, which mostly took place on the day of the Cathedral of St. Peter, i.e., February 22, if not prevented by epidemics or hostilities. However, the researcher will not find lists of these officials for all years: there is no data on 1460 – 1461, 1467, 1469, 1471, 1482, 1484 – 1485, 1497 and 1502. Data about Lviv councilors is more accurately recorded in the financial registers of that time (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 698; Kapral, 2008, pp. 70–86). The book contains almost no drawings. The exceptions are a few marginal pictures with a pointing gesture (*manicula*) or a fig (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, pp. 62, 66, 452). For historians of heraldry, the outlines of the coats of arms of several Italian nobles contain some value (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, p. 206).

According to the administrative and judicial nature of the council government, all entries in the council book can be divided into administrative and judicial. The first group includes: royal privileges, registers of elected councilors, letters of city governments to the Lviv council about the “legal birth” of persons who claimed the city law of Lviv, decisions of the city council concerning the regulation of the guild life of artisans and merchants. Among the most interesting documents are following: the decision of the city council in 1460 about

the measure of weight – Kolomyia stone – in relation to the Lviv stone (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, no. 41), a list of goods from 1506, allowed for sale by the burghers (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 8, no. 2780). The judicial prerogatives of the council board were very broad and vague and often overlapped with the authorities of the city court (Czołowski, 1896, pp. xxxix–xlix; Kapral, 2006, pp. 111–130). In the council book of the second half of the 15th century, the most numerous are judicial entries of amicable agreements of property matters with the councilors as intermediaries, debt obligations, real estate purchase and sale contracts, agreements about the authority to conduct matters, acquittance notice, divisions of movable and immovable property, etc. A separate category of documents is testaments made by both Lviv burghers and those who arrived in the city.

Lviv Ruthenians (the Ukrainians) appear in extracts from the council book, which were prepared for publication at the beginning of the 20th century (Krypiakevych, 1907, vol. 77, 77–106; vol. 78, 26–50; vol. 79, 5–51; Krypiakevych, 1994 (republishation)). However, the access to original documents of the Lviv council book gives a better picture of the life of the Ukrainian community, as it covers not only those mentions, where the Ukrainians are the main participants in the cases, but also those where they are the owners of neighboring houses, gardens and land plots. The Ruthenians from neighboring towns and villages, who did not settle in Lviv, but conducted trade business there or had other interests in the city, are also not mentioned in I. Krypiakevych's monograph.

Lviv Armenians should be highlighted, whose names and surnames are found in every third-fourth document. They had judicial and administrative autonomy in Lviv, and their community was subordinated to the Armenian reeve (*vogt*) and elders. The judicial and administrative documents of the community itself were called the records of the “spiritual court” (Tryjarski, 2017) and a mixed Armenian court headed by a city reeve appeared in the 16th century (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 513). Because of the need to register their commercial transactions, mainly from the eastern trade, which was the most profitable, the Armenians primarily used city books.

The Conclusions. Altogether, the array of documents in the Lviv council book represents the economic, cultural, national and religious life of the Ukrainian city of the late Middle Ages in all its diversity. No other source or collection of disparate entries of that time has such a powerful heuristic potential as the council book of 1460 – 1506. The manuscript has been preserved until today in the collection of Lviv government documents, these books and documents were in the town hall from the 15th to the 19th centuries, after that the council book appeared in the city archives situated in two galleries of the rebuilt town hall. Nowadays the manuscript is placed in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Lviv. Only eight city scribes of this period are known, they made draft entries to the final version. In addition to them, the book was worked on by the staff of the city office, deputies and assistants. Entries were kept in Latin and German, but the influences of Ukrainian and Polish are noticeable. Owing to the content of the book, we can learn not only about the official orders of the authorities, but also about the daily life of all communities of Lviv.

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