Introduction

The edition presented here is the outcome of the project entitled "Registers of the bench of Old Warsaw, signatures 527, 528, 529, 530 – a critical edition".¹ It concerns the volumes from the period between 1453 and 1535, kept in the Central Archives of Old Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, henceforth AGAD) in Warsaw, in the fonds called "Urban Registers of Old Warsaw" (no. 97). The book with the signature 527 is the second oldest preserved volume of the municipal records of Old Warsaw. At the same time, it is the oldest among the books which until now had never been published before.² This book contains entries made in the period from 12 October 1453 until 19 July 1471 as well as a single note, put at the end, with the date 10 October 1472.³

The project which led to this publication is, in fact, the continuation of earlier editorial work concerning the legal records of Old Warsaw. This was initiated in the early twentieth century by Stefan Ehrenkreutz, who in 1916 published in the oldest bench book of Warsaw from the period 1427–1453.⁴ Several decades later, Adam Wolff edited the records of the town council from the years 1447–1527.⁵ The next stage of the work on the edition of

¹ The project was financed by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (National Programme for the Development of Humanities – NPRH), no. 11 H 13 0176 82.

² See: Księgi ławnicze miasta Starej Warszawy z XV wieku, t. 1: Księga nr 525 z lat 1427– -1453, wyd. S. Ehrenkreutz, Warszawa 1916. Other bench registers edited in our project are: sign. 528 (from the period between 1497 and 1511), sign. 529 (from the period between 1511–1524), and sign. 530 (embracing the period 1524–1535).

³ At that moment already a new register was kept, which has not been preserved. See: Z. Górski, *Inwentarz ksiąg miejskich miasta Starej Warszawy z lat 1670–1672 opracowany przez Stefana Hankiewicza*, "Teki Archiwalne", 18, 1981, p. 57.

⁴ Księgi ławnicze miasta Starej Warszawy z XV wieku.

⁵ Księga radziecka miasta Starej Warszawy, t. 1: 1447–1527, ed. A. Wolff, Wrocław 1963.

the sources for the history of medieval Warsaw had to wait until the new millennium: in 2000 Agnieszka Bartoszewicz finished the edition of the *Album civium Civitatis Antiquae Varsoviae*.⁶

The Bench of Old Warsaw and its tribunals in the period 1453–1471

The bestowal of its urban law to Old Warsaw in the process of the 'locatio' as well as the organisation of the municipality attracted much scholarly attention.⁷ Here we will only remind the reader that the town received urban status most probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its institutional structure was copied from Toruń in Prussia, although there are no written sources preserved from the first decades of the existence of municipality which could confirm this supposition. The first mayor (*vogt*; *advocatus*) known by name was Bartłomiej. He features in the records of the 1339 trial between the Kingdom of Poland and the Order of the Teutonic Knights.⁸ Very little is known about his direct successors.⁹ One has to wait until the early fifteenth century for further evidence. In 1408, Duke Janusz I sold the office of the *vogt* of Old Warsaw to Piotr Pielgrzymowic. Piotr's descendants kept the office until 1458, when it was taken over by Hanusz Wilk.¹⁰ It is difficult to determine when exactly the institution of

⁸ Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos ordinemque cruciferorum, t. 1, Poznań 1890, p. 92. The sources concerning vogt Bartłomiej were collected by S.M. Szacherska, Wójtowie dziedziczni Starej Warszawy w XV i XVI wieku, in: Spoleczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1981, p. 292–293. Similarly: J. Grabowski, Ustrój, pp. 69–70. English terminology concerning municipal offices and urban legal system was provided by A. Bartoszewicz, Urban Literacy in Late Medieval Poland, Turnhout 2018, pp. 413–418: glossary.

⁹ On the successor of Bartłomiej, the mayor / vogt Clemens, see: S.M. Szacherska, Wójtowie, pp. 293–295.

¹⁰ On the details of this agreement: S.M. Szacherska, Wójtowie, pp. 295–312.

⁶ Album civium Civitatis Antiquae Varsoviae. Księga przyjęć do prawa miejskiego Starej Warszawy 1506–1586, ed. A. Bartoszewicz, Warszawa 2000.

⁷ Among recent publications, see: J. Grabowski, Ustrój i organizacja władz Starej i Nowej Warszawy w epoce książąt mazowieckich (XIV–XVI w.), "Rocznik Warszawski", 36, 2008, p. 62 ff; Początki Warszawy. Spojrzenie po 700 latach, ed. H. Rutkowski, Warszawa 2015 (with a presentation of the state of research on the origins of the town); K. Mrozowski, Przestrzeń i obywatele Starej Warszawy od schylku XV w. do 1569 r., Warszawa 2000. The production of the municipal chancery of Old Warsaw was discussed by Z Górski, Księgi miejskie sądowe Starej Warszawy. Studium dyplomatyczne [PhD-thesis, University of Mikołaj Kopernik, Toruń 1978); idem, Materiał pisarski i oprawy ksiąg miejskich sądowych Starej Warszawy, in: Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Historia XVI, no. 118, 1980, pp. 117–132; idem, Organizacja kancelarii miejskiej Starej Warszawy i system pracy pisarzy miejskich, "Archeion", 76, 1983, pp. 19–36; idem, Inwentarz, pp. 43–64.

the bench emerged in Old Warsaw. Probably the bench became active shortly after the reception of the urban law of Culm (Chełmno).¹¹ The oldest, unfortunately not preserved, register of the joint tribunal of the *vogt* and the aldermen contained entries from 1409 onwards.¹² The bench counted at first seven, and from *c*. 1430 onwards twelve members (*scabini*); their meetings were chaired by a presiding officer called *magister scabinorum* (*schepmagister*).¹³

The entries in the book from the period 1453–1471 were written down during the sessions of the tribunal of the aldermen of Old Warsaw, both during the great courts as well as at ordinary and extraordinary gatherings. The so-called 'great court' (iudicium magnum bannitum, iudicium magnum generale bannitum; sady wielkie) was held three times a year, usually on a Friday. In January it was held before or after Epiphany (6 January), subsequently in April or early May, and finally in October, around the feast day of St. Hedwig (15 October). If needed, the sessions were continued the next day, on Saturday, during a gathering called in the book edited here *iudicium* parvum. The ordinary court sessions (iudicium bannitum, iudicium commune bannitum) were also held on Fridays. Our source reflects rather well the two-weekly rhythm of the court sessions required by urban law, although often longer intervals can be detected as well. In the period 1453–1471, very often the only information provided on those court sessions during which nothing substantial was transacted, was the short note "Nichil est actum (peractum)".¹⁴ In Old Warsaw one did not respect the obligation to suspend the work of the tribunal during Lent and Advent. The aldermen came together on the Fridays before the subsequent Lent Sundays (e.g. before Sunday "Invocavit" in 1457 and in 1462; before Sunday "Letare" in 1454, 1456, 1459-1461), and similarly in December. During the Advent court sessions were held most often before or after St. Lucy's Day (a.o. in 1456-1458 and in 1561-1463). However, it also happened in some years that the last ordinary session of the court was held on the Friday before Christmas (in 1458 and 1460). From the 1450s onwards, still more important in Old Warsaw became the tribunal sessions called 'bought courts' (iudicium emptum; sady wykupione).¹⁵ They can be seen as extraordinary gatherings which could be called on every single day of the week, except on Sunday. Their proceedings often show foreigners to the town being involved.¹⁶ In such cases, the 'bought

¹¹ So J. Grabowski, Ustrój, pp. 70–71.

¹² Z. Górski, Inwentarz, p. 57.

¹³ A. Wolff, *Skład rady i ławy miasta Starej Warszawy w latach 1381–1527*, "Rocznik Warszawski", 6, 1965, pp. 13–14.

¹⁴ E.g. p. 41, 49, 55, 60, 63.

¹⁵ Cf. Księgi lawnicze miasta Starej Warszawy, p. 195, 198 (year 1450), 219 (year 1452).

¹⁶ E.g. no. 988, 1002, 1040, 1047–1050.

courts' functioned rather as 'hospitable courts' (*iudiucium hospitale*, *sądy gościnne*). The term *iudicium hospitale emptum* also appears several times in the source.¹⁷ Probably this additional role of the 'bought courts' caused such denominations as *iudicium hospitale* or *iudicium necessarium* to appear only exceptionally.¹⁸

In accordance with the regulation of the German law, the bench fulfilled judicial functions in town, exerting authority in both penal and civil law¹⁹. A considerable part of the matters which were put into writing during the sessions of the bench concerned the transfer of rights concerning real estate and financial agreements. A substantial number of entries concern disputes, claims of payments of debts, the presentation of legal proof (in the form of testimony, oaths or charters), pledges, as well as sentences proclaimed by the aldermen and their execution. Yet another important group of entries concerns appointments of legal plenipotentiaries, who represent parties before the tribunal in single or multiple cases.

The bench register from the period 1453–1471 and its scribe

The bench book from the period 1453–1471 was kept solely by Mikołaj Horlewayn, who for some time recorded the activities of the municipal council as well. He identified himself as *Nicolaus aurifaber notarius*, *Nicolaus aurifaber notarius scabinorum*, and *Nicolaus Hurlwayn notarius scabinorum*.²⁰ Furthermore, his hand also appears in the earlier bench book from 1452 onwards.²¹

His entries into the book mentioned here are more often than not short, laconic, and are formulated using a very simple formulary. Their form, and the hasty, cursive handwriting, with numerous deletions, corrections, and additions, spaces left blank for single words²² or the whole notes to be added later,²³ suggest that the entries were made on a regular basis during the sessions of bench tribunal. These indications are reinforced by the general

¹⁷ Cf. p. 98, 110 and also Księgi ławnicze miasta Starej Warszawy, p. 219 (year 1452).

¹⁸ P. 45.

¹⁹ Cf. W. Maisel, Sądownictwo miasta Poznania do końca XVI wieku, Poznań 1961, passim.

²⁰ The entry no. 251; AGAD, Varia sign. 26, k. 2v., 24, 25; A. Wolff, *Wstęp*, in: *Księga radziecka*, pp. XXV–XXVI.

²¹ The hand of Horlewayn can be identified in the records of the municipal council on a regular basis from 1451 to 1462. Moreover, until 1472 he used to make additions to the entries. See: A. Wolff, *Wstep*, p. XXV.

²² E.g. no. 700, 717, 799, 1066.

²³ E.g. pp. 41, 43, 45, 47, 55.

impression that the scribe worked in a hurry, and also by his mistakes (e.g. confusing the names of people who appeared before the court) and subsequent amendments. Often, the scribe added significant information only afterwards, for instance on the persons participating in the proceedings or on the sums which were the object of a transaction. Many notes were entered ex post. Interestingly, especially in the early period of his employment the scribe left blanks, probably with the intention to finish the entry later on. The disturbed chronology of some notes is also important,²⁴ most of those concerned the four proclamations of claims of debt on the property of the debtor. In such cases, the scribe often recorded the legal proceedings only after they were definitely closed. All these notes unfinished or made in a hurry, deletions and additions, and also the probationes pennae²⁵ which can be found in the book suggest that it was in fact a kind of notebook. However, the book presumably was the only register of the proceedings of the bench court, without any fair copy made afterwards. The notes extant in this book could therefore serve as the starting point of further legal actions performed before the municipality. Having closed a case (e.g. after certain obligatory payments had been made), the entry in question was cancelled, often with the additional information that the debtor had paid everything back in full.

Latin is the main language of the register. Horlewayn shows a rather weak knowledge of Latin syntax, and he uses many calques from Polish (or possibly from the Czech language). The most striking, however, are the mistakes and a certain 'linguistic clumsiness' on the part of the scribe. As far as Latin syntax is concerned, his standard mistake is to put the wrong case of a noun after the preposition (e.g. cum effectum, a fratri, in registri).²⁶ One also sees that the declension of such nouns as uxor, socer, gener, and puer was a problem for him (e.g. no 3, 9, 31). Numerous mistakes occur in the declension of Christian names, e.g. by confusing the dative with the ablative, especially with names such as Johannes, Mathias, and Lucas. Horlewayn's orthography is peculiar as well. Often he uses 'w' instead of 'v' (parwus, awunculus), 'y' instead of 'i' (pye memorie, Hedwygis). The 'y' often replaced 'i' when this vowel neighboured the consonant 'l' (lybenter, lyber, lybere, fylius). The same replacement was applied to the spelling of the names of persons and places (Lywensis, Elysabeth, Kolybab). Maybe these phonetic spellings reflect the Mazovian dialect, which did not respect the phenomenon of 'softening' of the consonant 'l'. An evidently phonetic spelling, reflecting the pronunciation of the consonant 'c', can be detected in such expressions as porczyone orti sui and paczem habere. All these occurrences may represent

²⁴ E.g. in August 1455, p. 57; in September 1457, p. 87.

²⁵ E.g. p. 178.

²⁶ E.g. no. 1, 29, 770.

traces of the pronunciation of words – Latin formulae and names – spoken aloud and then recorded in the register. They strongly suggest that the oral sphere might influence a scribe's work even to the extent of making mistakes – which, by the way, he sometimes corrected himself.²⁷

For a dozen or so of entries the German language was chosen. Horlewayn used the standard High Middle German (Verkehrsprache), similar to the language of the Cracow municipal chancery in this period.²⁸ Entries in German in the bench book of Old Warsaw concern first of all financial agreements between local merchants and their partners from Wrocław and Gdańsk.²⁹ Some notes in German, however, confirm legal actions in which both parties were town dwellers from Warsaw.³⁰ Especially interesting is the contract recorded in October 1456 between the mayor / vogt of Old Warsaw Jan Pielgrzymowic and his brother-in-law (who was to be the next mayor / *vogt*) Hanusz Wilk. It concerned the loan of hundred *Schocks* ('kopa groszy'), secured by all privileges coming with the office of the *vogt*. Understandably enough, the case was extremely important to both parties - and for the future of the office of Old Warsaw's vogt as well.³¹ The choice of the vernacular suggests that the precision and clarity of phrasing of this agreement (which most probably had been first negotiated orally) was a priority. It also suggests that German was the mother tongue of at least of some members of the local urban elite.³²

Putting single German terms into otherwise Latin entries happened seldom. More often, Latin entries show with words and expressions in Polish. Horlewayn used both vernaculars for personal and place names. One can see inconsequences in the spelling of personal names within a single entry or between two consecutive entries (*Vlaso/Vlazo*; *Byaloboc/Byalobog*³³), although this is a mark of the orthography of the legal registers in general. It was Horlewayn's peculiarity to confuse resonant and soundless consonants: not only 's' and 'z', but also 'g' and 'k' (occurring quite often in this kind of records), and 'sz' and 'z': Oszarowa, Szabokruk, Waszyiaye (no. 17, 182). Interesting is also the spelling of a nasal vowel: the use of the letter ' \emptyset ' (in personal names: Wyødno, Wøtropka, Mødrostka)³⁴ and only very rarely the

²⁷ E.g. no. 16, 325.

²⁸ J. Wiktorowicz, *Krakauer Kanzleisprache*. Forschungsperspektiven und Analysemethoden, Warszawa 2011, pp. 61–80.

²⁹ E.g. no. 310, 746.

³⁰ E.g. no. 68, 536.

³¹ No. 187; S.M. Szacherska, Wójtowie, p. 309.

³² It should be emphasized that, according the seventeenth-century inventory of Hankiewicz, the bench book started in 1409 (which did not survive), was kept in German. See: Z. Górski, *Inwentarz*, p. 57.

³³ No. 859, 873.

³⁴ No. 883, 887, 1082.

use of '*q*' (*Wendzymąso*).³⁵ Sometimes both forms appeared next to each other.³⁶ And once the nasal character of the vowel was indicated by crossing the letter '*u*'.³⁷

The history of the register

The book presented here shared the fate of all volumes from the archival fonds "Urban Registers of Old Warsaw" in the AGAD. At first, these volumes were kept in the archives of the municipal chancery, and then in the General Archive of the City of Warsaw. In 1810 the ensemble was transferred to the General National Archive (Archiwum Ogólne Krajowe), which was later renamed The Central Archive of the Kingdom of Poland (Archiwum Główne Królestwa Polskiego), and then renamed the Central Archive of Old Records of Warsaw (Warszawskie Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) and finally the Central Archive of Old Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych).³⁸ In the inventory of registers of Old Warsaw, completed by the municipal treasurer Stefan Hankiewicz in 1670–1672, among the volumes indicated as the Acta *iudicii advocatialis et scabinalis*, the third item was described as a book "*in* quarto, old, de anno1453 ad annum 1472. Sub litteris A.C. N.3".³⁹ In the printed inventory from 1912, the book, entitled Acta advocatialia et scabinalia C.A.V. got the signature 527.40 The structure of the collection and the signatures applied at that moment were kept also after the Second World War, despite the fact that of the ensemble of manuscripts and records which before 1944 had numbered 2,325 files, only 251 files survived after the destruction of the city in consequence of the Warsaw Rising (i.e. 10 per cent of the archival fonds).41

³⁵ No. 1261.

³⁶ Golombyowø et Maszą Burckowkø, no. 1363.

³⁷ No. 92.

³⁸ Z. Górski, *Inwentarz*, p. 43; *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*. *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, ed. D. Lewandowska, Warszawa 2008, p. 7, 183–186.

³⁹ Z. Górski, *Inwentarz*, s. 57. More about Stefan Hankiewicz and his activity: *Dyplomatyka staropolska*, ed. T. Jurek, Warszawa 2015, passim, A. Sokołowska, *Hankiewicz Stefan Kazimierz*, PSB, vol. IX, 1960–1961, pp. 275–276.

⁴⁰ Monumenta iuris cura praepositorum Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi edita. Manuscriptorum quae in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur tabulae analyticae, vol. 1, Libri privilegiorum et sententiarum in regni Poloniae cancellaria perscripti actorumque fasciculi in aliis quibusdam subselliis compositi, s. XV–XVIII, Warszawa 1912, p. 260.

⁴¹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Informator, p. 185; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zespołach. I: Archiwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, ed. J. Karwasińska, Warszawa 1975, p. 195.

Description of the register

The register published here is in the form of a paper manuscript of 21.4 cm (height) \times 15.7 cm (width). The *in quarto* format is typical for the books of the bench of the mayor / *vogt* of Old Warsaw before the mid sixteenth century.⁴² In the late seventeenth century or shortly after 1700 the volume got cardboard covers, which were covered in thin brown leather. Its spine was decorated and embossed with a floral ornament, and the following inscription was added: *"Liber n. 3. ADVOCATIALIA ET SCABINALIA C[IVITA]TIS A[NTIQU]E VARSOVIE ab anno 1453 ad annum 1472"*.⁴³ On the bottom part of the spine an affixed signature can be seen: 527. On the flyleaf of the book two signatures have been written down: N.C. 527 and N.3.

The manuscript includes 23 quires containing 12 folios each and one quire of 10 folios. The register, provided with a foliation in black ink at the end of the nineteenth or the early twentieth century, today consists of 284 sheets filled with notes. Besides, at the beginning one blank sheet numbered 1a is found, while at the end there are two blank sheets (285 and 287), together with a small piece of paper of 21.4×3 cm (286). There are traces of an earlier foliation, most probably datable to the 1640s.⁴⁴ According to this unfinished numbering the present sheets 1–10 then were numbered 71–79 (sheet no. 7 had been omitted), and sheet 11 got the surprising number 710 (!).

The entries in the register are preceded by the note: "In nomine Domini amen. Hic liber est scabinorum, in quo continentur acta multorum. Sub anno Domini M^o CCCC^o LIII^o feria sexta ante festum s. Hedwygis." This indicates that towards the end of 1453 the scribe was starting a new volume of the bench records. Nonetheless, one doubts whether the gatherings of the manuscript have been sewn together from the start, as in some places the text extends to the sewing⁴⁵ and various watermarks can be detected in the subsequent gatherings.

For the production of the fifteenth-century manuscript imported paper was used.⁴⁶ In the first gathering a watermark can be found, representing the head of an ox with eyes and a double rod between his horns which ends with a flower. This watermark, typical for the paper mills in Northern Italy,⁴⁷

⁴² Z. Górski, Materiał pisarski, p. 118.

⁴³ Probably the book was one of the volumes to get new binding between 1672 and 1725. See: Z. Górski, *Material pisarski*, pp. 127–128.

⁴⁴ In the inventory of Hankiewicz the information can be found that the bench books were ordered to be bound anew in 1641 by the chief alderman Piotr Doroszewski. So Z. Górski, *Inwentarz*, p. 57.

⁴⁵ See the entries no. 726, 870, 876, 881, 891, 961, 963, 1127, 1446.

⁴⁶ Z. Górski, Materiał pisarski, p. 120.

⁴⁷ G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, Stuttgart 1983, Findbuch II.1, Abteilung XIII, no. 201–300. In Z. Górski's opinion, this paper was "probably of German origin". Z. Górski, Księgi miejskie sądowe, p. 208.

is to be seen again at the end of the manuscript (f. 200). Other gatherings were produced on unidentified paperbearing a watermark in the form of the cross.⁴⁸ The presence of two other watermarks needs to be indicated as well. On ff. 177–182 a watermark in the form of a bunch of grapes can be seen, suggesting paper with a Piemonte provenance,⁴⁹ while ff. 237–240 reveal yet another mark of the North Italian centres of paper production: the head of the ox with eyes and the double rod between his horns, ending with the cross and a flower.⁵⁰ The endpapers at the beginning and at the end of the register were made of paper imported from Świdnica. The water mark represents the coats of arms of this town (the Silesian eagle).⁵¹

The method of edition

When preparing the present edition, we followed the preliminary guide for the scientific edition of historical sources elaborated by Adam Wolff.⁵² The direct example was provided by his edition of the council registers of Old Warsaw and by the critical edition of the bench registers of Kazimierz near Cracow, which was prepared by Bożena Wyrozumska.⁵³ Another valuable model was the edition of the bench register of Toruń by Krzysztof Kopiński, Krzysztof Mikulski, and Janusz Tandecki.⁵⁴ When editing entries in German language, we followed the guidelines prepared by Walter Heinemeyer.⁵⁵ However, several inconsistences and differences between the preliminary guide of Wolff and their practical application in his publications cannot be neglected. One also needs to take into consideration the later modifications of the guide proposed by subsequent editors of urban legal sources. For these reasons, and in order to meet the challenges imposed by the present joint edition of four bench registers, it proved necessary to elaborate special editorial guidelines for this particular project.

The texts of the sources were rendered integrally, without omissions. Every single entry was indicated with a number using Arabic numbers. Notes

⁴⁸ This water mark was not noticed by Z. Górski (Księgi miejskie sądowe, p. 208).

⁴⁹ G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei*, Findbuch XIV, Abteilung I, no. 20.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, Abteilung XI, no. 271–386.

⁵¹ Z. Górski, Księgi miejskie sądowe, p. 208.

⁵² A. Wolff, Projekt instrukcji wydawniczej dla pisanych źródeł historycznych do połowy XVI wieku, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 1, 1957, pp. 155–184.

⁵³ Acta scabinalia Casimiriensia 1407–1427. Księga ławnicza kazimierska 1407–1427, ed. B. Wyrozumska, Kraków 1996.

⁵⁴ Księga ławnicza Starego Miasta Torunia (1456–1479), ed. K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2007; Księga ławnicza Starego Miasta Torunia (1479–1515), part 1–2, ed. K. Kopiński, K. Mikulski, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2018.

⁵⁵ W. Heinemeyer, *Richtlinien für die Edition mittelalterlichen Amtsbücher*, in: *Richtlinien für die Edition Landesgeschichtlicher Quellen*, hrsg. W. Heinemeyer, Marburg–Köln 1978, pp. 18–23.

from the following bench books have been provided with consecutive numbers. The entries in the book sign. 527 (the oldest one in the corpus) got the numbers 1–1501. The entries in Latin and the complete entries in German were printed in antiqua typeface while the single Polish and German words appearing in the Latin text were indicated in this way. All abbreviations were solved. Exceptions were made for terms concerning currency (sexag. \leftarrow sexagena; gr. \leftarrow grossus; mrc. \leftarrow marca), for standard abbreviations such as etc. (et cetera), and for the adjective 'sanctus' (rendered as s.), but only in combination with the name of the person. Some other abbreviations proposed by Adam Woff in his preliminary guide, such as those for the designation of dignities, social positions or frequently appearing verbs (e.g. solvit) were not applied here.

When reconstructing the entries, all personal marks and inconsistencies of the scribes concerning the spelling were preserved, as well as their personal practice of word separation. Contrary to the principles proposed by Adam Wolff, we kept all orthographical and grammatical errors and mistakes made by the scribes. They were only indicated (with the sign [s] for the erroneous word, and the sign [ss] in case of a syntactic mistake in the dependent clauses) to reassure readers that they are not dealing with printing errors. No mistake was indicated when duplication of consonants occurred (e.g. *peccunia*), as well as using of single letters instead of doubled ones (e.g. litera, opidanus) and of words spelled by a clerk in his personal way (*prewignus*, *fylia*). When providing the full form of the abbreviated words we have tried to keep to the spelling of each scribe. This was not always easy, considering personal inconsistencies, e.g. in the spelling of the endings -cio / -tio or of the person name Casper/Caspar. The editors decided to fill up missing letters or words there where the intention of the clerk was clear. Such additions are indicated by the square brackets - [].

On the other hand, we did follow the guidelines of Adam Wolff as far as the graphical signs used for the critical edition are concerned, only slightly simplifying his stock of signs:

< >	insertion
	deletion
= =	erasure
[s]	confirmation of a mistake in a single word in the source
[ss]	confirmation of a mistake in the sentence in the source
[]	illegible place, the number of dots in the brackets indicating
	the number of missing letters
•••	A gap in the text, the number of dots indicates the number of missing letters
	Graphical distinction of the part of the text introduced by the scribe

In the edition we tried to reproduce the layout of the manuscript, and have included the original headers provided in most places by the scribe. Moreover, sometimes Mikołaj Horlewayn used to draw a kind of frames to emphasize those parts of the entries which contained the date and an indication of the kind of legal proceedings. These elements have been indicated by double vertical lines.

According to the guidelines of A. Wolff, the punctuation was modernized, following the principles applied in Polish critical editions of medieval sources. This decision was inspired by the scholarly tradition as well as by the practice of medieval scribes who, most often, used Polish syntax in their Latin.

Dates were rendered in their original form with the modern form in brackets: the day in Arabic numerals, the month in Roman numerals. However, in order to enhance legibility, fractions were rendered using Arabic numerals only.

Personal names which were indicated in the source only by a single initial have been rendered in their full form when the editors were sure of the identity of the person. The addition is printed in the antiqua typeface, in square brackets.

Footnotes and indices

Footnotes referring to the text contain only information which could not be expressed using signs. In substantial footnotes explain contradictions in dates and help to identify historical persons that have been the object of historical study (e.g. the dukes of Mazovia, court and local officials, clergymen, town dwellers from other urban centres). On the other hand, critical footnotes are placed when e.g. a person in question appears for the first time in the source. Information concerning the inhabitants of Old Warsaw as well as topographical and geographical terms has not been provided in the footnotes, because they can be found through the index of persons and places. These two indices, compiled for all four bench registers published in the frame of the project, refer to the numbers of the entries.

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The the edition of the bench books of Old Warsaw was discussed several times at the gatherings and editorial workshops in the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw. It was also presented at the conference on edition of medieval sources in Toruń, in 2015.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Por. A. Bartoszewicz, *The Old Warsaw Bench Court Register* 1453–1535 – preparing a critical edition, in: Editionswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2015. Die Geschichte im Bild, ed. H. Flachenecker, K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2016, pp. 313–320.

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Translated by Anna Adamska