

The Estate of Łachwa of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł (1549-1616)

A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Geography and Economy of Southern Byelorussia

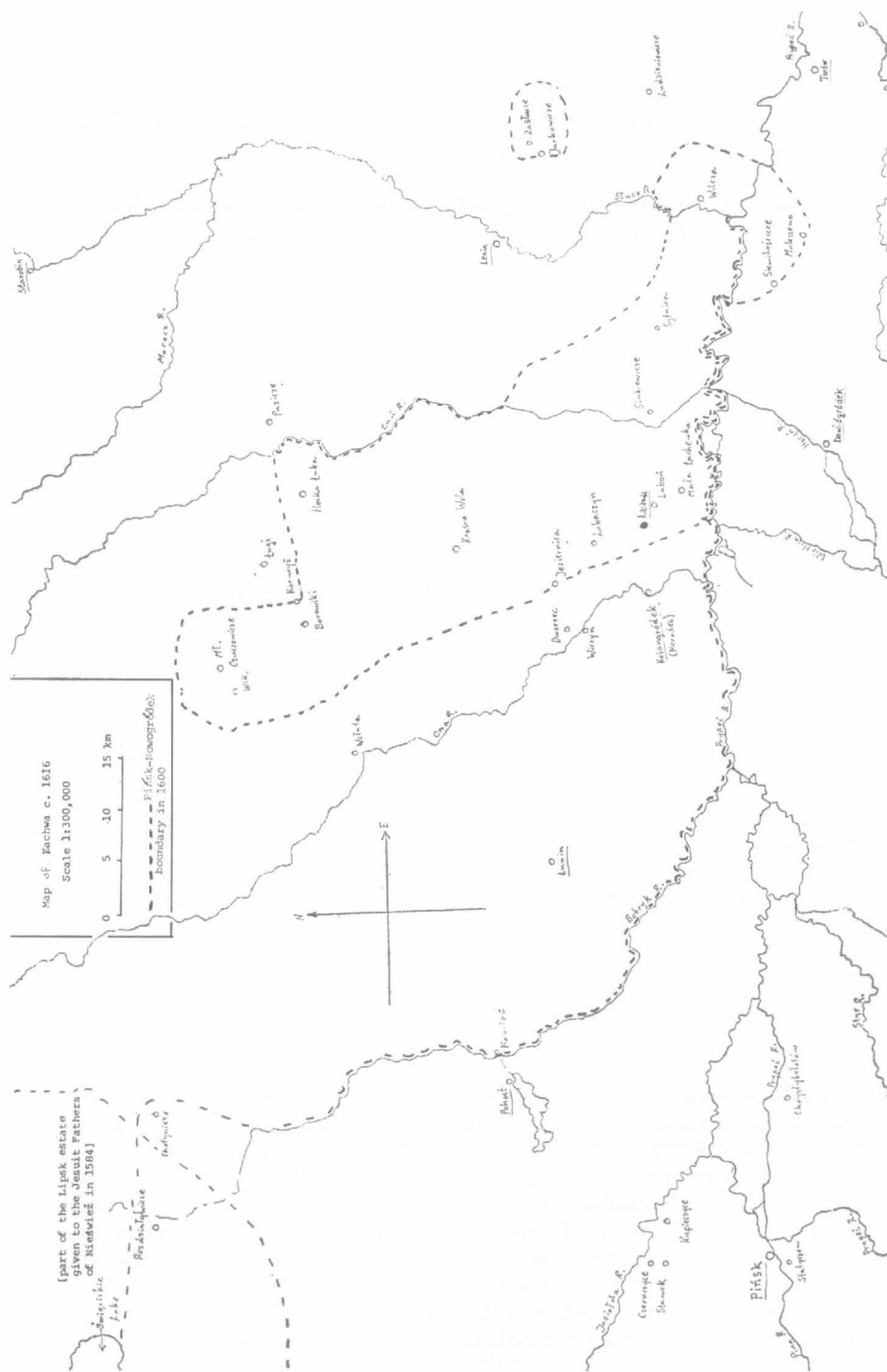
BY
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The estate of Łachwa,¹ in southern Byelorussia (Polesie), was one of the largest private estates in that part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. On the basis of a number of documents found in the Radziwiłł Archive of the Main Archive of Ancient Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw, it is possible to reconstruct the early composition of that estate, and its location on the administrative map of the Grand Duchy. Furthermore, it is also possible to establish with some degree of precision when the centre of that estate, the village of Łachwa, became a town. Finally, the surviving documents make it possible to comment on the general character of the economy of the Łachwa estate.

I

The earliest history of the estate of Łachwa, in central Polesie, cannot be reconstructed accurately, because of the lack of relevant documents.² It is certain, however, that Łachwa, similarly to Nieśwież and Ołyka, passed into the hands of the Radziwiłłs by means of the marriage of Anna (or Hanna) Kiszka to Jan Radziwiłł, Prince Nicholas Christopher's grandfather. This acquisition, initially, did not carry with it complete hereditary rights. Rather, between 1533 and 1588, most of the estate was shared by the Radziwiłłs with their relatives, the Kiszkas [*własność niedzielna*]. The estate was formally divided into two parts on March 23, 1588.³ In order to obtain a full picture of what Prince Nicholas Christopher owned in Łachwa, it is necessary to investigate what was in his hands before 1588, and what he owned after that date.

The earliest available specific information on Prince Radziwiłł's Łachwa is given in a document dated October 28, 1577. This is a tax receipt issued by Szczęsny Welaminowicz Rutski, the collector (*poborca*) of the county (*powiat*) of Nowogródek, to Wojciech Pierszko, a representative of Prince Nicholas Christopher. The receipt is for taxes paid for the defence of the state, from Nieśwież and from other estates belonging to it: Lipsk, Łachwa and Szack ('... do toho zamku nesvizhskoho nalezhachikh, to iest z Lipska, z Lakhvy i Shatska ...').⁴ Unfortunately, the document does not specify what the estate of Łachwa consisted of in 1577. The receipt mentions by name only two of Łachwa's villages: Kormyż and Hocka Łuka. These two villages were ap-



parently the only part of the estate of Łachwa already surveyed (*pomiara włóczna*) by 1577. These villages are included in the total of 714 settled peasant *włoki* of Nieśwież, Lipsk, and Szack.⁵ The rest of Łachwa is represented by 261 *dymy* plus 27 and two parts of *szużby* (in Czuczewicze).⁶

The next surviving document shedding some light on the territorial composition of Łachwa was issued in 1581. This is the register of the *włoka* survey of Prince Nicholas Christopher's share in Łachwa.⁷ It lists the names of seven villages, their cultivated area (in *włoki* and *morgi*), the number of households (*dymy*) in each place, and the financial obligation to the Prince from each *morga* of land. The villages mentioned are: Łachwa, Horodziec, Wiczyn, Oziernica, Sinkiewiczze, Sitnica, and Wielcze.⁸ The total cultivated area comes up to 155 *włoki* and 12½ *morgi*, with 198 peasant households. This figure, however, does not include Czuczewicze, which was not surveyed, and villages adjacent to it.⁹

Tax receipts for the years 1582 and 1583, besides giving some information about the economic structure of Łachwa belonging to Prince Radziwiłł, provide some additional information about the extent of the estate. In them, the tax collector of Nowogródek, Wasyl Zienkiewicz Tichński, acknowledges the receipt of payment from the Prince's administrator (*namiestnik*) in Łachwa, Wawrzyniec Kiernożycki, from 284 households (*dymy*) and from 53⅔ *szużby* (including 2 belonging to the Orthodox church). The receipts also show that nothing was paid from 11 *dymy* which had become deserted. It is somewhat surprising that the two receipts state that there are no 'measured *włoki*' in Łachwa ('... volok vymeronykh net tolko ot sluzhob z dymov...'), and that the tax is collected from *szużby* and *dymy*. After all, Wawrzyniec Kiernożycki, the Prince's official in Łachwa, to whom the receipts were made out, also signed the register of the *włoka* survey in 1581.¹¹ Perhaps it was more convenient, for tax purposes, to continue with the old system of *dymy* and *szużby*.

The best available, although far from complete, information on Prince Nicholas Christopher's holding in Łachwa, shortly before the formal division of the estate between the Prince and Jan Kiszka, the Starosta of Samogitia, is provided in the summary of income from Prince Radziwiłł's estates of June 1587.¹² The 'Summary of 1587' itemizes the income for the following villages comprising the estate of Łachwa: Łachwa, Horodziec, Wiczyn, Oziernica, Sinkowice, Sitnice, Wielcze, Czuczewicze, Kormyż, Hocka Łuka. The significant difference between this list and that in the 'Register of the *włoka* survey of 1581' is that the latter document includes Czuczewicze and the two adjacent villages of Kormyż and Hocka Łuka. Unfortunately, this document, similarly to the ones considered earlier, does not provide adequate information on the total area of the estate, nor on the Prince's actual holdings in each of the villages belonging to it. In short, it is not possible to delimit Radziwiłł's Łachwa on the basis of surviving pre-1588 materials.

Łachwa's legal status was altered in March of 1588, with the

formal division of the estate between Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł and Jan Kiszka. Agreements of this nature were quite common throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at that time. They marked a steady movement towards individual property, a prerequisite of a more efficient use of land in a developing market-orientated economy.¹³ The document sanctioning the division of Łachwa into two parts recalled the time when the estate was held equally between the two families: 'Imienie nasho... v povietie novohrodskom lezhashchoie nazvanoie Laffa... z prodkov nashykh pravom pryrozhonym zarovno nalezhachoie...'. Then it assigned to Jan Kiszka the villages of Horodziec (later the town of Kożangródek), Wiczyn, Dworzec, a part of Oziernica (Jeziernica), Mała Łachewka (later Łachówka), Sienkiewiczze, Sytnica, Wilcza, and Zastucze. The villages of Kormyż and Hocka Łuka were to be divided later.¹⁴ This document apparently formalized a *de facto* situation which had existed in the area much earlier — an east-west division of the original estate. It seems quite certain that Radziwiłł never had a claim to the villages of Wołuta and Dworzec, and that Kiszka, in turn, never had a share in the villages of Sinkiewiczze, Sytnica, or Wilcza.

Prince Nicholas Christopher's only territorial acquisition in the area of Łachwa consisted of parts of the villages of Maleszewo, Siemihościcze, and Jurkowicze. The three villages did not form a compact whole, their lands still governed by the archaic system of *stuszyby*, spread on both sides of the Nowogródek-Pińsk county boundary. Prince Radziwiłł leased all of Maleszewo, Siemihościcze, and Jurkowicze, between 1583 and 1587.¹⁵ In 1601, he purchased the part of the three villages (approximately one third of the whole) belonging to Krzysztof Moniwid Dorohostajski.¹⁶

The best approximation of what the estate of Łachwa consisted of in 1616, the year of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł's death, can be made on the basis of an inventory of the estate made in 1626.¹⁷ The document lists the following place-names: the town of Łachwa, and the villages of Lubaczyn, Jeziernica, Luboń, Mała Łachewka, Wilcza, Maleszewo, Siemihościcze, Zastucze, Jurkowicze, Sytnica, Sinkiewiczze. Czuczewicze with adjacent villages is considered a separate estate (*włość*); however, its very inclusion in the inventory of the estate of Łachwa clearly indicates its close association with that estate. The 'estate' of Czuczewicze consisted of the two villages of Czuczewicze (later Wielkie Cz. and Małe Cz.), Krasna Wola, Hocka Łuka, and Borowiki.¹⁸ As is readily apparent, several place-names mentioned in the 1626 inventory did not appear in the document formalizing the division of the estate in 1588. Of these Maleszewo, Siemihościcze, and Jurkowicze, as was already noted, correspond to areas bought in 1601. Czuczewicze was not included in the 1588 document because its legal status was apparently not the same as the rest of the estate of Łachwa.¹⁹ Borowiki was the name assigned to the Radziwiłł share of Kormyż.²⁰ Łachwa, mentioned as a town in 1626, and not as a village, as in the 1588 document, gained its new status probably in the early 1590s.²¹ The

three place-names not mentioned in the pre-1626 documents already examined are: Lubaczyn, Luboń, and Krasna Wola. These three villages could quite possibly have been settled by Radziwiłł, and they possibly did not constitute a part of the traditional area of Łachwa considered 'common' property with the Kiszkas. The village of Luboń is first mentioned in the Łachwa documents in 1589.²² Lubaczyn and Krasna Wola are not mentioned in any existing pre-1626 documents, although it is probable that they existed earlier. In short, the estate of Łachwa presented in the inventory made in 1626 probably approximated very closely the territorial composition of the estate at least a decade earlier.

The map which accompanies this article illustrates the effects of the foregoing discussion. The result which was obtained is somewhat imprecise, largely because of the fragmentary nature of the source material. AGAD's cartographic collection of the former Nieswież Radziwiłł Archive includes no map of the whole nor of any substantial part of the Łachwa properties. Therefore, the map included with this article is a summary result of 16th- and 17th-century boundary data plotted on small-scale 19th-century Russian and 20th-century Polish military mapping.²³

II

The administrative status of Łachwa in the latter part of the 16th century was not definitely established. Before the reform of 1565-6 Łachwa was a part of the county (*powiat*) of Nowogródek.²⁴ The administrative reform created a number of new territorial divisions in the Grand Duchy. One of these, the *województwo* of Brześć, or more precisely, its eastern *powiat* of Pińsk, partially overlapped with the southern territories of the *województwo* of Nowogródek. The problem was created by the issuing of two conflicting royal charters, one for Nowogródek, and the second for Pińsk. The Nowogródek charter, dated 30 April 1565, stated that the boundary of that *powiat* should reach the bridge on the river Jasiołda, one Lithuanian mile (7.7 km) from Pińsk.²⁵ The document for Pińsk, issued on 28 January 1566, described the northern boundary of that *powiat* as: '...ot Turova u vierkh reki Prypieti zaimuiuchy Lakhvie i Khotienichy i Vyhonoshu bolotami i u Oзеро Svetitskoie...'.²⁶ Since most of his major estates were located in the county of Nowogródek, Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł continued to recognize the exclusive jurisdiction of Nowogródek over Łachwa with regard to payment of taxes and all other legal matters. Apparently, the Prince preferred to deal with the Nowogródek administration, because his wealth and influence in that county was much greater than in Pińsk. His consistent disregard for the equally legitimate claims of Pińsk led to protracted legal proceedings in the Lithuanian Tribunal.²⁷ The matter was settled in 1600 by King Sigismund III. The royal decision recognized the Pińsk-Nowogródek boundary as following the Prypeć and Bobryk rivers.²⁸ The document further stipulated that Chotynicze and Rozdziałowicze should belong to Pińsk, and Kamień, Łunin, and Łachwa

to Nowogródek. Łachwa continued as a part of the *powiat* of Nowogródek well into the 17th century.²⁹

III

The centre of the Łachwa estate, the village of Łachwa, became a town sometime between 1588 and 1593. The agreement between Prince Radziwiłł and Jan Kiszka for the division of the estate, signed in March 1588, referred to Łachwa as a village (*selo*).³⁰ However, a document dated 23 February 1593 speaks of Łachwa as a town (*mesto*) and of its inhabitants as townspeople (*meshchanie*).³¹ After 1593, Łachwa is consistently referred to as a town. Thus, a tax receipt for 1596 describes Łachwa as a town paying the tax from 7 houses in the town-square, 60 street houses, and 20 poor dwellings (*chałupy nędzne*), 2 craftsmen, 4 tenants without cattle, 4 vendors, and one mill-wheel.³² The first princely charter for the town of Łachwa dates from 29 January 1608.³³ It lists the various responsibilities of the townspeople with regard to transportation service, honey tribute, fishing, support of the Orthodox church (*cerkiew*) in Łachwa, and various emergencies.

IV

Due to the marshy, wooded character of the terrain, the economy of the estate of Łachwa differed considerably from that of the other estates of Prince Nicholas Christopher. Apparently, grain farming played a relatively small role in the economy of the estate. The 1587 'summary of income' listed only cash and honey tribute from Łachwa.³⁴ It made no mention of tribute (*dziakło*) in rye, oats, geese, and chickens, the usual income from other Radziwiłł estates. Fishing, because of the great number of rivers, rivulets, and lakes was important.³⁵ Another major part of Łachwa's economy was connected with the forest. It provided the building material, the fuel, and the honey required by the manor and the local inhabitants. Hunting was also important in the estate of Łachwa. A special regulation on hunting in the forests of Łachwa was issued in 1608.³⁶ It did not restrict hunting, but it obliged the hunter to turn in most of his kills to the Prince. Lynx, elk, deer, boar, and bear all belonged to Radziwiłł, without compensation to the hunter. Fur-bearing animals, such as wolf, fox, and marten could be taken freely, but the Prince's official reserved the right to purchase the skins in accordance with a detailed pre-established price list.³⁷ Smaller game was not mentioned in the hunting ordinance. Evidently, it was so plentiful that it did not require special regulation. Money obtained from hunting probably helped many of Łachwa's subjects in the payment of their annual cash tribute to the Prince. All in all, hunting may have played a major role in the economy of this land of forests and swamps.

Toponymy of Łachwa and its region

Polish

Borowiki
Chotynicze
Chrystybołotów
Czerńczyce
Czuczewicze
Dawidgródek
Dworzec
Hocka Łuka
Horodziec (by mid-1590s: Kożangródek)
Jezielnica
Jurkowicze
Kamień
Krasna Wola
Kupieczyce
Kormyż
Lenin
Lubaczyn
Luboń
Ludzieniewiczze
Łachwa
Ługi
Łunin
Maleszewo
Mała Łachewka
Pińsk
Pohost
Puzicze
Rozdziałowicze
Siemihościłcze
Sinkiewiczze
Starobin
Statyczew
Stawek
Sytnica
Turów
Wiczyn
Wilcza
Woluta
Zaslucze

Rivers

Bobryk
Cna
Horyń
Jasiolda
Łań
Morocz
Pina
Prypeć
Stucz
Styr
Wietlica

Byelorussian

Baraviki
Chotyniły
Chryścibalaviły
Cenčycy
Čučaviły
Davyd-Haradok
Dvarec
Hock
Kożan-Haradok
Aziarnica
Jurkaviły
Kamleń
Čyrvonaja Vola
Kupiaciły
Kormuż
Lenina
Lubačyn
Lubań
Ludzianievičy
Łachva
Łuhi
Łunin
Malešava
Łachaŭka
Pińsk
Pahost Zaharodski
Puziły (?)
Raŭdziaŭviły
Siamihościły
Sinkieviły
Starobin
Stytyčava
Stavok
Sitnica
Turaŭ
Vičyn
Vilča
Viełuta
Zasłučy (?)

Bobryk
Cna
Haryń
Jasiolda
Łań
Morač
Pina
Prypiać
Słuč
Styr
Viatlica

NOTES:

1. For reasons of personal convenience, I have used modern Polish spelling of geographical and family names. Modern Byelorussian forms are provided for place- and river-names included on the map which accompanies this article. I wish to thank Mr J. Dingley for his assistance with the English transcription of some of the Byelorussian geographical place-names listed in the table accompanying the map.
2. See for example the confusing account in Jan Jakubowski, 'Czy istnieli kniaziewie nieświescy?', *Ateneum Wileńskie*, r. I, 1923, p. 5.
The history of the Radziwiłł family, Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł, and the development of large-scale land ownership in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, are briefly discussed in my earlier article: 'The Niaszviž Estates of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł: the Formation of a Byelorussian Latifundium (1565-1616)', *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, vol. IV, no. 2 (1976), pp. 48-67.
3. *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych — Archiwum Radziwiłłów* [hereafter cited as AGAD-AR], XXIII, Teka 86: 'Łachwa: Akta ściągające się do dziedzictwa', no. 6.
4. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Kwity'.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 88: 'Łachwa: Rozmaitości', 'Reistr pomlary i morgowania ziemie siół włości Łachewskiej A^c 1581'.
8. *Ibid.* Place-names here are spelled as in the cited document.
9. In the 15th century Czuczewicze was associated with Nieśwież (see my 'The Niaszviž Estates', p. 54). Apparently it passed into the hands of the Radziwiłłs together with Nleśwież, a little earlier than Łachwa. However, the adjoining villages of Hocka Łuka and Kormyż were acquired together with Łachwa. This is probably why Czuczewicze gradually came to be associated with the estate of Łachwa, a little closer to it than Nieśwież, although still quite inaccessible because of extensive swamps and forests between the Łań and the Cna Rivers. In the early 17th century, Czuczewicze and several villages south of it constituted a subdivision of the estate (as in the inventory of Łachwa from 1626: AGAD-AR, XXV, no. 2162).
10. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Kwity'.
11. See note 7.
12. AGAD-AR, XI, Koperta 84 (formerly doc. no. 362): 'Zebranie sumatim wssytkich dochodow imion niektórych Jasnie Oswieconego Kłazecia Pana Mikołaja Chrzisstopha Radziwiłła, w roku teraznieyssym tysiancplencset osmdziesiat siódmym diebus mensis Junij sprawione'.
13. On common property (*własność niedzielna*) in the Grand Duchy see: Juliusz Bardach, 'Niedział w statutach litewskich na tle praktyki', *Studia z ustroju i prawa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV-XVII w.*, Białystok, 1970, pp. 113-73 (especially p. 170).
14. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 86: 'Łachwa: Akta ściągające się do dziedzictwa', no. 6.
15. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 88: 'Maleszów: Rozmaitości', no. 4; and 'Summary of 1587', p. 91.
16. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 88: 'Maleszów: Akta ściągające się do dziedzictwa'.
17. AGAD-AR, XXV, no. 2162. This is the earliest available complete inventory of the estate. Unfortunately, the document is badly preserved and certain portions of it are practically illegible.
18. *Ibid.* The place-name Borowiki is followed by the note 'z Kormyży'. This would indicate that Borowiki was the name given to the part of Kormyż which was assigned to Radziwiłł following the division of Hocka Łuka and Kormyż in 1588.
19. See note 9.
20. See note 18.
21. See the discussion later in this article.
22. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 86: 'Łachwa: Akta nadań na grunta wsi łachewskiej Lubonia', no. 1. This document is a letter from Prince Nicholas Christopher to Wawrzyńiec Kiernożycki, his official in Łachwa, requesting him to hand over Luboń to Mikołaj Turczyn for life (probably in exchange for a gift or loan of money to the Prince).

23. Information on the northern, western, and the southern boundaries is contained in the following sources: *Archeograficzkiy sbornik dokumentov otnosjaščichsja k istorii Severozapadnoj Rusi*, vol. IX, pp. 84-5; *Replika Prokuratora Jeneralnego Massy funduszów J. O. Xięgniczki Jmości Stefanii Radziwiłłowny (Józefa Karczewskiego adwokata sądu głównego litw. Wilen.) w sprawie z J. O. Xięciem Jmością Antonim Radziwiłłem Wielkorządcą Poznańskim co do oddziału Ordynacji*, część II, pp. 106-7; the Radziwiłł-Kiszka agreement of 1588 formalizing the division of Łachwa (AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 86).
- Maleszewo, Siemihościcze, and Jurkowicze present a special problem because their lands were not surveyed and were only partially owned by the Prince. The eastern boundary follows Jan Jakubowski's delineation of the boundary between the Principality of Słuck and the pre-1566 county of Nowogródek (*Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie w połowie XVI wieku; część północna*, Lwów 1927). Of some help in drawing the map was also an inventory of Łachwa made about 1872 (AGAD-AR, XXV, no. 2161). It should be emphasized that most of the outside boundaries of the estate of Łachwa had very little meaning in the 16th and the 17th centuries since most of the area was occupied by swamps and forests.
24. Jakubowski, *op.cit.*, pp. 7 and 14, and map.
25. Mentioned in AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87; 'Łachwa: Rozmaitości'; 'Wypis z Xiąg Ziemskich Pińskich actykowania listu rozgraniczenia Powiatu Nowogrodzkiego od Pińskiego dat. Maja 13, 1602'.
26. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Rozmaitości', pp. 48-65, 'Widimus z ksiąg głównych Trybunałskich odprawowanych w Nowogrodku (20 Nov., 1596)'.
27. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Rozmaitości' contains dozens of pages of documents relating to these matters. They provide adequate material for a separate study of legal proceedings.
28. 'Pochinałuchi ot ustia reki Słuchi u Pripet, Pripetiu u horu azh do ustia reki Bobrka, Bobrkom u horu azh do toho mesta hde rechka Bobrok pochinaiet...' (AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Rozmaitości', pp. 127-33).
29. The administrative status of a small portion of Radziwiłł's estate of Łachwa: Maleszewo, Siemihościcze, and Jurkowicze, remained unclear in the early 17th century. The Prince acquired hereditary rights to a part of these villages in 1601, after the royal decision on the Nowogródek-Pińsk boundary was already issued. The purchase document refers to these settlements as lying in both (!?) Nowogródek and Pińsk. However, the only surviving tax receipt for these three villages, from 1622, indicates that they belonged administratively to Pińsk (AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 88: 'Maleszów: Akta ślągające się do dziedzictwa'). On the other hand, a tax receipt for what appears to be the entire estate of Łachwa, from 1624, was issued by Samuel Maskiewicz, the tax collector of Nowogródek (AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Kwity').

Interestingly enough, the 1613 edition of the Radziwiłł Map of Lithuania shows Łachwa within the confines of the powiat of Pińsk. This may very well be another piece of evidence that work on the famous Radziwiłł Map was completed much earlier than 1613 — at least before the royal decree of 19 April 1600 on the delineation of the Pińsk-Nowogródek boundary.

Much remains to be done on the evolution of administrative boundaries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, following the reform of 1585-6. The latest contribution, the map of 16th-century Byelorussia by M. F. Spiridonov, included in the 12th volume of the *Byelorussian Soviet Encyclopedia* (Minsk, 1975), is a considerable improvement on the earlier Polish and Russian works. Nevertheless, his delineation of the Pińsk-Nowogródek boundary appears to be substantially incorrect.

30. See note 14.
31. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Akta miejskie Łachewskie', 'Wypis z ksiąg grodzkich zamku pińskiego pod datą 26 Feb. 1593'.
32. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Łachwa: Kwity', no. 4 (signed by Adam Poczepowski, tax collector of Nowogródek).
33. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 87: 'Akta miejskie Łachewskie', 'Ustawa Mieszczanom Łachowskim według Inwentarza Xcia Msci Pana Wolewody Wilenskiego Panom Dzier-

żawcom terażniejszym i napotem będącym podana Roku 1608 Msca January 29 dnia'
(available only in copies dated 1668 and 1727).

34. See note 12.
35. Fishing was especially important in villages along the Prypeć. Several surviving inventories of the villages of Maleszewo and Siemihościcze (1576, 1583-5, 1599, 1600) detail the peasants' fishing obligations (AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 88: 'Maleszów').
36. AGAD-AR, XXIII, Teka 88: 'Łachwa: Rozmaitości' (document signed by Andrzej Skorulski in Nieśwież, May 15, 1608).
37. *Ibid.* '... za wilka dobrego kopa groszy
 za wilka podłego 40 groszy
 za lisa dobrego 24 groszy
 za lisa podłego 16 groszy
 za kunicę dobrą 24 groszy
 za kunicę średnią 15 groszy
 za kunicę podłą 12 groszy ...'