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JOSEPHINE METRICS OF AUSTRIAN GALICIA:  
AN ATTEMPT TO LEGALIZE PEASANT LAND OWNERSHIP  
AND INFLUENCE SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS  
AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY  
(ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE VILLAGE OF VIVSIA)

**Abstract:** This study explores the Josephine cadastre as the first systematic land registry documentation in the territory of Galicia during the late 18th century, positioning it as a legal and administrative instrument of the Habsburg Monarchy. The research aims to analyse the Josephine cadastre's role in the regulation of legal relations between landlords and peasants within the framework of cadastral reforms, using the village of Vivilia as a micro-historical case study. The methodological framework is based on the dialectical method, enabling a comprehensive analysis of socio-political and legal processes at both the imperial and local levels. The article examines the internal structure of the cadastre, particularly the *Grundbuch* (land income register), and outlines the procedures of land measurement and tax calculation based on crop yields of key cereals and hay. Special attention is paid to the juridification of peasant land tenure and the formalisation of surnames as legal entities, reflecting broader socio-legal transformations in Austrian Galicia. The originality of the research lies in its application of a microhistorical approach to a single locality, which reveals the complexities of implementing imperial reforms at the village level and their unintended consequences. The study argues that while the Josephine cadastre was designed to facilitate equitable taxation and legal clarity, its practical implementation often diverged from the reformist intentions due to vested interests. Thus, the article positions the Josephinian Cadastre not only as a fiscal instrument but also as a source for understanding socio-legal transformations in Galicia.

**Keywords:** Habsburg Monarchy, Galicia, Josephine cadastre, land reforms, peasant tenure, Vivilia, juridification, cadastral policy

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## INTRODUCTION

In our opinion, the problem mentioned in the title will always remain relevant, taking into account at least the following considerations.

Firstly, the Josephine Metric (hereinafter referred to as the JM) is the first systematized cadastral descriptive documentation that was created in the late eighteenth century in imperial Austria during the reign of Emperor Joseph II. The study of the JM (also known as the Josephine Cadastre or Josephine Measurement) helps to understand the socio-economic structure and peculiarities of legal regulation of land (and other) relations in the western Ukrainian lands in the past and their impact on the present. In particular, the JM data can be useful for land planning and land dispute resolution, especially in the context of property and boundaries. The JM has also been used in land tenure disputes. At the same time, the information on the population contained in the JM can be useful for research on Ukrainian anthroponomy, as well as genealogical research and reconstruction of family ties. In addition, thanks to the JM, we have invaluable information about objects that have not survived to this day.

Secondly, we believe that the study of social and legal relations in rural areas, in particular between landowners and peasants, in the late eighteenth century is key to understanding various aspects of society at that time and its impact on the present. First of all, we are talking about the historical and cultural context. Since this period was a time when society and the legal system underwent such significant changes as the collapse of the feudal system and the beginning of the formation of bourgeois relations, understanding how property relations were regulated is key to analyzing the transition period. Similarly, understanding the legal relations between landowner and peasant helps to identify, among other things, the social consequences of such relations, such as the exploitation of peasants and the inequality of people in land ownership. Finally, understanding how landowner-peasant relations were regulated in the past can influence contemporary discussions of social justice and land relations. It can also be added that the ordering of legal relations in the past determines the legal heritage and, accordingly, influences the development of the legal system in the modern world.

Thirdly, today, the so-called microhistorical approach to their study is becoming an increasingly popular way of deeper understanding of

historical (and historical and legal) phenomena. In our opinion, the application of this approach to the study of the problem of regulation of legal relations between landowner and peasant in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in the context of a particular settlement (here – on the example of the village of Vivsia) allows us to better understand the dynamics and peculiarities of land relations of this period, in particular, in terms of specific manifestations and consequences of the cadastralization process, as well as attempts to legalize peasant land tenure at the level of individual communities and individuals. However, perhaps most importantly, the study of the social, economic, and political aspects of land cadastralization through the prism of its specific stages within a particular village helps to form and maintain the identity of its inhabitants. Deeper knowledge of the history of the small homeland encourages its natives to feel more connected to their heritage and culture. This, in turn, will contribute to a greater awareness of the importance of our history, increased self-esteem and a sense of pride in our native land and country.

The village of Vivsia (Uwsie in the cadastre), located in the Ternopil region of Opillya, is actually the same age as the Josephine metric—the first documentary mention of it is generally considered to be 1785 (Pavlyshyn, 2019: 6, 144). However, the very fact that the village is marked on Friedrich von Mieg's military topographic map of Galicia, drawn up in 1779–1782, obliges us to adjust this date by at least a few years. The settlement was founded as a "lord's" settlement – the time of its foundation and, at least, the distinctive street form of its layout are perceived, in particular, as one of the characteristic features of the so-called "landlord colonization" (Stelmakh, 1964: 57–59). In fact, this feature of the village's settlement can be clearly seen on the same map by F. von Mieg, which is available in digitized form on the Arcanum Maps: The Historical Map Portal (Galizien und Lodomerien (1779–1783) – First Military Survey). The period of being a part of the imperial Austria makes up the lion's share of the history of Vivsia. During the period under study, the village of Vivsia was part of a separate crown land of the empire – *the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria* (*Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien*) – and belonged to the Berezhany Circus. The latter included 17 cities and towns and 317 villages (Stupnicki, 1869: 79). Village governance remained within the competence of dominions, which also united several rural communities under their authority. Vivsia, in particular, belonged to dominion No. 32 of neighboring Kozova, which in 1783 acquired the status of a town (*Markt*) in the Austrian classification of settlements.

The issue of land cadastres in general, and the Josephine cadastre in particular, has been addressed in the works of Steblii (2006), Dolynska (2020), Dolinovskyi and Sliusarek (2018), Melnychuk (2015), Pyrtko (2019), and many other scholars. Some researchers, such as Zhitkov and Ponomarenko (2025), relying on statistical data from the Josephine cadastre as a historical source, sought to identify the patterns of formation and the structure of specific economic complexes in the context of the evolution of agrarian relations in Galicia in the last third of the eighteenth century. Sliusar (2021), in turn, examined the impact of the Josephine cadastre on socio-economic processes in the Duchy of Bukovina. In addition, the topic of land cadastres and, in general, Austrian land reforms in Galicia is almost a mandatory element in the structure of almost all historical and local history research. However, in the vast majority of local history works that we have read, the issue of land relations, and thus indirectly the regulation of legal relations between landowners and peasants, in specific settlements of Galicia is mostly covered superficially. Almost the only exception among such works is the study by M. Maiorchak, where the author, primarily on the basis of the analysis of the JM materials, examined in detail land relations during the Austrian rule in the village of Yanchyn (now the village of Ivanivka in the Peremyshlyanshchyna region) (Maiorchak, 2018: 56–73). In order to facilitate the search for data on a particular settlement in the Josephine and later Franciscan metrics, the staff of the Central State Archives of Ukraine in Lviv prepared a special reference publication (*The Josephine and Franciscan...*, 1965). The JM materials on the village of Vivsia are located in the mentioned archive at the following address: fond 19, description IX, p. 171.

**The purpose of the study** is to examine the JM from the perspective of a potential instrument for regulating legal relations between landowners and peasants in the territory of Austrian Galicia in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and to draw attention to the history of the village of Vivsia; to outline the structure of the JM and to trace the main stages of land cadastralization; to analyze the specific example of the village of Vivsia in terms of the impact of legal regulation on the socio-economic activities and status of the peasantry and to reveal the peculiarities of one of the main consequences of the Josephine cadastre - the attempt to legalize peasant land ownership.

## PRESENTATION OF THE MAIN MATERIAL

In the last quarter of the 18th century, the reforms implemented by the Austrian monarchs Maria Theresa and Joseph II during their joint reign (1765–1780) and, in particular, during the period of the latter's autocratic rule (1780–1790) were decisive for the development of Galicia.

The Austrian reforms in Galicia during the eighteenth century, inspired by the principles of enlightened absolutism understood as a policy of promoting the common welfare and, above all, ensuring social stability within the state, were specifically directed at improving the living conditions of the peasantry – the most numerous social group in the empire – and at mitigating its poverty. In particular, the legislative activity of the "enlightened" monarchs was aimed at qualitative changes in the legal status of the Galician peasant, which laid the foundation for his subjectivity. The peasant received legislatively defined prospects for reducing the burdens of feudal encumbrance and acquired basic civil rights. Measures were taken to strengthen the socio-economic situation of peasants: the basis for sustainable peasant land use in the region was laid and, most importantly, an attempt was made to develop legal forms of relations between peasants and their grandfathers.

Although this apparent elimination of the peasant's personal serfdom in Galicia was actually leveled by the absence of any real changes in his attachment to the land, the socioeconomic position of the peasantry was supposed to be strengthened through the introduction of a fair taxation system. The philosophy of the latter was to be based on the principle of land taxation: the land should primarily provide for those who work on it. It was the compilation of the Josephine Metric, the first large-scale cadastral survey (measurement and description) of land and real estate in cities, that was to create the basis for the introduction of such a taxation system.

We assume that one of the obvious reasons for such a huge (for each settlement separately) measurement and description (economic assessment) of the lands as the JM was, first of all, several previous, generally ineffective, attempts by the Austrian authorities to determine the basic principles of taxation in the newly acquired lands. We are talking about the first Austrian censuses of population and property conducted in 1772–1774 – military inventories and (according to Ivan Franko) "the main inventories" of the region, the so-called "Stock-Inventarien" (Franko, 1913: 50) or economic inventories of feudal estates in Galicia. The latter were

compiled in 1773 with the aim of equipping the collection of taxes and duties. The same goal was pursued by the patent of February 25, 1774, on the creation of tax declarations, the so-called *fassias* (Latin: *fassus sum* – to confess) or confessions of the taxed about their income (*The Josephine and Franciscan...*, 1965: 6). However, landowners were expected to conceal their wealth, and later it turned out that they had not included almost a third of their income in the previous stock inventories (Franko, 1913: 65). Thus, by establishing the metric, Emperor Joseph II sought to record all objects in the empire that could generate at least some profit. It was assumed that the metric would become the main tool for introducing a general land tax, which, together with the house tax in cities, was to become the only tax in the empire.

The start of the YM was given by the patent of Joseph II of April 12, 1785. The document provided for a general description of the land ("all useful soils"), as well as the classification of all property (Grund und Realitaten) by the end of October of the same year. Subsequently, based on the information obtained, the "benefit in grain" was to be estimated, taking into account the yield of the land. However, the planned measurements were carried out mainly during 1786–1787, and the census is considered to have been completed when its final (summary) tables were compiled in the fall of 1788. In the village of Vivsia, Josephine cadastral measurements were conducted at the end of the campaign, in 1787–1788, and, similar to other settlements, actually covered two stages: a description of the settlement's boundaries and a measurement and assessment of the land (soil) of its settlers.

All land measurements and valuations were carried out in accordance with the "Instructions for land authorities, mandates or their deputies and government officials, as well as for communities, on what they should do in the next census, measurement and packaging or recognition of soils" issued on the basis of a patent of April 12, 1785 (*The Josephine and Franciscan...* 1965: 8). The latter, in particular, provided for the creation of a special commission consisting of a circular commissioner, an economist, a surveyor (geometer), and a court official (representative of the owner of the area) and six to seven representatives from the community (a mayor and a jury – the so-called men of trust).

In the cadastral measurements of Vivsia, the dominion was represented by Marcin (literally: Marcinus) (CSHAUL, 19: 42, reverse side) Morawski, and the village community by Hryntko Babii (vytautas) and six sworn officers (Kazio Kohanovskyi, Ivan Pasichnyk, Fedko Kochak,

Vasyl Procko, Krzyś, probably Krzysztof Myc, Stefan Terluk) (CSHAUL, 19: 18). The members of the commission – village men (chłopy) – were involved in the measurement of rectangular land, while the measurement of plots of more complex configuration was performed by a surveyor.

The process of land cadastralization began with a description of the boundaries (borders) of a rural community with neighboring settlements. The demarcation of land between rural communities (description of the so-called “wall”) was carried out by laying spears – artificially made mounds of earth or stones that served as boundary markers on the part of each neighboring settlement. The described boundaries of the community territory, agreed with the neighboring communities, were approved in the relevant protocol by the signatures of all persons who participated in these measurements – representatives from the dominions and communities of each settlement.

The Vivsia community agreed on the boundaries of its land on August 14, 1787, describing the boundaries of the land of the Vivsia village community from the side of six “walls” – the village communities of Sloboda, Muzhyliv, Novosilky, Telyachne, Kalne, and Kozova (CSHAUL, 19: 22–27). There were no disputed lands, i.e., lands for which there were disputes between villages, in the descriptions of the boundaries between these rural settlements. Therefore, this information was certified by the signatures of members of authorized commissions from all of the listed communities. However, it is striking that literally all the signatories (except for the court officials) were illiterate and signed in the form of a cross in a ring. And in case of disputes that could not be resolved on the spot, a so-called consignment of controversies was drawn up, and the issue was later resolved in court (Maiorchak, 2018: 56).

Of course, the protocol for describing the boundaries of any rural community, and Vivsia in particular, occupies a special place in the structure of the JM. Nevertheless, the main document in the complex of documents of the first Austrian land cadastre in Galicia is considered to be the land profit book or “table of recording sizes (areas) and facies.” Since the whole concept of “Josephine metric” is often mistakenly substituted for the soil book, it is also called “soil metric” (metric book).

The document consists of printed forms bound in the form of a notebook. The entire metric is contained in two binders – with separate measurements of the community lands (only 53 farms) and the dominion (lord’s court or manor) – with a total numbering of 68 sheets. The JM confirms that

the village had a lady owner, Teofilia (from Potocki) Countess Moszyński (CSHAUL, 19: 3, 28-29), and this is the only female name in the village cadastral. Both scrolls are filled with black ink, which has already faded with time (in some places it is difficult or even impossible to read). In general, all the entries were made by one person, as evidenced by the same handwriting, which is mostly legible. At the same time, the text shows several corrections made by another hand. Despite the fact that the printed names of the form's columns are in German and Polish, the information was recorded in Polish only.

The soil metric contains a complete inventory of land with the names of the owners, i.e., the serial number of the land plot about which information was entered into the book; the name and surname of its owner, indicating the number of the house he occupied and the type of property (land plot): arable field / vegetable garden / meadow / garden that he owned. Taken together, this information constituted one so-called conscription number and was referred to as "chałupa" in relation to the peasant. The following were also subject to measurement and taxation: fallow land and fallow pairs ("Pole puste"), ponds, pastures, shrubs, and forests. However, the area under buildings, as well as public roads or field paths, were not measured. However, the latter were mentioned in the measurement protocol (*The Josephine and Franciscan...*, 1965: 8). The length and width of the plots were measured in square fathoms (3.5 m<sup>2</sup>) and recorded opposite each plot of land, and the area was measured in Austrian morgues (1 morgue/mrg = 1600 square fathoms = 0.5755 hectares) opposite each type of land. To facilitate the census, the land of each community was divided into the main fields or nivas.

The oat lands were divided into five fields. The first one, titled: "Osiadłość wsi Uwsia. Obszar I. szyli (i.e.) Plac miescowy (...)" (CSHAUL, 19: 3), included a description of the farmsteads and homesteads of the settlers within the village (settlement), indicating the names of the owners and their conscription numbers. Since this was a house and plot of a certain person, the names (first and last names) of the persons were given in the genitive singular. Other fields are fields around the village. In particular, the second field meant the land from the side of Sloboda village towards the "borders" with the neighboring settlements of Kozova and Kalne. The third field covered the public and dominant lands of the Vivsia settlers from the side of Malovody village, and the fourth – Novosilok village. Novosilok village. And the fifth – from the villages of Telyache and Kalne.

The metric was compiled in such a way that first the government official described the first field, i.e. the property within the village, and then the fields around it.

For example, number 1, which opens the YM of the village of Vivsia, contains the entry: "Plac miescowy (...)" and then the name of Countess Moszyńska is indicated. At first glance, it seems that this entry refers to a local (or village) square. However, based on the analysis of JM by authoritative researchers of the subject by Ukrainian scholar V. Dolinovskiy and Polish scholar K. Sliusarek (Dolinovskiy and Sliusarek, 2018: 58–59), we can assume that this term meant not a part of the territory, but the entire territory of the entire settlement, which included both buildings and agricultural space outside the built-up part of the village. Hence, the first paragraph, in our opinion, should be read as follows: there will be a description of the territory of the village of Vivsia, which belongs (on the right of ownership – I.T.) to Countess Moszyńska. At the same time, out of the total amount of land within the First Niva (64 *merga* of arable land and 22 *merga* of meadows or hayfields), according to our calculations, only 13.8 *merga* of arable land (7.94 ha or 21% of the entire niva) and 2.3 *merga* of hayfields (1.32 ha or 10%) directly belonged to the lord's court (manor), together with the pond (CSHAUL, 19: 3–8). The latter is still called "Pansky" today. All of these were lands cultivated by local peasants as serfdom. The rest of the land within the settlement was distributed among peasant households.

As can be seen from the YM records, Vivsia was a small village at the time of the metric's compilation, with only 53 conscription numbers. If we do not take into account the manor house (1) and "Plac pustuj..." (53), as well as the tavern ("Karczma Panska w czrodky wies...", which was also considered a guest house [43]), there were only fifty peasant households in the village. Our calculations, relying, in particular, on the aforementioned map by F. von Mieg, suggest that the perimeter of the village (within the First Field), which was a rectangle approximately 300–1,500 meters in size, was approximately 3.6 km<sup>2</sup>. In addition, simple arithmetic made it possible to determine, first, the size of the land of an average peasant family in Vivsia within the settlement, and, second, the total number of villagers as of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

It seems that on average each peasant family of Vivsia within the settlement owned 1 *mrg* (or approximately 0.58 ha) of vegetable garden, which was usually located on both sides of the peasant's house. However, the analysis of the section "Obszar I" shows that not all peasant estates had a

vegetable garden of this size -- up to a dozen families owned only 0.40-0.60 mrg of vegetable garden at their houses. The same was true for hay-fields. Despite the fact that each peasant family on average used 0.4 mrg (or about 0.24 hectares) of meadows, which were mostly adjacent to the garden ("Pole za ogrodem zaguminkowe"), it should be noted that some estates had no hayfields at all. It can be assumed that these families used these lands outside the settlement.

As for the total number of inhabitants of Vivilsia at the time, it can be roughly estimated based on data on the number of households and population. On the basis of this information, using the example of up to a dozen settlements of the modern Peremyshlyanshchyna (the same Berezhany circular), which M. Maiorchak (2018: 50) presents as of 1786, we come to the conclusion that the number of a "typical" peasant family of that time was 5-6 people. Hence, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century no more than 250-300 people could live in Vivilsia. Of course, this figure does not take into account the inhabitants of the manor house (yard servants), as well as other categories of rural settlers, such as tavern keepers. Finally, the YM does not indicate the occupation of rural residents.

Referring to the Josephine and Franciscan metrics, researchers of historical anthroponomy convincingly prove that the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was marked by perhaps the most intense process of surname formation in Ukrainian Galicia (Hudash, 1977: 76; Buchko, 1994). We would add that it was rather an intensive process of legalization of surnames or giving existing surnames the characteristics of a subject of legal relations in the new social reality of Galicia associated with imperial Austria. And, most importantly, the "involvement" of the peasantry, the most numerous social stratum of the Ukrainian people at that time (and not only), in this process.

The names of the owners of fifty peasant farms in Vivilsia recorded in the Iosypivka soil cadastre belonged to forty families, and the names of ten of them are repeated several times. The most common surname was Zavadovsky, which appears three times. Nine other surnames (Kochak, Mazuryk, Mietz, Osadza, Pryszliak, Slobodzian, Terluk, Wojtowicz, Zabojczek) are mentioned twice in the metric. Among other first settlers of the village, YM also records surnames: Babii, Bilich, Bizyna, Bohach, Bone, Boyko, Havryliv, Hlukh, Kokhanivskyi, Kots, Kuzka, Naberezhnyi, Ozimko, Pasichnyk, Patzanovskyi, Protsko, Rubashevskyi, Shevchyk, Shoz, Slobidskyi, Storozh, Trush, Vasyliv, Yabchitskyi, Yatva, Yurkiv, Zabetskyi, Zamkovyi, Zdeb (CSHAUL, 19: 2-8). Interestingly, the descendants of at least twenty of them still live (or until recently lived) in Vivilsia.

At the end of the soil book, there are data on the summation of all fields and the total area of all land plots and allotments ("Rekapitulacja Sumaryczna"; CSHAUL, 19: 43). Thus, according to the results of the measurements, the total area of the village together with the land was 2146.51 mrg (1766.38 arable fields; 380.13 meadows) or 1235.32 hectares (1016.55 hectares and 218.76 hectares, respectively). Despite the information we already know about the amount of land (arable land and meadows) within the First Field, the document lists the areas of the Second and Fourth Fields as the largest (853.19 mrg or 216.37 hectares and 705.46 mrg or 405.99 hectares, respectively). Both of these fields were dominated by arable land - 637 (366.6 hectares) and 661 (380.4 hectares) respectively. However, hayfields were the largest (215 m ha or 123.7 ha) within the Second Field, while the Fourth Field had the least amount of grassland (44 m ha or 25.3 ha). The Third field included only hayfields (97 mrg or 55.8 hectares), and the Fifth field included only arable land (403 mrg or 231.9 hectares; CSHAUL, 19: 57). The contractual oath (oath) was entered under the above information. It was taken by all the members of the above-mentioned special commission who participated in the measurements (representatives of the dominion and the community). They also signed the completed book.

A separate document in the structure of the YM, which was compiled on the basis of the soil book, was the so-called summary of the public facies. It contained summarized data on the area of land ownership of the yard or dominant ("Dworskich y Duchownych") soils and rustic ("Gromadzkich y Rustych") or community land, as well as the harvested crops. It is also known by another name: "Sumarium of dominant and rustic soils".

A special commission on measurements in the village of Vivsia stated that the manor directly owned 791 mrg (455.2 ha) of arable land and 258 mrg (148.5 ha) of meadows, for a total of 1049.44 mrg (603.9 ha). Public land or, in fact, land owned by peasants was somewhat larger, totaling 1,097 merges (631 hectares) or 975 merges (561.1 hectares) of arable land and 122 merges (70.2 hectares) of hayfields (CSHAUL, 19: 62).

The designation of church ("Duchownych") lands together with dominion lands is striking. A fairly thorough study of the distribution of land in order to find such lands did not immediately yield the expected result: in the description of each field we did not come across any indication of the presence of church lands in the village, such as Krainy duchowe, Duchowny, Cerkiew, ziemie kościelne, etc. Of course, the very fact that a church (building) appeared in the village after more than fifty years

of construction only in the second half of the nineteenth century should not be an argument here (Pavlyshyn, 2019: 144), primarily because it is not true – the church in the village was already marked on the aforementioned map by F. von Mieg (Galizien und Lodomerien [1779–1783] – First Military Survey). And then, we think that even if there was no church built in the village, this would not indicate the absence of “spiritual care” for the Vivsia’s villagers. It can be assumed that the task of providing this sphere was entrusted by the newly “enlightened” Austrian authorities in the region to the lower level of state administration – the dominions, with the latter’s corresponding obligation to pay remuneration for the performance of this function from among “their” lands. Below, on a separate page, we did come across a record of the size of such lands – Duchowny posiada (has) a little more than 34 merges (19.5 hectares) of arable land and 21 merges (12 hectares) of meadows. However, there was no indication of specific land owned by the church in terms of individual fields. Instead, there was a note about the village belonging to the dominant parish “od Miasta Kozowy” (CSHAUL, 19: 61), which is in the “Jedne Mile” (CSHAUL, 19: 51) from the village of Vivsia.

In our opinion, the data on the distribution of land between peasants and the manor in terms of nivas, and, most importantly, the data on the amount of land allocated to peasants, are much more significant. Of course, the lion’s share of all rural land was made up of fields around the village within the second to fifth niva. Thus, the majority of the land area of the most extensive Second Niva – 374.4 mrg (215.5 hectares) out of 637 – was directly owned by the manor. Countess Moszyńska also owned all the meadows assigned to the field (215 mrh or 123.7 hectares) (CSHAUL, 19: 8). Instead, 44 peasant families owned 262.6 mrg of arable land within this niva. Despite the fact that 9 households had several plots of arable land, on average, each peasant estate had 5.6 mrg or 3.2 hectares. Most of them had four or fewer plots, some had six, and a few had even eight plots (CSHAUL, 19: 8–11). The overwhelming majority of the Third Field’s land (meadows) was owned by peasants (77.1 mrh or 44.4 hectares). In contrast, only 19.9 mrg (11.4 hectares) or 20.5% of the entire field was directly owned by the manor. Of the 44 peasant owners who owned meadows in this area, only six had approximately 2.4 mrg, one (Michał Storoż/Straż (elsewhere), house 33) had 3.4 mrg, and the rest had approximately 1.2 mrg (0.7 ha) per family (CSHAUL, 19: 11–12). More than half of the arable land of the Fourth Field consisted of two fields of 150 and 200 mrg, which were in full dominant ownership. In total, 413 mrg

(237.7 hectares) or 62% of all arable land in this field, as well as almost all of its hayfields (over 40 mrg out of 44 total) belonged directly to the manor. The remaining 248 mrg (142.7 ha) was given to 43 peasant households, with an average of 5.7 mrg (3.2 ha) per household. Some of the peasants (Iwan Pasiecznik, house 4, or Stefan Terluk, house 26) had several plots within the niva, but in general they did not exceed 6.2 mrg (3.5 ha) each (CSHAUL, 19: 13–15). Within the Fifth Niva, which had no hayfields at all, almost all of the arable land (390 out of a total of 403 mrg or 224.4 ha) was owned by peasant families. Ten of them had several plots of arable land, and one (Szewczyk, house 10) had three. Within the boundaries of the plow, one peasant family owned from 3.5 to almost 9 m ha (2–5 ha) of arable land. The largest land plot of 8.9 morgs was registered in the name of "Michał Straż", house 33, but the size of the plots ranged from 4–6.5 morgs (CSHAUL, 19: 15–17).

From the above calculations, based on the data documented in the YM almost 240 years ago on the ownership of agricultural land by Vivsia peasants in the modern interpretation, a rather unexpected conclusion follows. On average, each of the fifty peasant families (according to the conscription number) of Vivsia used at least 15 mrg (8.6 ha), and in some cases up to 20 mrg (11.5 ha) of arable land and from 0.5 (0.28 ha) to 2.4 (1.38 ha), in some cases 3.4 mrg (1.95 ha) of meadows. This was a rather high figure, particularly in comparison to other villages. For example, a cursory analysis of the data provided by M. Maiorchak on the area of land holdings of peasant families in Yanchyn shows that on average, the size of the land holdings of Yanchyn farmers was no more than one third of the smallest figure ( $\pm$  5 mrg or 2.8 hectares) of the land holdings of Vivsia's farmers (Maiorchak, 2018: 402–414). Obviously, this phenomenon is primarily related to the fact that Vivsia was a "young" village at the time of the metric's compilation, founded shortly before this measurement. There was plenty of land due to its location (flat fields without forests), but not enough people, as evidenced, for example, by the "Plac pustuj..." of house 53. And then, it can also be assumed that the initiative of the newly established Austrian authorities to introduce new forms of legalization of land relations and involve the peasantry in this process was not taken seriously by local grandfathers. After all, until recently, landowners in the Rzeczpospolita, accustomed to the "green light" in everything that concerned their interests, could perceive measures to actually grant land to their serfs as a formal action. That is why most Vivsia's peasants had at least one suspiciously identical land allotment within different fields –

four morgas in the second, fourth, or fifth field (CSHAUL, 19: 8-17). In the end, for the landowner, the peasant allotments did indeed look formal – he did not lose ownership of his land. For peasant families, however, this formality acquired a different connotation, primarily because of the declared right of each family member to leave (secure) these allotments in the family through the male line. We assume that the obligation of grandfathers, as owners of land, to transfer it to one of the sons of the deceased owner was also apparently perceived by them as unimportant at first.

The yield or profitability of each category of land in Sumatra of dominant and rustic soils was reported on the basis of the aforementioned facies. Thus, the fassias for arable land was to take into account the income from the four main crops: wheat, rye, barley, and oats (other crops were equated to one of the main crops), and the income from grasslands was reported depending on the hay and flocks harvested from them, all per morgue. The grain harvest was calculated in korcs and garns (1 korc/krz = 32 garns or 64 half-garns = 122.9984 liters), and the hay harvest was calculated in centners/tsetnars/c (1 centner = 100 pounds = 40.55 kg) (Dolinovskyi and Sliusarek, 2018: 59).

Landowners (owners) submitted a fassias in accordance with the so-called fassias rules stipulated by the patent of April 12, 1785. The latter required to indicate the seeding rate of grain per morgue in korcs and the potential yield in so-called samas. Multiplying the seeding rate by the samy, the commissions received the amount of profit from a particular plot (*The Josephine and Franciscan...*, 1965: 8-9). The metric materials for Vivsia make it possible to trace in detail the yield of each plot in the context of five fields (CSHAUL, 19: 50-54). However, in order not to burden the text with numbers, which is already quite saturated with them, we will omit the process of such calculations, moving directly to the final figures of the harvested crops from the dominant and rustic soils of the village.

Summing up the profit from the harvest of each of the above crops, we get the figure of the average grain yield on the dominant lands – it was 9668 quintals. In addition, 3111 cwt of hay (including flocking) was harvested from the manor meadows. From the public lands, the profit received was 12468 quintals of grain and 1221 tons of hay (CSHAUL, 19: 60-61). If we take into account the figures of peasant income and the above average amount of land owned by fifty peasant families in Vivsia, we can calculate the average yield in general and for each crop in particular. Thus, it turns out that a peasant household from one morgue on average har-

vested at least 2.25 to 3 quintals of wheat, as well as 17 to 38 quintals of rye, 78.6 to 104.8 quintals of barley, and 79 to 106 quintals of oats. Hay harvesting rates are generally low, ranging from 4.95 to 23.76, and in some cases 33.66 centners. The total profit of grain farms in the Oats sector was at least 167.1 krts (≈ 1 ton 670 kg) and reached up to 251.8 krts or more than 2.5 tons of grain.

It would be worth adding here some more illustrative details, which, in our opinion, illustrate the peculiarities of the life of a peasant in Galicia at that time. For example, the YM materials for the village of Vivsia show that barley and oats were the most popular crops in the structure of grain crops, accounting for the lion's share of the gross grain harvest, both from dominant and rustic (peasant) lands. Among the other two main crops, peasants preferred to grow rye, and wheat was a significant percentage of the cultivation on manorial lands. Simple calculations of yields per morgue of arable land show that peasant farming was generally more productive in all respects except for wheat and hay production. Obviously, the generally low level of hay harvesting did not contribute to the development of animal husbandry, in particular, the keeping of cattle, in peasant farms.

Sometimes the metric also includes a census of houses to classify them in order to develop the basis for taxation of their owners. Perhaps this is because such a census, which covered all houses in towns and villages, was conducted by the same commission as the Josephine land surveys. However, it was already being implemented on the basis of a separate imperial patent of September 1, 1788. And, most importantly, it was indirectly related to villages such as Vivsia, as it provided for the exemption from taxation of houses owned by those who live exclusively from agriculture (*The Josephine and Franciscan...*, 1965: 10). We have not been able to find any data on the taxation of the only building in Vivsia that was not directly related to agriculture, the lord's tavern.

The results of the Josephine metric formed the basis of the so-called Great Urban Reform (1789–1793). It was supposed to implement a new philosophy of taxation – the amount of land tax should be calculated on the basis of the profit received. Joseph II's general Austrian "Urban Patent" of February 10, 1789, established a land tax equal for all categories of property and eliminated any differences in taxation of dominant and rustic lands. For the peasants, the most important thing about the imperial patents was that from the end of the year all their duties were to be set in proportion to the amount of land they used. The pat-

ent established the amount of tax that the peasant had to pay to the state and the grandfather. It was assumed that the amount of all state, landlord, etc. duties of peasants should not exceed 30% of the total income from peasant land. In particular, the state tax had to be within 12.2% of total peasant income, and a reduced rate of state tax was even established for Galicia: 8.3% of peasant land income (Herasymenko, 1959: 134–147). Instead, urban duties were to be no more than 17.8%. Moreover, by mutual agreement between the landowner and the peasant, it was possible to replace monetary payments with in-kind obligations or labor (Melnichuk, 2015: 56). Specifically, a Vivilia peasant had to pay an average of 55.7 to 83.9 krt. of grain and a corresponding percentage of hay as a tax without the “Galician discount”. Thus, he would have had 70% of his income, or an average of 111.4 to 167.9 krt (1.114 to 1.679 tons), for his own needs. Obviously, this was not enough for five or six or more people a year. However, it should be borne in mind that a few years earlier, the situation was exactly the opposite: a peasant’s income did not exceed 30% of the crops he grew.

Joseph II intended to consolidate this tax policy. However, the mere declaration of a single land tax, which would potentially cause serious financial problems for landowners, prompted a sharply negative reaction to the Urban Patent. The main argument was that the document violated their property rights to land (Pyrtko, 2019). In the end, this patent was soon canceled by Joseph II himself in one of his last decrees, the Universal Land Tax and Urban Laws of September 17, 1789. The successors of the reformist emperor had already begun to gradually move away from the “enlightened” reformist course initiated by Maria Theresa. This retreat, which I. Franko characterized as “the hard times of 1790–1835,” (Franko, 1913: 72–96) lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century and had a rather negative impact on the peasantry, its legal and socioeconomic situation. The Franciscan metric, a later land cadastre of Galicia (1819–1820), created on the basis of the Josephine one, reflected these processes to a certain extent. However, this topic deserves a separate study.

## CONCLUSIONS

In our opinion, the results of the material presented here can be summarized in several points.

1. The Josephine Metrica is a monument that not only reflects the development of social relations and the general economic situation of Austrian Galicia in the last quarter of the 18th century, but also reflects changes in the legal status of the peasantry – the most numerous social stratum at that (and not only) time. The document demonstrates, on the one hand, an attempt to change the principles of land taxation and, potentially, the introduction of a new philosophy of taxation. On the other hand, it indicates the consolidation of the rights and obligations of peasants defined by Josephine measures and, most importantly, it shows an attempt to redistribute land between domain (lordly) and rustic (peasant) land holdings. In view of the above, the cadastre may be characterised as a document that reflects the depth of the process of systematising legal relations between landlords and peasants, while at the same time attesting to an attempt to alleviate peasant poverty in early Austrian Galicia.

2. The Josephine metric, as the main instrument for the introduction of a general land tax, which, together with the house tax in cities, was to become the only tax in the Empire, contains data on the demarcation of land between rural settlements and a general description of the community's soils from which profit could be made ("all useful soils"). The main document in the complex of documents of the first Austrian land cadastre in Galicia is considered to be the soil book of land profit ("soil metric"), which included a complete inventory of land with the names of the owners. The potential profit from an arable field was determined on the basis of the harvest of the four main grain crops: wheat, rye, barley, and oats; from meadows (including gardens and orchards and other lands) – on the basis of hay and flocks. The final stage of the soil measurement process was to compile the so-called summary of the rural community's facies, i.e., the combined area of all types of dominant and rustic land and the harvest obtained from them. Based on this document, a commission headed by a circular commissioner calculated the value of the crop or the amount of annual profit from land cultivation. And on the basis of this data, the amount of tax liabilities, including those of peasant owners, was to be determined. In fact, the latter circumstance contributed to the intensification of the process of legalization of surnames or the giving of existing sur-

names the characteristics of a subject of legal relations in the new social reality of Galicia associated with imperial Austria. And, most importantly, the "involvement" of the peasantry in this process.

3. The Josephine metric for Vivilia shows: first, the abundance of land in the settlement and, at the same time, the relatively small population of the village; the reason for this is obviously the peculiarities of the location (flat fields without forest) and, in fact, the foundation of the village itself shortly before the measurements were taken; secondly, the introduction of new forms of legalization of land relations for Vivilia peasants, compared to residents of other villages, proved to be favorable primarily in terms of the amount of land granted to them; thirdly, barley and oats were the most popular crops in the structure of grain grown - they account for the lion's share of the gross grain harvest, both from dominant and rustic (peasant) lands; among the other two main crops, peasants preferred to grow rye, and on manorial lands a significant percentage was cultivated with wheat; the level of yield per morgue of arable land shows a generally higher productivity of peasant farming in all indicators, except for wheat growing and hay harvesting, and in general, the low level of hay harvesting did not contribute to the development of animal husbandry, in particular, cattle keeping, in peasant farms; Fourth, the names of the owners of fifty peasant farms in Vivilia recorded in the Josephine land cadastre belonged to forty families (the names of ten of them are repeated several times). The descendants of at least twenty of the village's first settlers still live, or until recently did, in Vivilia.

4. The Josephine metric is also a testament to how truly worthy reforms can be undermined by the promotion of self-interest by certain groups or environments. Examples of such somersaults in the reform process are not uncommon in later times up to the present.

Joseph II failed to consolidate the progressive tax policy announced in the so-called Great Urban Reform (1789-1793) based on the results of the Josephine Metric, according to which the amount of land tax was to be calculated on the basis of profit, the same land tax was established for all categories of property, any differences in taxation of dominant and rustic lands were eliminated, etc. And the successors of the reformist emperor have already begun to gradually move away from the "enlightened" reformist course initiated by Maria Theresa. The Franciscan metric, the later land cadastre of Galicia (1819-1820), created on the basis of the Josephine one, reflected these processes to a certain extent.

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